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A STUDY OF TYPES AND FUNCTIONS OF STAGED CODE-SWITCHING IN THE FILM WEST SIDE STORY (2021)

Summary. In this research, the phenomenon of code-switching was the center of our interest. We analyzed different approaches to the definition and study of code-switching in oral speech and in written media. The practical analysis was conducted on the material of the film adaptation of classical Broadway musical *WEST SIDE STORY* (2021) directed by Steven Spielberg, screenplay by Tony Kushner. Combining the approach to spontaneous oral code-switching and studies of the role of code-switching in narrative, we advanced the study of strategic deployment of non-conversational code-switching in the context of work of fiction, which marked the scientific novelty of the topic.

The aim of our investigation was to determine the types of staged code-switching and conduct the research of the supplementing material according to Appel & Muysken typology. We concluded that all three types of code-switching were used in the analyzed film, with inter-sentential code-switching being the most frequent and intra-sentential switch being the least frequent.

Furthermore, we conducted a comparison of functions of spontaneous code-switching in oral speech and staged code-switching specifically in films. It was established that the latter always performs a specific function in the text, implied not by the immediate speaker but by the author of the text itself, thus it cannot be subconscious or unmotivated. Based on the research of code-switching in the learning environment by Eva Fachriyh we compiled a set of functions of staged code-switching which we explored further based on the material of the analyzed film (Fachriyh, 2017). Thus, our classification encompasses the following seven functions: emphasizing, repetition, translation, clarification, checking for understanding, explanation, referencing.

Our research proved the necessity of studying staged code-switching not only as an element of bilingual experience but as an element of the text, as a device used to build the character or set the environment of the fiction context.

Key words: code-switching, bilingualism, staged code-switching, discursive function, socio-linguistics.

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ТИПИ ТА ФУНКЦІЇ ПОСТАНОВНОГО ПЕРЕМІКАННЯ КОДІВ У ФІЛЬМІ WEST SIDE STORY (2021)

Анотація. Статтю присвячено вивченню явища перемикавання кодів. Проаналізовано різні підходи до визначення терміна та його функціонування в усному мовленні та письмових джерелах. Практичний аналіз проведений на основі матеріалу кіноадаптації класичного бродвейського мюзиклу *WEST SIDE STORY* (2021) режисера Стівена Спілберга за сценарієм Тоні Кушнера. За допомогою поєднання теоретичного підходу до спонтанного перемикавання кодів в усному мовленні та досліджень його ролі в оповіді розширено сферу вивчення стратегічного використання неситуативного перемикавання кодів у художньому тексті, що й визначило наукову новизну нашої розвідки.

Метою нашого дослідження було виявити на матеріалі сценарію фільму *WEST SIDE STORY* (2021) типи постановного перемикавання кодів відповідно до типології Р. Анпеля та П. Мойскена. Встановлено, що у сценарії представлені всі три типи перемикавання кодів, з-поміж яких міжфразове перемикавання є найпоширенішим, а внутрішньофразове – найменш уживаним.

Порівняння спонтанного перемикавання кодів в усному мовленні та постановного перемикавання кодів у кіно засвідчило, що у художньому тексті перемикавання кодів завжди виконує певну функцію, визначену автором тексту, а не безпосереднім мовцем. Отже, перемикавання не може бути несвідомим чи немотивованим.

Проаналізовано з опорою на дослідження Єви Фахрій (Fachriyh, 2017), присвячене перемикаю до кодів у навчальному середовищі, випадки перемикавання кодів у сценарії кінофільму та укладено перелік функцій постановного перемикавання кодів. Сформована класифікація включає такі сім функцій: акцентування, повтор, переклад, пояснення, перевірка розуміння, уточнення та референційну функцію.

Наше дослідження підкреслює необхідність подальшого вивчення постановного перемикавання кодів не лише як маркера білінгвального досвіду мовця, а й як текстотвірного засобу, використаного для створення образу персонажа або формування середовища художнього твору.

Ключові слова: перемикавання кодів, білінгвальність, постановне перемикавання коду, дискурсивні функції, соціолінгвістика.

Problem statement. The term code-switching is widely discussed and used in linguistics and its interconnected fields. With current processes of globalization, languages and cultures come into closer proximity, interacting on a scale impossible to imagine only twenty years ago. This prompted a growing interest in the study of the phenomena inherent to bilingual and multilingual speech, among them code-switching, as an element and direct consequence of intralingual contacts.

The aim of this research is to identify different types and functions of code-switching found in the 2021 film adaptation of *West Side Story*, through the lens of the way in which visual media stages the conversational element of code-switching.

In order to fulfill the aim of our research the following **objectives** were set:

- highlight the difference between conversational and staged code-switching;
- study the classification of types of code-switching, by applying it to our prac-

tical outline the approaches to definition of code-switching;

- material;

- analyze the functions staged code-switching performs in media, on the example of the 2021 film *West Side Story*, directed by Steven Spielberg.

With more attention and representation given to the bilingual communities in media discourse, code-switching now seeps into our everyday life through films, TV-shows and books. It presents a challenge for the developing area of linguistics: to find the differentiating peculiarities of staged code-switching that would help scientists differentiate it from authentic and natural processes of oral bilingual speech. Our research examines types and functions of code-switching in visual media, films being one of its types. Thus, by providing an insight into the features of non-conversational code-switching it proves the **scientific novelty** of our topic.

Analysis of recent publications. Poplak defined code-switching as the alteration of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplak, 1980). According to Milroy & Gordon (2003) code switching can be defined as a manner or form of communication that is common in a bilingual or multilingual society using a number of different languages. Hans Vogt's work "Language Contacts" is cited as the first article to use the term "code-switching" in the field of linguistics (Nilep, 2006). Historically, the phenomenon of code-switching was viewed as a deviation from the normative language, by such researchers as U. Weinreich and E. Haugen (Weinreich, 1979).

A lot of research on code-switching was concentrated in the domain of sociolinguistics. For instance, John J. Gumperz (study of Hindi and its dialects) made a huge impact with the study of topics and context that may lead to the necessity of code-switching for bilingual individuals (Gumperz, 1982). One of the earliest studies on code-switching was performed in American anthropology by George Barker in 1947, who described the choice of language among Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona (Nilep, 2006). He was especially concerned with the question of why bilingual individuals would feel the need to alternate a language in a specific communicative situation without any visible cue.

Many of the researchers, such as Poplack, Sankoff, Halmari whose work was connected with the notion of "code switching" were interested in syntactic or morphosyntactic aspects of this linguistic phenomenon (Poplack, 1980; Sankoff, & Poplack, 1981; Halmari, 2004). Alternatively, studies of language acquisition in young children, second language acquisition widely operate the term code-switching in the context of language usage analysis in bilingual individuals, mostly referencing to cognitive linguistic abilities as a description learning practices centered around using more than one language in the classroom environment (Salzmann, Cenoz & Genesee, 2000)

One of the most prominent linguistic research in the sphere of code-switching was conducted by Zhluktenko Yu. (Zhluktenko, 1966). The linguist distinguished types of language contacts that lead to the instances of code-switching, as well as distinguished types of bilingualism, based on the way in which two or more languages interacted and influenced each other in a specific community.

Staged code-switching, whether on the material of literature or visual media, was for a long time overlooked in the study of code-switching, mostly due to a tradition which emphasizes the primacy of spontaneous spoken language, for acquiring data for systematic linguistic analysis. Rise of most of the recent research on the issue of literary code-switching started with the conference *Code-switching in Literature*, organized at University of London on 5 July 2013 (Sebba, Mahootian, & Jonsson, 2011).

Material presentation. Code-switching may refer to bilingual or multilingual individuals blending two or more languages within a single conversational unit, often without changing the implied interlocutor or the subject matter. This mixing can occur at various linguistic levels, but especially instances where it happens within a single sentence, phrase, or even word have garnered significant scholarly interest (Poplack, 2001).

In the early studies, code-switching was categorized as random and inherently deviant. For instance, Weinreich's approach to switching codes suggested that bilingual individuals employ two separate linguistic varieties, which on a certain level of mastery of language they manage to separate based on a communicative situation (Wein-

reich, 1979). Hence, the mixing of two linguistic systems in the same context becomes a sign of lack of comprehension of a one of the languages used.

According to Myers-Scotton (2001) code-switching may be classified into two types according to the speaker's proficiency in one of the languages. If the speaker has enough knowledge of one of the languages to build sufficient grammatical structures, it is labeled classical CS. On the contrary composite code-switching occurs "when speakers do not have full access to the grammatical frame of the intended ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from another" (Myers-Scotton, 2001). However, this division seems to be incompatible with studying staged code switching, because it implies our understanding of the speaker's language competence, while the idea of speaker being more blurred in our case.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) emphasized the social dimensions of code-switching, differentiating between situational and metaphorical code-switching. Situational code-switching, as the term implies, involves switching to a particular language variety depending on contextual factors such as the environment, the type of speech event or activity, or the presence of a monolingual speaker. In contrast, metaphorical code-switching describes an unconventional, unexpected, or personal choice to incorporate multiple languages into a single conversation.

Pieter Muysken suggested tripartite division of code-switching: *insertion* of elements from one language into grammatical structures from the other language (cases of lexical borrowings, nonce borrowings and constituent insertions), *alternation* between the structures of the two languages (switches of multiword or clause-peripheral elements) and *congruent lexicalization* of elements of different lexicons into a shared grammatical structure ('anything goes', back and forth switches) (Poplack, & Walker, 2003). Nevertheless, he continually notes that code-switching is "impossible in principle, while three strategies are just 'escape hatches' within a unified theory of bilingual speech".

According to Appel and Muysken (2006), code-switching can be categorized into three main types:

– *tag-switches* (emblematic): inserting tags, addresses or exclamations in one language

while the rest of the sentence is in another one; the name emblematic comes from the fact that tag serves as an emblem of bilingualism in mostly monolingual context (Poplack, 1980);

– *intra-sentential switches* (code-mixing): is observed when a speaker alternates between languages within the same sentence. This type is usually motivated by speaker's limited knowledge of a language or highly emotional state;

– *inter-sentential switches*: occurs between sentences, where the speaker finishes one sentence in one language and begins the next sentence in another one.

We conducted our research on the material of script of 2021 film version of West Side Story written by Tony Kushner (Kushner, 2019). We counted the number of all instances of code-switching found in the script and classified them according to Appel and Muysken categorization. The following calculations were made:

Table 1

Types of code-switching

Types	Quantity	Percentage
Tag-switching	23	28,4%
Intra-sentential	19	23,5%
Inter-sentential	39	48,1%
Total:	81	100%

Based on the data given in the table we can understand that all three types of code-switching are used in the movie. However, inter-sentential is used more frequently than the other two varieties, occupying 48,1% of all instances detected in the text. On the contrary, the least frequent type turned out to be intra-sentential switching with 23,5%. Henceforth, we will examine each category of code-switching in more detail.

The first category of code-switching is tag-switching, also known as emblematic or extra-sentential code-switching. Some researchers argue that tag-switches should not be viewed as genuine examples of code-switching. Instead, Gumperz sees them as symbolic elements of a speaker's monolingual communication style, thus the name 'emblematic' explained (Gumperz, 1971). Additionally, it is worth noting that inserting tags into speech typically has little to no impact on the structure of the surrounding sentence. Tags are highly flexible linguistic components that can be placed almost anywhere within

a sentence without breaking grammatical rules (Poplack, 1980).

We found two distinct cases, which explained the peculiarity of tag-switching. It occurs when an address, a term of endearment is inserted using the language which differs from that employed in the sentence itself “*Keep looking for better, mi milagro, like you always done*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 20). In the above-mentioned sentence the switch in language obtains a specific emotional connotation. On the other hand, the other type of tag-switching is the insertion of interjections, parenthesis, tags in questions, linking words or filler-words for pauses in speech: “*It’s because of us they’re gonna fight, ¿verdad?*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 63, where ‘verdad’, that can be translated as “is it true”, performing the role of a question tag.

The second category is intra-sentential code-switching, as it occurs within the boundaries of one separate sentence. Some researchers consider intra-sentential code-switching as a separate object of research, naming it code-mixing, differentiating it from the idea of code-switching (Poplack, & Walker, 2003). Intra-sentential code switching may occur between major constituents of the sentence (for instance, whole clauses, word-combinations) or on the level of independent words. Poplak (1980) argues that the first variant is more frequent than the later.

On the basis of our supplementary material, we differentiated three subtypes of intra-sentential code-switching based on the volume of elements used in one language and the frequency of usage of elements of one language within a specific sentence. The first type may be exemplified by the sentences where only one term from the second language is used. For instance, “*¿Necesito lipstick!*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 25). This type of intra-sentential code-switching is peculiar because it can be prompted both by the limitations in knowledge of a specific language of the speaker, or the feeling that usage of a term in the native language would better encompass the meaning and emotional connotation of the concept referred to. However, in some research dedicated to code-switching, cases of usage of individual terms inserted in the discourse in a different language are counted to the category of tag-switching, as they remain independent of the grammatical constructions of the rest of the sentence.

The next subtype of intra-sentential code-switching is represented by repeated switch back-and-forth between languages before the end of the sentence. For example, the sentence “*Y hubo un accidente, María, like it was over before, before anyone could stop him, fue tan rápido que nadie...*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 109) implies a tense, emotional situation. Often such type of code-switching is used in the written texts to imply the emotions of the character, to show that they are in a state of distress, thus, they revert back to the native tongue, which is believed to have more connection with human emotions and the ways of expressing them.

The third subtype of intra-sentential code-switching occurs in the sentences where the language changes on a grammatical and meaningful pause in the same sentence. For instance, before the conjunction, as in “*Maybe Chino and your friends fall down at your feet and maybe you scare the Americanos when you make fists and angry faces, pero yo no estoy interesada ni en boxeo ni en peleas*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 53). The switch happens distinctly at the beginning of a new independent clause in the sentence. Such a switch may signal a change in the theme of the sentence, the desire to address a different interlocutor, include or exclude some of the listeners from a discourse.

The last category we came across in our study was inter-sentential code-switching. In this type of code-switching the change of the language signals the end of one sentence and the beginning of the another. The message of the sentence may remain the same or change with switching of the code.

Based on our practical material we distinguished two types of inter-sentential code-switching. The first one being the usage of the different language as a direct translation of the same sentence, the same idea. In the following example “*Dónde estás? Where are you? ¡Ay!*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 43), both sentences have the very same meaning. The change of the language most likely can be explained by the fact that the interlocutor of the speaker does not know Spanish, thus, the necessity to translate, repeat the same idea twice, using both linguistic systems for the same purpose.

The second variation of inter-sentential code-switching, is its usage for introduction of the different topic of the sentence, or to elabo-

rate the previous idea but using tools of the different language to signal more emotive coloring, or culturally specific category. For example, “*Yo también te quiero mucho. But I’m here too, and I want to make a life, a home*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 52). In this extract, the Spanish part is more emotional. The usage of the native language is a sign of endearment here. While the switch back to English, marked by the conjunction ‘but’ changes the theme of conversation, introduces the new idea, firmer and concerned with the more practical matters rather than emotions, hence, it being uttered using the second language. As we analyze the staged code-switching, the choice of the language always adds to the development of the characters’ image.

In real-life, oral communication, code-switching can occur for a number of reasons; both being used consciously and subconsciously by the speaker. In his work *Discourse Strategies*, Gumperz points out the functions that code-switching may perform in a conversation, including, though not limited to: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiterations, message qualifications, and personalization versus objectification (Gumperz, 1982).

In our case, as we analyzed staged code-switching, a unique type of this concept, that is used deliberately to imitate the free flow of the oral language of bilingual individuals in different types of media: books, films, speeches etc. Thus, being staged, it always performs a specific function in the text, implied not by the immediate speaker but by the author of the text itself. One of the classifications of functions of stage, deliberate code-switching was suggested by Eva Fachriyh in her article dedicated to the usage of staged code-switching in the class environment as an element of language learning processes (Eva Fachriyh, 2017). According to the aims of this research, we singled out the following six as the most effective and corresponding to the analyzed context of code-switching. The chosen functions include: (1) emphasizing, (2) repetition, (3) translation, (4) clarification, (5) checking for understanding, (6) explanation.

Code-switching for **emphasis** occurs when languages are switched to highlight a specific word, phrase, or idea, making it stand out in the discourse. This may add intensity, underline importance, or convey a heightened emo-

tional state (Fachriyah, 2017). Appel & Muysken (2006) developed their approach to functions of code-switching based on the six metafunctions of language by Roman Jakobson. Their expressive function correlates with the emphasizing function as it highlights how speakers express a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse (Appel, & Muysken, 2006). Furthermore, it can not only add contextual importance to one element of the discourse but signify a general heightened emotional state in which a person reverts back to the mother tongue or uses a language to express a specific emotion connected with their bilingual identity. For instance, in the sentence “*¡Yo no soy tu hija, traitor!*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 129) the speaker addresses a woman, who is believed to, by marrying white man, have betrayed her Puerto Rican community. Hence, the word ‘traitor’ being incorporated in English adds a layer of implied message to the sentence, as well as, emphasizes the emotive connotation of the case code-switching.

The second function is **reiteration** as the same message is repeated in two languages, usually to reinforce or clarify it. Mattsson and Burenhult explained this function in terms of “the repetition in the first language can be either partial or full and is often expanded with further information, but more frequently code switching is used as a repetition of the previously uttered sentences” (Mattsson, & Burenhult, 1999, p. 9). Repetition or reiteration is applied to align the conceptual systems of two languages to narrow the gap in understanding. It is closely connected with the next function of code-switching, **translation**, which too is aimed at aiding understanding, either for characters or the audience, by providing a linguistic “echo” of the original statement. It can differ from reiteration in intent: while reiteration may simply reinforce, translation explicitly aims to convert the message into a more comprehensible form for someone who may not understand the first language used. It can differ from reiteration in intent: while reiteration may simply reinforce, translation explicitly aims to convert the message into a more comprehensible form for someone who may not understand the first language used.

The fourth function is **clarification**. In this case code-switching expands a term, idea, or phrase that may not be easily understood in the original language. This function helps avoid

ambiguity and conveys nuances that might be lost if only one language were used. Clarification elaborates the message where the reiteration function simply repeats the same idea twice. The use of code switching becomes the means that the speaker turns to in order to confirm or clarify a specific element of communication. For instance, in the following phrase “*No hables! Tienes que... Please, you have to go*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 43), we can see that the speaker uses code-switching to give a clearer direction, to elaborate the meaning of the first sentence in the language understandable to her interlocutor.

The fifth function, **checking for understanding**, is inextricably linked with the phatic function, hence concerns the channel of communication. Checking for understanding implies ensuring that the previous message reached the addressee and was interpreted correctly. This function can be performed by the majority of cases of tag-switches (Appel, & Muysken, 2006). In the sentence “*¿Pero claro? That’s why I cashed my relocation check*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 101) the code switching is used to point back to the information in the previous sentence and to double-check whether the interlocutor understands it correctly.

Furthermore, we can trace the inter-sentential switches, where a tag question or an address is used after the main sentence, to emphasize the knowledge of the other language or to implicitly communicate with the interlocutor/audience that speaks the other language. One of such most commonly used cases is the addition of the word ‘verdad’ in the end of the phrase as type of back-channel communication, for example, “*Bernardo ain’t keeping their dirty money. ¿Verdad?*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 102).

The last function derived from Eva Fachriyh’s classification is **explanation**. What we would like to emphasize is especially the usage of code-switching for explaining linguistic elements, directly or indirectly comment on the languages involved in the communicative situation. In other words, the metalinguistic function here comes into play. For instance, in the film we see a scene where a bilingual character teaches a boy Spanish by constantly switching between Spanish and English not only to translate but rather to elucidate: “*Con, means with, so you need “contigo”. “With you.” Para siempre*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 62).

We have managed to detect another function of code-switching, which the classification by Eva Fachriyh does not encompass. The function implied is referential, which was addressed by Appel & Muysken (2006) as well as by Shana Poplack (2001). **Referencing** often involves a lack of knowledge of one language or a lack of proficiency in that language on a certain subject. Certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. In addition, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept. The necessity for the character to code-switch in those moments may signal a linguistic insecurity, the inherent association between a language and specific context or emotion, a thematic necessity (Mattsson, & Burenhult, 1999). Many examples of the fulfillment of referential function include the usage of slang or emotively colored words with peculiar cultural context: “*I married a gringo, he thinks that makes me a gringa*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 19), “*Mi primer baile en Nueva York and I have to go with that, that, that zángano and I don’t want to*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 25), “*María can’t like a lambeajo who just works day and night and never stands up like her brother does*” (Kushner, 2019, p. 27). In the examples we can see the word ‘*zángano*’, a Spanish slang word meaning ‘idle, lazy person’, and ‘*lambeajo*’ a slang term, distinctive for islanders and U.S.-based Puerto Ricans. Hence, there is an overreaching emotional connotation for the code-switching used in a referential function.

Conclusion. In conclusion, in our research we centered our scientific inquiry around the types of code-switching based on Appel and Muysken categorization. The data presented in the article indicates that all three types of code-switching are utilized in the film adaptation of classical Broadway musical WEST SIDE STORY (2021) directed by Steven Spielberg, screenplay by Tony Kushner. However, inter-sentential code-switching is the most prevalent, accounting for 48.1% of all identified instances. In contrast, intra-sentential code-switching is the least frequent, comprising only 23.5% of the occurrences. We touched upon the different approaches to differentiating functions of staged code-switching in visual media. Analyzing the functions of code-switch-

ing in the supplementing material we were able to study the differentiating characteristics of conversational and staged code-switching, the main one being in spontaneity and purposefulness of those. While code-switching in oral speech can be prompted by subconscious drive of the speaker, and serves no conversational goal, staged code-switching is undoubtedly planned and carefully crafted to fulfil some immediate need of the

text, whether giving a subtle description of the character, providing information on the historical or cultural context of the piece of media etc. Taking everything into account, we can conclude that code-switching provides a fruitful ground for scientific research, with the analysis of staged code-switching being a prominent domain that may give a unique insight into the particularities of bilingual communication.

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