THE PROCESSES OF SWITCHING AND COPYING CODE FROM ENGLISH INTO FRENCH IN POPULAR MAGAZINES AND ON SOCIAL PLATFORMS

Ekaterina V. Tutova[1]
Irina P. Grekhanova[2]
Ekaterina S. Medveeva[3]
Ekaterina S. Kornakova[4]
Yulia B. Yurieva[5]

[1] Peoples' Friendship University of Russia
[2] D. Mendeleev University of Chemical Technology of Russia
[3] Peoples' Friendship University of Russia
[4] National Research University Higher School of Economics
[5] Peoples' Friendship University of Russia

Corresponding author: Ekaterina V. Tutova
E-mail: tutovakatya89@gmail.com

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Abstract: Recently, code switching has become the key direction in contact linguistics, that is, the transition from one language to another in the course of speech or in literary and journalist texts. The authors' understanding of the theoretical part of the process is based on the analysis of multiple examples representing every aspect of the language theory mentioned in the present study which combines all the approaches to systematic analysis of the phenomenon and aims to find the most suitable by comparing various linguistic theories. Moreover, the present study looks into code copying, a phenomenon adjacent to code switching. The two phenomena are closely related, yet code-copying of differs from code-switching because the latter involves two languages and replaces elements of one code are by elements of another. Code-copying can be considered a part of code-switching and is often a source for the formation of foreign inclusions. As a rule, only a bilingual person who has mastered languages in an organic connection with the culture of corresponding peoples is able to adequately perceive speech in different languages. Searching for the necessary word, several variants of verbalization are activated at once (including variants from alternative lexicons), and the speaker makes a choice in favor of the most suitable variant, while all possible alternatives are suppressed.

Keywords: code-switching, code-mixing, sociolinguistic approach, psycholinguistic approach, bilinguals, prestige, linguistic paradigm, switch practice, linguistic phenomenon.

Introduction

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

The issue in question is most relevant in modern linguistics; its studies first appeared in the 1970s. W. Weinreich wrote that within the framework of the ideal linguistic paradigm, a person who speaks two or more languages must not consider switching to another language in the course of the communicative process. N. Frolova, relying on the theory of W. Weinreich, argues that in cases where a separate language personality or a group of people "usually uses Language A and has the task of mastering Language B, there is a number of possibilities for fulfilling this task" (Frolova 1999). Firstly, Language A can be completely replaced by Language B; as a result, we are talking about language shift. Second, Languages A and B can be used alternately, depending on the communication requirements; in this case we are experiencing switching from A to B and vice versa. Third, merging of languages A and B into a single language system may occur (Weinreich 1963). S. Poplack, who studied the syntactic aspects of code-switching, developed the theoretical foundations of this area of linguistics in the mid-1970s. Based on his work, the following definition of the code-switching phenomenon can be given: it is a transition during speech communication from one language to another within certain communication conditions (Poplack 1978). Since the 1970s, the phenomenon of code switching has been studied from three different positions: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and linguistic. The present research is based mainly on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic approaches.

Materials and Methods

Works on the process of code-switching and its influence on languages serve as the methodological basis for the research. Modern magazine articles, social media posts and books by famous international authors were used as the principal corpus. The authors studied more than 100 examples to select the most relevant ones for analysis and usage as examples of the linguistic processes described in the works of the scholars on the topic in question. The main method of work was legitimistic analysis along with lexical and semantic analysis. The authors relied on various language theories and on the data from encyclopedic dictionaries and thesauri (listed in the References section). In addition, semiotic analysis, content analysis, discursive and cognitive analysis, and culturological analysis of examples with code-switching were used.

Results

The research revealed that most often, foreign language code-alterations into French are found in English-language journalist publications of Australia and Great Britain, and less often in Asian periodicals. This may indicate that native English speakers are not against the spread of its vocabulary at the expense of expressive means from the French language, while non-native speakers most probably do not have sufficient language competence to diversify the articles with lexemes from other languages. Recognition of a precedent text (text with a foreign language switch) in speech lets the reader grasp the main idea of the author with the help of associative links. Speech creativity is characteristic of speech activity not only of the author who uses foreign

words but also of the reader who tries to understand them. Moreover, some foreign language inclusions may even be regarded as 'prestigious' and 'socially motivated'.

The research **aims** to identify the specifics and patterns of code-switching and code-copying as separate linguistic concepts and give evidence of their viability as separate phenomena of language contacts based on French lexical and phraseological units in English-language publications. **The scientific novelty** of the work lies in the approach to the analysis of the presented language material. The study presents an analysis of examples of French lexical and phraseological material from English-language journalist publications on the topic as a reflection of two linguistic processes.

Discussion

Code-switching (defined as using more than one language, variety, or style within discourse) has been increasingly reported on speech technology and linguistic studies in recent research works (Woolard 2005; Dau-Cheng Lyu 2015). The phenomenon of code copying attracted much attention of the linguists (Johanson 2002; Backus 1996; Menz 1994). For the first time, this phenomenon was noted in the works by Weinreich and Haugen (Haugen 1972) who studied the donor language and the target language and the development stages of such language contacts within the framework of linguistic diachrony. Code A which is influenced by Code B is able to take into its lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic composition many more new elements of the dominant Code B, replacing them with existing lexical units. Under the influence of external codes, Code A can undergo simplification of its system due to the weakening of its structure – a part of the basic structure of the native language disappears, resulting in losses in morphology and syntax. Usually, this is observed in endangered languages – the boundaries of native language categories are erased, and mass copying from the dominant language takes place. Simplification of the language structure can occur due to the influence of more common codes in the framework of code-copying. Despite the fact that code-copying and code-switching are closely related, the latter replaces elements of one code by elements of another, while the former, being a broader concept, includes various phenomena (such as borrowing and calculating) and treats them as similar within a single paradigm.

This phenomenon combines synchronic and diachronic methods of linguistic analysis, acting as a variational model at the stage of development of structural aspects that contribute to a productive and creative approach to copying. Language A must contain functional units and structures that can combine linguistic elements able to accept copies of Language B (Johanson 2002). This phenomenon was called 'loan phonology', 'borrowed semantic units' and 'borrowed syntax' (Haugen 1972). Mixed copying includes common elements, that is, partial borrowing (loanblend) which manifests itself within the lexical composition of the language (Haugen 1972). Mixed copying also includes phrases, complex and simple sentences, etc. Basically, there are several types of copying. Material copying occurs when phonetic elements of Language B (characteristic sound features and possible combinations, various accents) are copied into Language A. Semantic copying means that the denotative and connotative component of Code B acts as a copying model and applies to the elements of Code A. Mixed copying, already mentioned above, means that the possibilities of combining Language B can be applied to the units of Language A. Duration copying means that the application models of the frequency properties for units of Language B can also be applied to Language A. In other words, certain elements existing

in both languages are more understandable and well-known in Language B. Thus, elements from Language A can be absorbed by elements of Language B:

> "That there should be an air of ambiguity about Chanel is perhaps appropriate, for her life was a series of contradictions, as well as having a consistency of hard work, ambition, genius and dedication to her craft as a *feminine couturière*" *(Harper's Bazaar UK October 2015).*

The phrase *feminine couturière* is much more famous and widespread than its counterparts in other languages, is consistent with the English singular and is subject to all its grammatical norms. The interspersing of copies usually occurs on the principle of equivalence. However, the absence of a typological equivalent base cannot prevent the use of copies (Johanson 2002). E. Hamp believes that languages completely refusing to copy elements from other languages are more at risk of extinction than those not 'fearing' different types of copying and borrowing (Hamp 1989). Copies can never replace the original, but they can be successfully assimilated into the structure of the language. Linguists B. Heine and T. Kuteva consider such phenomenon as 'polysemantic copying', during which translations of foreign inclusions without the use of grammaticalization occur. This phenomenon is rarely used in grammar (Heine, Kuteva 2003, Heine 2008). However, most scientists argue that the boundaries between different types of copying and code-switching are not clearly defined.

In case of copying, carriers of Code A subjected to sociolinguistic changes use copies in speech that are divided into 'borrowed' (traced) and 'assigned' (substrate effect) ones. Favorite copying occurs when it does not include segmental but only material, semantic, combined blocks of lexical units of a foreign language. These extrapolated structural units of another language serve as models for creating copies that can be applied to units of the lexical composition of a given language. Sociolinguistic approach to code-switching finds many supporters in the West because, according to D. Smakman, the western societies represent "an expression of specific cultural settings" (Smakman 2019). Learners of a second language, including those at advanced levels, have trouble producing these lexical items, frequently replacing them with items from their native language or with literal translations of items in their own language, which mostly do not result in proper lexical items in the second language (Sepulveda-Torres).

To understand the processes of copying morphological material from the source language and copying usage patterns from the language model, it is necessary to compare the cross-linguistic results of code-switching and to determine the context in which these phenomena are most often encountered and where the restriction on their use is put. Some structural limitations may be in the dissemination of copying morphological material from the source language and copying usage patterns from the language model (Tutova 2017). Some structural entities, if they undergo the process of borrowing or copying, are influenced by the structure of the receiving language, such as a certain order of words. For some language categories, the use of copied morphological material from the source language is impossible, although copying the usage patterns from the language model is necessary. For example, in the temporal aspect category the replication of matter is quite rare, although, the copying of the templates is more common. Same can be said about the definite article (Matras 2007). Such service word as a definite article is transferred to another language directly or connected to language elements using a specific language model. For example:

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

This example demonstrates how the French adjective mignon is copied to Language B directly. There are language categories for which both types of copying may be applicable – conjunctions, particles, prepositions. The choice between two types of copying for language inclusions may depend directly on the availability of structural resources in Language B, allowing the speaker to recognize the functional component of a given language construct, for instance:

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

Here, the French phrase tour de force is included in the structure of the English phrase due to the multifunctionality of the language model. The result of this process is grammaticalization of copying, gradual or spontaneous. The choice of the speaker needs not be limited to the more specific semantic values of Language B (Matras 2007). The motivation for choosing a particular phonological substance from a suitable language, as well as the use of structures and linguistic-communicative structures that are available to the speaker in their speech repertoire, appears during different communicative situations that support the theory of diachronic changes in conjunction with the spontaneity of the communicative act of bilinguals and individuals who speak this language. Consider the example:

> "Combining savoir faire and art, the Peninsula Paris hotel is a contemporary ode to luxury à la française".

In English-language publicist texts, code-switching is usually motivated by the author's intention to update cultural symbols or attract associations accompanying conceptual education of other cultural backgrounds (Markelova 2014). Thus, most of the material studied can be attributed directly to the metaphorical type of switching identified by Gumperz (Gumperz 1982). Comparing the situational and metaphoric code switches, we notice that the situational switch implies a change in the language situation to a greater degree, and the metaphorical remains unchanged, since this type of switching is more related to the speaker's inner motives. According to G. Martin "It is important to contrast relational theory of meaning with the common-sense referential meaning that is often taken as the basis for alternative conceptualizations in linguistics" (Martin 2017). According to this approach, words are considered to have meaning (as realizing or encoding meaning to say something more formally). On the other hand, from the relational perspective words do not have but rather do meaning — they mean something in relation to other words that might have been chosen (Martin 2017):

> "Their baguette, le traditionnel, was a must, as was their dense, not very sweet chocolate loaf" (Vogue USA August, 2016).

In this example, code-switching acts as an application, complementing the subject and referencing to traditional French stereotypes. The logical meaning of the sentence without the selected application will not change but will lose its special linguistic connotation, sending the reader's mind to the cozy French streets of the morning Paris, filled with the smells of freshly baked baguette. According to O. Rodionova, Gumperz's theory was often criticized by linguists (Rodionova 2015). For example, K. Myers-Scotton

notes the ambiguity of difference in the motivations which characterize "metaphorical code-switching" (Myers-Scotton 1993).

The psycholinguistic approach to code-switching explains which aspects of the bilingual language ability allow the bilingual individuals to change codes. The study of the psycholinguistic aspect of code-switching is of particular interest to linguists, since this phenomenon, before its formal expression in speech, passes a certain algorithm in the human mind. Most often, linguists turn to psycholinguistic models of bilingual speech to identify points of contact between the structural parameters which define it from the grammatical point of view (Markelova 2014). Bilingual term banks are important for many natural language processing applications, especially in translation workflows in industrial settings (Haque, Penkale, Way 2018). K. Myers-Scotton believes that in every multilingual community any language is associated with certain social roles. She calls this theory 'Rights and Obligations Set' (Balakina, Sosnin 2014). The main idea of this theory is the 'negotiation principle': during the dialogue, the choice of code defines the rights and obligations of interlocutors in the presented communicative situation (Balakina, Sosnin 2014; Myers-Scotton 1993).

Therefore, three rules principles are based on this principle:

Rule of unmarked choice: by choosing an unmarked code, the speaker confirms an already existing set of rights and obligations (Balakina, Sosnin 2014), for instance: ''It's time to take the ***après-gym*** look one step further'' (Elle Malaysia April, 2015). This foreign language switch can be considered as unmarked or arbitrary.

Rule of marked choice: by choosing a marked code, the speaker sets a new set of rights and obligations: ''The key to his access was the cut, contour and craftsmanship of his clothes, but also his much-celebrated ***joie de vivre***'' (Harper's Bazaar Arabia March, 2015). Here, the author purposefully switches code to cause a certain cognitive reaction in the reader's mind. K. Myers-Scotton believes this is done to make the reader focus on social motivation which is in charge of the code-switching process and thus emphasizes language competences, as well as reflects certain 'rights and obligations' assigned to each language code.

Rule of trial choice*:* if the speaker does not know which code is unmarked, they turn to code-switching to understand (depending on pragmatic preferences regarding the set of rights and obligations) which code should be used further in the framework of communication (Balakina, Sosnin 2014; Myers-Scotton 1993), for instance: ''***Au contraire***, my mother dressed me in pale blue, allegedly to match my eyes and, later on, mustard, which matched nothing but was very big in the Seventies'' (Vogue UK July, 2015). The author uses the French adverbial phrase at the beginning of the sentence as if trying to figure out which code would be more acceptable in this situation.

Pioneers of research on the psycholinguistic aspect of code-switching believed there are two bilingual language systems that can be 'activated' and 'deactivated' independently (Gerard, Scarbourough 1989). Their studies revealed that some bilinguals read texts containing code-switching in both languages slower than monolingual texts. The explanation here is the fact that the mental mechanism of switching requires more time to determine which language system to 'turn on' or 'turn off' (Ostapenko 2014). The authors of subsequent studies put forward a theory about the joint storage of two language systems in a single mental space and their simultaneous activation at the time of verbal communication or reading a bilingual text (Grainger 1993; Li Wei 1998). This

theory served as the basis for the psycholinguistic theory of triggering by M. Clyne (Clyne 2003) which considers the psycholinguistic motivated code-switching from the point of specific conditions of speech production along with the speaker's intentions (Ostapenko 2014). The 'heart' of this theory is the mechanism that ensures the functioning of language systems in the speaker's brain: identical lexical units act as triggers in the process of language switching. K. Myers-Scotton developed a special linguistic model based on the concept of matrix language. According to this model, the matrix language and the guest language are to be distinguished during code-switching. The matrix language is the main language of communication, and the guest language contains elements of the matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1993). In the following example below, English is the matrix language of communication while French is the guest language:

> ''Physical evidence alone aligns the two great ***monuments historiques*** of France'' (Vogue USA July, 2016).

The matrix language creates a morphosyntactic frame in which foreign language elements can be included both as individual lexemes and as several related lexical-grammatical forms (Markelova 2014). In the following example, we observe no single lexical switching but a phrase unit consisting of the indefinite pronoun ***quelques***, the preposition ***de*** and two nouns ***arpents*** and ***neige***:

> ''Voltaire famously dismissed Canada as 'quelques arpents de neige' – several acres of snow – but then, he'd never visited'' (Harper's Bazaar UK October, 2015).

This method is still quite controversial since it initially used a quantitative criterion – most of the language units come from the matrix language, and the others from the guest language (Markelova 2014; Myers-Scotton 1993; 2002). In the following example, the guest language units are French lexical units, namely, a noun with auxiliaries:

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

K. Myers-Scotton also developed the so-called 4M model in terms of which all morphemes can be divided into three categories:

1) informative morphemes that are activated at the conceptual level: ''I was hoping to get a little ballet class out of this meeting, but as she twists and turns – ***arabesque, plié, tendu, attitude, développé*** – I can nearly pretend to keep up'' (Vogue USA July, 2016). Here, we see French lexemes which represent ballet terms. Even a person not acquainted with chorographical terminology will be able to imagine a graceful ballerina due to the conceptual symbols.

2) early system morphemes which are activated at the conceptual level and complement the semantics of morphemes representing the concept (Markelova 2014): ''We invented the slow life – leisurely meals, ***rosé en terrasse,*** comfortable homes, easy styles'' (Glamour October USA, 2015). Here, the phrase consisting of two cognitive units – *pink champagne* and *on the terrace* – acts as a code alteration, representing the meaning of a serene and luxurious holiday getaway.

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

> ''The ***bouche dorée*** is not for me'' (Vogue USA March, 2016). Here, the combination *bouche dorée* is used as an example of a late systeme morpheme.

Late system morphemes can also be divided into late connective morphemes (a) and late external morphemes (b) (Isaeva 2010):

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

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

2. ‘‘***Mais oui.*** French women approach beauty with a pleasure principle’’ (Elle Canada October, 2015).

In these examples, foreign language code switches appear in separate sentences. Most often, they represent the exclamatory elements of modality, connotatively complementing the sentences. Early system morphemes or directly selected ones go through the activation process at the level of the lemma along with morphemes representing the concept (Chirsheva 2013); this includes flexions which are considered to be morphological doublets. The structural roles of late system morphemes are defined in the process of speech later, when the lemma already gave instructions at the level of the formulator (Chirsheva 2003; Myers-Scotton 2000). Late joint morphemes appear after the early ones and are necessary for building links between morphemes within a syntagma, since with their help morphemes representing the concept are included in the phrase. According to G. Chirsheva’s theory, “late external morphemes differ, since when they are used, they focus on syntactic links outside the syntagma” (Chirsheva 2003). G. Chirsheva, relying on the theory of K. Myers-Scotton, explains that “the choice of the late morpheme in the phrase is dependent on the presence of a negative adverb”. If the lemma contains a complex lexeme that includes a late morpheme, then the late morpheme determines the time the lexeme entered the larger structure” (Chirsheva 2003; Myers-Scotton 2000). K. Myers-Scotton gives a certain sequence of establishing the framework of the matrix language:

> **Step 1**: The speaker first chooses a lemma to transmit the message. At this stage, it is decided whether a single code or a code switch will be selected. **Step 2**: The building of the matrix language framework, including informative morphemes, begins. **Step 3**: The lemmas send information to the formulator, which activates grammatical copying. **Step 4:** A single surface structure with phonological representations is created (K. Myers-Scotton 1993; Chirsheva N.N., 2003).

T. Markelova believes that “informative morphemes and early system morphemes are formed on a conceptual level, encoding all semantic and pragmatic information which is further formed using internal system bundles within a word or a phrase and within external ones within a sentence” (Markelova 2014). Using the example of these models and theories, K. Myers-Scotton tries to combine grammatical and psycholinguistic approaches to explain the principles of code connection (Myers-Scotton 2002). T. Markelova adds that the main disadvantage of these models is that “K. Myers-Scotton uses the concepts of meaningful and system morphemes which are differentiated miscellaneously in languages and in some cases cannot be differentiated at all” (Muysken, Milroy 1995; Muysken 1997; Markelova 2014). Moreover, the universality of the matrix language which in some cases cannot be determined is still questioned by the scholars.

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

K. de Bot and R. Schreuder suggested that the lexicons of different languages and their characteristics are stored together within a single language system where each element is capable of indicating its affiliation to any language, thus forming two subsystems within one (de Bot, Schreuder 1992). Thus, K. de Bot offers a solution to one of the main issues of psycholinguistics regarding the place of storage of information about various languages, putting them into a single system of interconnected elements. Many linguists share de Bot's opinion on this issue. (Clyne 2003, etc). T. Markelova believes that, according to K. de Bot, the adapted model of bilingual speech represents the following algorithm: first, a bilingual person refers to a unified conceptual system of two lexicons by means of a conceptualizer, whereas at the stage of grammatical coding they use different formulators that process multilingual lemmas in accordance with the coding rules of the language (Markelova 2014). In this case, speech gets either monolingually or bilingually (when code-switching occurs) designed at the articulation stage, depending on the communicative intentions of the speaker. Therefore, based on T. Markelova's theory, we understand that "the fundamental difference between the mechanisms of monolingual and bilingual speech, according to the model by K. de Bot, is the presence of several formulators, the number of which corresponds with the number of languages that the speaker is able to communicate in" (Markelova 2014).

Scientists, in terms of the concept of lemma, put forward the so-called lexical hypothesis about the primary meaning of the lexicon, which contains information about grammatical characteristics, words and connections between them at the syntactic level. In the terms of this theory, code-switching is always grammatically correct, since the lemmas are combined correctly according to the code (Markelova 2014). The representatives of the school of generative linguistics explore a language modeled on the natural sciences as well as the patterns of code-switching, guided by the principle of control, which embodies the theory that code-switching between a controlling element and one that is subordinate to it is impossible. This principle operates at the level of deep structures (Di Sciullo et al. 1986); it was repeatedly refined, but the new research did not confirm its universal nature. Cases of code-switching where this principle was not observed even in the usual subordinate connection between the verb and the direct object

were later revealed (Nortier 1990). For example: ‘‘Recovering himself, Professor Oon put on his ***blasé***, clinical tone’’ (Kwan 2017). Here, the adjective ***blasé*** acts as a foreign language inclusion, subordinates to the grammatical norms of the English language and is used with the English preposition *on* and the pronoun *his*.

The word *blasé* is a substitute for the English word jaded. This code switch probably aims to make the description of the situation less serious and more frivolous. Thus, code-switching can be regarded as a way to create contrast at the paradigmatic level, and the language alterations themselves can be considered as expressive means and can participate in the creation of stylistic tools along with other language resources (Tutova 2018). B. Spolsky admits that bilinguals change language for convenience. For example, if the addressee speaks only one of the two languages that the speaker knows, then the latter should use the familiar language for the addressee, although the speaker can use another language or both alternately in communicating with bilingual interlocutors (Spolsky 2009). Moreover, there are several varieties of dialects that differ from one region to another and sometimes within the same region (Abainia 2019). Bilingualism is a heterogeneous phenomenon. The degree of proficiency in each of the languages, and attitudes towards them can greatly vary. However, the lack of a typological equivalent base cannot prevent the use of copies (Johanson 2002). In conclusion, E. Hamp believes that ‘‘languages that completely refuse to copy elements from other languages are more at risk of extinction than those which are not afraid of different types of copying and borrowing (Hamp 1989)’’. Undeniably, copies can never replace the original, but they can successfully assimilate into the structure of the language.

Conclusion

A bilingual does not commonly seek to follow the rules of any language, and the choice of language in each situation is not always easy. It can be influenced by various interdependent factors. The two main factors are the interlocutor and which language is preferred by the bilingual individual. Studies on code-switching and social identity led to a better understanding of the role of language in forming and transmitting social traditions and foundations. The interspersing of the copies usually occurs by the principle of equivalence. Code-switching and code-copying have a huge linguistic potential for creating new lexical units of the language due to the large number of social and pragmatic functions of this phenomenon. The authors of the present research discovered that the sociolinguistic approach to code-switching is able to answer the question why people switch from one code to another in a conversation. The psycholinguistic approach shows which aspects of language ability allow people to change codes.

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