

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES IN EUROPEAN MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

VARIATION AND USE OF ENGLISH IN MULTILINGUAL/MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES PROF. SILVIA MONTI

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The course aims at illustrating the **main dimensions of variation**, i.e. **social, geographical, situational**, in the use of **contemporary English in everyday speech patterns in multicultural/multilingual contexts of interaction** where:

- such **language alternation phenomena** as **code-switching** and **code-mixing** stand out both as **key conversational practices** in marking the speakers' **ethnolinguistic identity** and as **crucial vehicles of intercultural/interlinguistic mediation**;
- **new hybrid varieties of English**, often resulting from language contact, emerge, and
- **linguistic identities** are constantly open to **renegotiation, reconstruction** and **reinterpretation through language use**.

The theoretical sociolinguistic framework will be supported by examples taken from multilingual audiovisual products, belonging to different genres, whose dialogues, presenting instances of code-switching as well as of hybrid language varieties, faithfully represent the richness and complexities of everyday speech patterns in real-life multilingual societies.

The English language is nowadays considered as «*the*» world language, as «*the*» **lingua franca**, i.e. a language used throughout the world as a means of facilitating/allowing communication

- between groups of people who do not share a native language,
- between speakers from different linguistic backgrounds.

In investigating the key role **English** plays in today world, the main questions are:

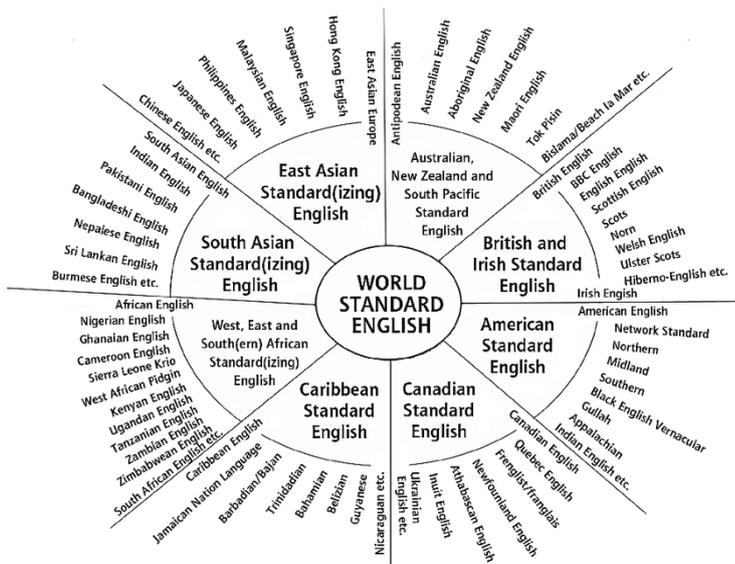
- How did **English** develop externally and internally to become the **leading world language**?
- How did **English** evolve from being one of the few international, colonial languages (in the period of the British Empire) to the status of **the hegemonic world language**?

The **present-day status of English** is the result of a long process that has led it to evolve from its being the language of one empire among others to its current position as the only **fully globalised language**,

- used for a vast array of purposes,
- spoken (as to 2025) by about 1.52 billion people worldwide, with around 400 million of them being native speakers and the rest having learned it as a second language,
- far from being a static subject, and
- existing in many different varieties.

Indeed, English is one of the most varied languages in the world, with varieties that mainly **differ** in

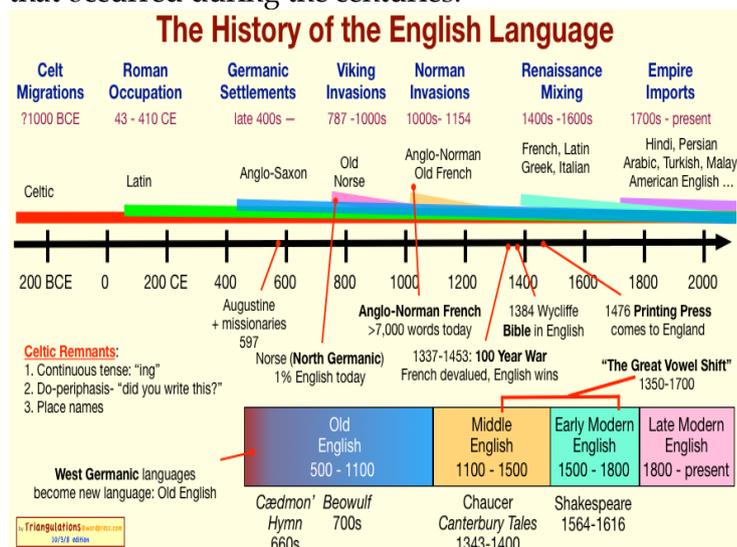
- pronunciation
- accent
- spelling
- grammar
- lexicon.



Variation and the origins of English

The aspect of **variation** is central in the whole history of the English language.

Indeed, the **vocabulary of English** contains words from more sources than the vocabulary of any other language, as a consequence of the contacts between its speakers and those of other languages that occurred during the centuries.



It was with the spread of the **British Empire** that the **influence of English began to be felt throughout the whole world**... ..and it was following the **contacts** the English language had with new people and different languages, when the British began to explore the world and brought their own language to the new continents, that many different varieties and new languages began to develop and still continue to develop today.

BUT...

...what is the **original form of English**, now widely accepted as the overt, public norm?

Standard English

Standard English is the variety of English that is held to be "correct".

Standard English is the form that, with respect to **spelling, grammar, and vocabulary**

- is markedly uniform,
- is well established by usage in both formal and informal contexts,
- is used for a wide range of communicative functions,
- shows no regional or other variations.

Standard English is traditionally

- associated with a high degree of education
- used in print, in writing,
- taught in schools and universities,
- taught to non-native speakers learning the language
- heard on radio and tv

Standard English is related to one particular accent: **Received Pronunciation**, also defined as **Oxford English** and **BBC English**.

Standard English is also referred to as **Queen's English** or **King's English**, a definition dating back to the **16th century**, when it was believed

- that the monarch's usage of the language should be a model for everyone
- that a command of "proper" language was necessary to increase one own's social status.

This led to the process of **standardization of one language among the others**

To briefly outline the **development of Standard English** it is necessary to go back to the period of Middle English (c. 1100 - c. 1500), characterized by the presence of **many dialects** that differed almost from county to county [*note well: variation was already at that time a basic component of the language*] and **variations** in both vocabulary and pronunciation could be observed even between different parts of the same county.

Out of this **variety of local dialects** there emerged, at the **end of the XIV century**, a **written language** that, in the course of the **XV century**, won **general recognition** and has since become the **recognized standard in both speech and writing**.

The part of England that most contributed to the formation of this standard was the **East Midland** it was the **East Midland type of English** that became **the basis of the standard**, more specifically the **dialect of London** (in particular that of the '**east Midlands triangle**' London, Oxford and Cambridge)

Standardization

1. **Selection of one dialect above the others** (London dialect) according to power
2. **Acceptance by the community of the code as the standard form**
3. **Elaboration = spread of the use of the new standard** into ever more domains
4. **Codification** through the education system

1. **Selection of one dialect above the others. At the centre of the process of standardization lies power:** as England developed into a more unified political and economic entity at the **end of 16th century**, the centre of **power began to concentrate more and more in London** (that became the capital) **and the southeast** gradually the **London dialect** became **the one preferred by the educated**

2. **Acceptance by the community of the code as the standard form.** The **Midlands variety** was adopted by students from all over England who studied at Oxford and Cambridge and this gave the emerging standard an important **degree of social and geographical mobility**.

Among the main reasons for its use

1. its **usefulness in communicating** with people who spoke another dialect (especially the lower class population of London)
2. its **political usefulness** as an instrument of the growing feeling of English nationalism
3. its **employment at the royal Court**
4. its **use by influential authors** such as Chaucer, Spenser, Sydney and Shakespeare.

3. Elaboration

The **spread of the use of the new standard into ever more domains**, including the Church and the Law, which were previously the preserve of Latin or French.

4. Codification through the education system

At the end of the 17th century grammarians were prescribing the correct language for getting ahead in London society and need emerged to know what it consisted of. Hence the advent of

- **dictionaries** (Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755)
- **grammars** (Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* in 1795)
- **pronouncing dictionaries** (*The English Pronouncing Dictionary* by Daniel Jones in 1917)

But ... grammarians were trying to fix something that was, and is, by its nature, constantly changing, something that is clearly proved by new varieties continuously emerging out of the original form.

Variation in English use

Indeed, whereas **Standard English** represents the general accepted norm, what distinguishes English today from other languages is the wide spectrum of varieties it includes.

Varieties and sociolinguistics

The branch of linguistics that studies the varieties of a language is **sociolinguistics**. **Sociolinguistics**

- describes how social identities are established and maintained in language use,
- examines the languages used by different groups according to different **variables**.

What are **variables in sociolinguistics**?

- **Social variable**
 - Geography
 - Gender
 - Age
 - Class
 - Occupation
 - Race
 - Ethnicity
- **Linguistic variable**
 - Accent
 - Register (novels, recipes etc.)
 - Style (formal, colloquial etc.)
 - Dialect
 - Syntactic pattern (passive, transitive etc.)
 - Word or phrase

The many **varieties of English** can be determined by different social variables relevant to their speakers, e.g.

- geographical origins
- social class
- profession
- gender
- age
- personality
- ethnicity/race

Each of these variables leads to a specific language variety / linguistic code. In particular...

- | <u>Social variables</u> | and | <u>linguistic codes</u> |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| ◦ geographical origins | | <u>regional dialect</u> |
| ◦ social class | | <u>social dialect/sociolect</u> |
| ◦ profession | | <u>jargon</u> |
| ◦ gender | | <u>genderlect</u> |
| ◦ age | | <u>slang</u> |
| ◦ personality/identity | | <u>idiolect</u> |
| ◦ ethnicity/race | | <u>ethnolect</u> |

Regional dialects

For instance, in the British Isles **regional variation** is the most prominent, as in **England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland traditional dialects** exist showing **lexical, morphological, syntactic and phonological differences** from each other and from Standard English.

WALES

- **Wales** is a **bilingual country**: the first language learnt and spoken is (Standard) English; the second language, ancient but alive, is **Welsh**.

IRELAND

- **Irish English (or Hiberno English)**

SCOTLAND

- **Scottish Standard English** = Scottish variety of the Standard
- **Scots** = traditional rural dialects as well as their urban variations
 - Central Scots
 - Southern Scots
 - Northern Scots
 - Island Scots
- **Scottish Gaelic** = a Celtic language related to both Welsh and Irish

Social dialect

The speaker's social background is related to the use of a specific **social dialect/sociolect**, with **certain words, phrases and ways of pronouncing them acting as key class indicators**.

In particular, scholars divide **linguistic usages** into two main groups:

- one labelled **U** (upper-class)
- the other **non-U** (non-upper-class)

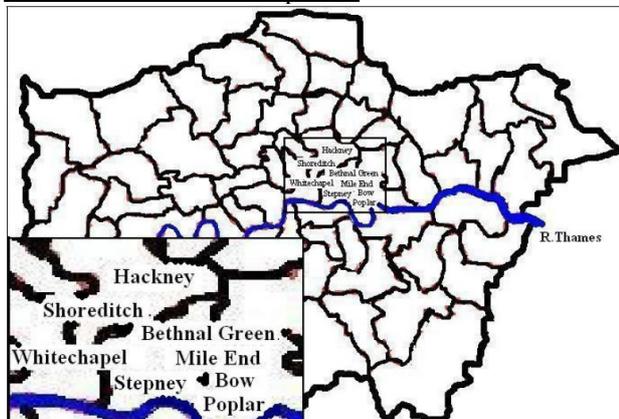
For instance, with regard to what may be classified as **upper-class speech**, some claim that

- it is **U** to say '*interesting*' and '*yesterday*' but **non-U** to say *inte'resting* and *yester'day*
- it is **U** to make *acknowledge* rhyme with *college* but **non-U** to make the second syllable rhyme with *bowl*
- it is **U** to pronounce *spoon* to rhyme with *boon* but **non-U** to make it rhyme with *bun*
- it is **non-U** to pronounce *ride* as if spelt *raid*.

though this sometimes involves oversimplification (if there are social classes at all there are far more than two of them).

Cockney and Cockney Rhyming slang

A peculiar British variety that stands in-between regional dialect and social dialect is **Cockney**: the word "Cockney" is used to **describe a person from London**, and in particular from the East End, **and the dialect he or she speaks**.



According to its traditional definition a **"true" Cockney** is someone born within earshot of the Bow Bells, i.e. the bells in the tower of St. Mary-le-Bow (in Cheapside, in the inner City of London),

commonly but in fact erroneously called Big Ben (Big Ben is not the tower but the largest of its bells). The term *Cockney* underwent many changes in meaning during the centuries:

- ❖ Stage I (14th century) = misshapen egg
- ❖ Stage II (late 14th and 15th century) = pampered, spoilt child
- ❖ Stage III (16th century) = any city dweller of any city as opposed to a countryman
- ❖ Stage IV (17th century) = a Londoner, in particular born within the sound of Bow Bells
- ❖ Stage V (18th century) = Londoners and their dialect

More than a regional dialect, Cockney is considered a class dialect and is generally seen as a mark of low social status and poor education, as the East End originally contained some of the poorest areas of London soon becoming synonymous with poverty, disease and criminality. For a long time this area was the centre of the main workshops of London and many immigrants arrived from every part of the world. Social factors were indeed the catalysts to the formation of the Cockney variety. As many people who spoke Cockney belonged to the working-class, they developed a sense of togetherness against the privileged lives of the upper classes who were superior in education and wealth. And it was because of their minority status that they created a set of words that only those within the Cockney circle would understand, in order to distinguish themselves from the upper classes through language.

With regard to Cockney lexicon, its characteristic vocabulary is **slang**, mainly used in colloquial speech (whose origins date back prevalingly to the 18th century). Cockney slang is rich in words relevant to the underworld of criminals, rogues and their practices as well as (consequently) to taverns and drinks but there are also terms used to replace StE core lexicon. A large group of Cockney **slang** words describe the body: *head = noddle, eyes = peepers, nose = beak, hand = paw, feet = pedestals, guts = puddings*. Miscellaneous nouns presenting points of general interest are: *money = brass, penny = copper-john, flea = gentleman's companion, bedroom = snoring kennel, energy = elbow-greese, food = belly timber*.

One of the most distinguishing features of Cockney is its **rhyming slang**: it works by replacing a word or a phrase with a word or phrase that rhymes with it, e.g. *cat and mouse* meaning "house", *gates of Rome* meaning "home", *no soap* meaning "no hope", *ball of chalk* meaning "walk", *you and me* meaning "tea". The rhyming replacement is often further abbreviated, with the second word being entirely dropped thus making the expression even more obscure to the uninitiated: for instance, *face* would be replaced by *boat* because *face* rhymes with *boat race*; *telephone* would be replaced by *dog* ("I'm at the dog") because *telephone* rhymes with the Cockney Rhyming Slang expression *bog and done*; *daffadown dilly* is the Cockney Rhyming Slang for "silly" and is often used in the shortened form *daffy* (and is the origin of Warner Brother's Daffy Duck).

The origins of Cockney Rhyming Slang are uncertain. One theory is that it originated, in the early Victorian age, in the market place so that the sellers could communicate without the customers knowing what was being said. Another theory says that it originated in the prisons so that inmates could talk without the guards listening in. And a third one says that it was once spoken by the thieves and little criminals of London, a code incomprehensible to the policemen or any eavesdroppers who were not familiar with the slang. The problem in researching its origins is that it was largely a spoken language with very few written records. What is more, if it was a secret code used by traders and thieves, then the secret has been well kept.

The Cockney variety can be found also in many films and books.

In the 1930s Thomas Stearns Eliot wrote a collection of poems about feline psychology and sociology entitled *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, which offered a base for the musical composed by Andrew Lloyd Webber *Cats*, where a pair of notorious cat-burglars, Mungojerrie and Rumpleteazer, speak with a Cockney accent.

In two novels by Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* and *Oliver Twist*, we can find Cockney characters.

The most famous audiovisual product containing Cockney elements is the musical *My Fair Lady* (1964) based upon *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw: the story concerns Eliza Doolittle, a Cockney flower girl who takes speech lessons from prof. Higgins to become a lady. In the musical many Cockney characters speak using Cockney non-standard syntactic features

Doolittle	Home! What do you want to go home for? It's nearly five o'clock, my daughter Eliza'll be along soon. She ought to be good for half a crown for her father <u>what</u> loves her!
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Doolittle	[...] I gave her all that; then I <u>disappears</u> and <u>leaves</u> her on her own to enjoy it. [...]
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Old Cockney woman	Ah! <u>He don't</u> know. Her own father and <u>he don't</u> know. [...]
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In many scenes Cockney accent is compared to Received Pronunciation: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJr9SSJKkII>

Also the Disney animated film *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* (1961) features some Cockney and Cockney rhyming slang expressions used by the two puppy thieves, Jasper and Horace, as can be seen in the following excerpt where the expression *turtledove* is Cockney Rhyming Slang for "love".

Jasper	There they go, Horace, me lad, out for their evening constitutional. A lovely pair of turtledoves . Around the corner and off to the park.
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In the 1973 musical *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, set in London, there are three characters speaking with a Cockney accent: Mrs Lovett, Tobias Ragg and the Beggar Woman: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=su0XtnfH-50>

Cockney is also often used in contemporary British films, such as Guy Ritchie's *The Snatch* (2000) and *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998), translated into Italian as *Lock & Stock. Pazzi scatenati*, set in the East End of London whose protagonists are criminals and penniless men involved in suspicious businesses; an interesting fact is that the United States DVD version comes with a glossary to assist the viewer. Here are some examples of Cockney words and expressions to be found in these two films:

- ❖ *cozzers* = a typical expression used by thieves and criminals to label policemen
- ❖ *nicker* = money
- ❖ *ton* = a hundred pounds
- ❖ *sky rocket* (CRS) = pocket
- ❖ *roger* (CRS) = Roger Melly (a cartoon character) = telly
- ❖ *battle cruiser* (CRS) = boozier = pub
- ❖ *custard* (CRS) = custard and jelly = telly
- ❖ *north* (CRS) = north and south = mouth
- ❖ *Liza* (CRS) = Liza Minnelli = telly
- ❖ *ping-pong* (CRS) = strong
- ❖ *tiddly* (CRS) = tiddlywink = drink
- ❖ *nuclear sub* (CRS) = pub
- ❖ *bird's nest* (CRS) = chest

Also the film *Ocean's Eleven* (2001) contains a piece of made-up rhyming slang, when a character uses "barney" to mean "trouble," derived from rhyming slang *Barney Rubble*, the name of one of the characters of the cartoon *The Flintstones*.

Slang

The speaker's belonging to a specific group, especially one based on age, leads to **slang**.

Slang is

- a type of **sociolect** aimed at excluding certain people from the conversation,
- **group language**, often used within small social groups to establish solidarity and identity within the group,
- adopted to satisfy in particular young people's need for innovative, ever-changing ways of expressions that are cool and trendy
- characterized by a vocabulary that tends towards lexical innovation.

Some examples:

- *flirtationship*
- *insaniac*
- *sagic*
- *baditude*
- *yexting*
- *emoji tennis*
- *spooktacular*
- *couch potato* (i.e. "one who lies around doing little except watch television")
- *chocaholic / cellaholic*

Also **slang** has **subvarieties** deep-rooted in a specific regional area, as is the case with English "**slanguage**", or "**teenage talk**", i.e. the specific terminology used by teenagers in London, particularly productive in idiomatic verbal phrases used as emphasizers and often co-occurring with *be*:

- *to space someone*
- *to pixelize*
- *to be cake*
- *to be a chatterbox*

These **expressions** are rather opaque in meaning and often create difficulty in comprehension, not only for non-native speakers of English, but also for native English-speaking adults, since they are generally **coined and used among groups of teenagers**.

Jargon

Jargon is terminology that relates to a specific

- **activity**
- **profession**
- **group sharing common interests.**

Jargon develops as a kind of informal **shorthand** to **express ideas** frequently discussed **among members of a group** with the effect of **distinguishing those belonging to the group from outsiders**.

Jargon is mainly used in

- **business (BizSpeak)**
- **technical professions**
- **information technology** and the **Internet**
- **the new age community**
- **sports**
- **groups sharing specific interests**
- **groups devoted to specific activities**

As far as **BizSpeak** is concerned, new buzzwords are invented whenever there are changes in business, technology or management trends. Here are some of the latest buzzwords:

- *Bizmeth* – short for "business method".
- *Freemium* – a strategy where the basic version of a product is offered free of charge, in the hope that customers will pay for an upgraded version.
- *Ideation* – the process of creating new ideas.
- *ITL* – short for "invited to leave", i.e. firing someone.

- *Limited bandwidth* – meaning that you do not have the time or resources to undertake an additional task.
- *Move the needle* – make a noticeable increase in outcomes through extra effort.
- *Omnichannel* – marketing through a wide range of channels including traditional paid advertising, social media, and influencers.
- *Trolling the media* – manipulating the media to achieve a desired outcome.
- *Yelling at the cloud* – a meme derived from a long-running gag from *The Simpsons*: it means doing something stupid, pointless and ineffectual.

With regard to the use of jargon within groups with specific interests and devoted to specific activities, one interesting case is represented by the ever-spreading jargon vocabulary used within the New Age community. Some examples:

- *Akashic Records*: a «library» of all events, thoughts, actions and feelings of humankind since the beginning of time, in keeping to the ideology that the soul never ceases to exist and that one soul can inhabit many lifetimes in different bodies, yet the memories are available in the Akashic records.
- *Astral body*: known also as the ethereal body, an invisible duplicate of the physical body, and the core of feeling and desire; it survives death.
- *Astral plane*: known also as the spirit world, other side, and afterlife where most souls exist after death (it is also the dimension where we go during sleep).
- *Aura*: the electromagnetic, glowing field around all living things and that outlines the human body; the auric field holds energy patterns produced by the thoughts of the individual and can be read by those gifted with acute sensory skills aiming at energy healing.
- *Chakras*: the seven centers of energy located on the human body, between the base of the spine and the top of the head; they connect the mind and the body through the aura.
- *Karma*: known also as the law of cause and effect, it is the principle that every action, good or evil, will eventually return to impact a person's life.
- *Mantra*: a Sanskrit word, given to a person at the time of his or her initiation, that helps that person achieve transcendental meditation when chanted repeatedly.
- *Third eye*: located between the eyebrows, the sixth chakra and the center of psychic activity.

Genderlect

The social variable in speech behaviour relevant to the speaker's gender leads to the variety of **genderlect** (see *You just don't understand* and *That's not what I meant!* by Deborah Tannen)

Genderlect refers to the **different lexical and grammatical choices** that are characteristically **made by men and by women.**

It suggests that **masculine and feminine styles of discourse** are best viewed as **two distinct cultural dialects** rather than as inferior or superior ways of speaking, leading to **different linguistic behaviours.**

Girl talk or women's talk is seen as a means for building a sense of belonging to a community and emphasizing community membership. Sharing secrets or informing one's friends of the events related to one's own private life reinforces the relationships among women.

Main features of girl talk:

- frequency of particular evaluative and empty adjectives, e.g. *lovely, sweet, cute...*
- tag phrases: *well, you know, kind of, sort of, I mean...*
- prefacing declarations: *I guess... / I think...*
- prefacing questions: *I wonder if...*
- superpolite forms: *Won't you please... / Would you mind... / If you don't mind...;*

- pet names: *Honey..., Sweetie..*
- euphemisms: *"she is big boned"*
- use of indirect requests: *"Henry, isn't it cold in here?"*

Idiolect

The social variable relevant to the speaker's personality/identity leads to the development of one's own **idiolect**.

Idiolect is

- a **person's individual language**
- the recurrent use of words and expressions adopted as a kind of signature tune,
- and any other features that characterise his/her speech and writing.

Differences in idiolects may include:

- different pronunciations of individual words
- different words for the expression of the same meaning:
 - *excuse me?, I'm sorry?, pardon?, what?;*
 - *hello, hi, wotcher, howdy;*
 - *good health, cheers, down the hatch*

Ethnicity and language

Among the social variables outlined before, the one that most crucially contributes to the dimension of variation in contemporary multilingual/multicultural societies is ethnicity.

Indeed, language is a particularly effective marker of social / ethnic identity.

The strict connection between language and ethnicity is particularly evident in multiethnic environments within which immigrant communities have settled, as the minority groups usually tend to preserve their ethnic minority linguistic code / ethnolect for practical and/or cultural reasons.

Different domains / different linguistic codes

In particular, in multilingual communities different uses of **different linguistic codes** are tied to **different** situations or **domains**, i.e.....the choice of the **code** is mainly determined by the **domain** (e.g. interactional context/emotion/state of mind) in which speakers perceive themselves to be.

Code-switching

This leads us to focus on the theory of code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993), the phenomenon whereby a **bi- or multilingual speaker** shifts from one language to another in the course of a conversation, in a way in which languages can be effectively used to

- signal ethnic identity,
- reaffirm social bonds and
- appeal to ethnic group obligations.

Code-switching is intended as a conversational strategy that serves specific interactional tasks for the participants, in particular in multiethnic/multilingual communities that are the most visible manifestations of **intracultural and intralinguistic interactions**.

Indeed, when discussing **an individual's ability to speak more than one language** (that is to say, another language besides his **native language**, also known as his **vernacular** or **mother tongue** - and sometimes referred to as **L1**) we generally use the terms **bilingual** or **multilingual**.

We can use the term **multilingual** also to talk about whole **communities in which two languages are commonly spoken by most people**: **multilingual communities** include (for instance):

- Italo-Americans
- French Canadians
- American Hispanics
- Greek-Americans

- Asian-Americans
- Asian-British etc.

It is also necessary to point out that many people learn another language later in life, to the point at which they become fluent in this L2 language such people are defined as **compound bilinguals**.

Some other people are born into families in which two or more languages are spoken routinely and they develop both languages equally as vernaculars such people are defined as **co-ordinate bilinguals**.

Many people with this ability associate each language with different domains and will associate each code-choice with specific situations and emotions. In particular...

In **bilingual-multilingual immigrant communities**, languages are associated with different values and identities and the ethnic/immigrant speakers often shift, in the course of a conversation, from

- the **ethnic-specific, minority language** = the "**we-code**" associated with in-group activities and used in informal interactions mainly to refer to their socio-cultural background heritage

to

- the **majority language** = the "**they-code**" associated with more formal and less personal out-group relations.

Code-switching and multilingual discourse practices in multilingual films

The **language alternation practices (as code-switching)** pervading contemporary **multicultural societies** are clearly illustrated in **multicultural/multilingual films**, whose fictional worlds

- mirror real-life multiethnic (immigrant) communities
- capture the centrality of their **multilingual speech patterns**.

Indeed, in **polyglot films**, the **linguistic otherness** distinctive of **real-life cross-cultural encounters** represents a key element and **code-switching** stands out as a dynamic conversational strategy in **negotiating and re-negotiating identities** in **intercultural and interlinguistic scenarios** within which

- **ideological integration is mainly realized by linguistic devices**
- **otherness is embraced**
- **linguacultural differences are overcome**.

Different **types of code-switching** are enacted when speakers belonging to different ethnic groups interact with each other, with the main aim of structuring specific

- family
- in-group
- out-group relations.

In particular, **three main types of code-switching** are used in multilingual discourse practices (Myers-Scotton, 1993):

- **Turn-specific code-switching**
- **Intersentential code-switching**
- **Intrasentential code-switching**

Turn-specific codeswitching, i.e. switching occurs between the turns of different speakers in the conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993:4)

Spanglish

Waitress	Excuse me. Uh, those men would like to buy you a drink.	Scusatemi. Em, ci sono dei signori che vorrebbero offrirvi da bere.
Flor	[Spanish : ¿Qué?]	[Spanish : ¿Qué?]
Waitress	((points at someone)) Those.	((points at someone)) Quelli.
Cristina	[Spanish : Nos quieren comprar algo de tomar.]	[Spanish : Nos quieren comprar algo de tomar.]

Cristina to men	Thank you!	Grazie!
Flor	[Spanish: <i>No, gracias.</i>]	[Spanish: <i>No, gracias.</i>]
Waitress	Okay.	Va bene.

Intersentential codeswitching, i.e. switching occurs between sentences within a single turn.

Coco

Abuelita (to Miguel)	¡Ay, Dios mío! Being part of this family means being here for this family. [...]	
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Mamá Imelda	<i>Oh, mi familia!</i> They wouldn't let me cross the bridge! [...]	
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Miguel	No, no, no, no, no, Dante stop! <i>Cállate!</i> Shhh!	
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Woman	<i>Bienvenidos a todos!</i> Who's ready for some <i>música</i> ?	
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Ae Fond Kiss

Casim to Amar	<i>Punjabi</i> Are you doing okay?	Ciao! (Hello)
Amar	Fine.	Ciao! (Hello)

Bend it like Beckham

Jess	No, it's too tight. I want it looser.	È troppo stretto. Lo voglio comodo.
Mrs Bhamra	Dressed in a sack, who's going to notice you, huh? <i>Punjabi</i> .	Se ti metti un sacco, quale ragazzo ti noterà? <i>Punjabi</i>

Intra-sentential codeswitching, i.e. switching occurs within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level.

Encanto

Julieta	<i>Corazon</i> , remember, you have nothing to prove.	
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Coco

Abuelita	Aw, you're a twig, <i>mijo</i> . Have some more.	
----------	--	--

Departures agent	No photo on an <i>ofrenda</i> , no crossing the bridge.	
------------------	---	--

My big fat Greek wedding

Voula	Somebody gave me the <i>mati</i> .	Qualcuno mi ha fatto il <i>malocchio</i> .
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Toula	So, for 'Happy Easter' we say <i>Christos Anesti</i> . Then the other person says back <i>Alithos Anesti</i> . So if you want to say 'Happy Easter', you go, <i>Christos Anesti</i> . So try it.	Allora, per 'Buona Pasqua' noi diciamo <i>Christos Anesti</i> . E l'altra persona risponde <i>Alithos Anesti</i> . Perciò se vuoi dire 'Buona Pasqua' dici <i>Christos Anesti</i> . Prova.
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Examples of code-switching in *Coco*:

https://youtube.com/watch?v=0hYh_rNDJ5c&feature=shared

Code-switching is increasingly to be recognized in many contemporary multilingual **animated films**

- offering **deep sociolinguistic insights** into **non-dominant populations and cultures** otherwise quite voiceless in mainstream audiovisual media (e.g. **Asian, African, Mexican, Colombian, Hawaiian, Polynesian, Inuit, Chinese, Japanese, Scandinavian**, among the others),
- whose **linguacultural richness** is effectively displayed on the screen by the **characters' native languages**, acting as vital symbols of **their ethnically diverse identity**.

In these films, **code-switching** is used to refer to the non-dominant cultures' ethnographic references quoted through their native languages, or **L3s** (i.e. third languages),

- at centre stage both in the verbal-acoustic code, i.e. dialogues and songs' lyrics, and in the verbal-visual code, written elements on the screen,
- and acting as crucial elements to convey linguacultural information worldwide.

Mexican linguacultural traditions are extensively referred to in films set in Mexico: in *Puss in Boots. The Last Wish*, for instance, Puss welcomes the guests at his *fiesta*, i.e. party, "Welcome to my *fiesta!*" and Kitty mentions *quinceañera*, i.e. a celebration of a girl's 15th birthday very popular throughout Latin America, "I wish I had my *quinceañera* here."; and *Coco* is rich with such L3 cultural words as *huaraches*, i.e. typical Mexican shoes manufactured, in the film, by Miguel's family, "You'll craft *huaraches* just like *tía* Victoria." and *mariachi/mariachis*, i.e. Mexican musicians playing Mexican folk music, "I know your tricks, *mariachi*."

Also ethnic food specialties are referred to with their original L3 appealing names, making the audiences fully 'savour' their original (also linguistic) taste, and authentically conveying the symbolical values they are imbued with. In *Frozen*, set in Norway, Oaken apologizes to Anna for his aggressive behavior offering her *Lutefisk*, i.e. dried stockfish, a Scandinavian specialty part of the Christmas feast and typically offered to family and community members to strengthen the sense of in-group-belonging, "I'm sorry about this violence. I will add a quart of *lutefisk*, so we'll have good feelings."; in *Raya and the Last Dragon*, set in the land of Kumandra, inspired by real Southeast Asian countries, Southeast Asian food acts as a powerful metaphor for trust and friendship and recurrent references are made to *congee*, a rice porridge eaten in East Asian countries as a comfort food, to be consumed with family members and friends, "We got *congee*. We got a shrimp *congee* that won't quit.". Mexican dishes and their sociocultural implications are put at centre stage in *Coco*, with L3 references to *churros*, traditionally offered to the deceased members of one's family to welcome their return from the Land of the Dead on *Día de Muertos*, "Some *churros* from my family.". Similarly in *Brave*, set in Medieval Scotland, traditional Scottish specialties are an integral part of family life, as seen when, during a family dinner, Elinor, Merida's mother, reproaches her triplets for playing with their *haggis*, i.e. Scotland national dish, "Boys, you're naughty! Don't just play with your *haggis!*". With regard to L3 ethnic food terms in songs' lyrics, in *Aladdin*, set in Agrabah, a legendary Middle Eastern town inspired by Baghdad, the Turkish term *baklava* is used in a song sung by the Genie while offering slices of this typical Turkish sweet pastry to Aladdin, "How about a little more *baklava?*".

Code-switching is used also when L3 references to the religious sphere plunge the audience in the religious traditions typical of the non-dominant cultures portrayed on the screen. *Coco* is pervaded by L3/Spanish references to the religious festival commemorating the deceased of *Día de los Muertos* as its name itself, the term *ofrenda*, i.e. the home altar specifically set up by Mexican families to place the offers for their deceased relatives, "*Día de los Muertos* is the one night of the year our ancestors can come visit us. We've put their photos on the *ofrenda* so their spirits can cross over.", and *alebrije/alebrijes*, legendary spirit creatures helping the souls in their journey to the afterworld, "Real *alebrijes!* [...] They guide souls on their journey.". L3 references to religion and spirituality are to be found also in mantras and chants, further plunging viewers worldwide in the specific ethnocultural background represented on the screen. In *Turning Red*, praised for its attention to detail in representing Chinese traditions, two key sequences feature a Cantonese protection chant, specifically created for the film by a native speaker out of inspiration from Taoist chants that monks

would do in Taoist temples, and performed by Mei Lee’s family members to free her from the curse to turn into a giant red panda when she gets emotional.

L3 geographical references are used in instances of code-switching to linguistically display the local distinctiveness of the countries in which the films are set, thus also increasing the viewers’ knowledge of their linguistic expressions. In *Coco*, the Spanish term *plaza*, i.e. “square”, is used to refer both to the main square in Miguel’s village, *Mariachi Plaza*, and to the square in the Land of the Dead, *Plaza de la Cruz*, thus highlighting the belief that the real world and the afterworld are two parallel dimensions.

The previous excerpts show that the presence of language alternation phenomena as code-switching and of L3s in multilingual animated films focusing on non-dominant cultures acts as a gateway in terms of translingual/transcultural transmission, allows the viewers to fully savour the minorities’ ethnolinguistic Otherness, accompanying them in immersive journeys in the fascinating realms of their native languages, used as crucial educational channels of ethnocultural recollections worldwide (cf. Monti 2023, 2024).

How is code-switching used in multiethnic immigrant contexts?

In **multiethnic contexts of interaction linguistic identities** are constantly open to renegotiation, reconstruction and reinterpretation especially when **immigrant communities** are at stake.

Indeed, within **immigrant families** different generation speech patterns can be recognized. In particular...

- **first-generation immigrants**
 - carefully cultivate their background cultural values passing them on from one generation to another through language
 - and tend to maintain their mother tongue / we-code in their conversational exchanges both with family members and with the members of their ethnic community, as the main emblem of their ethnic identity, as the language of home and family values (as opposed to English, seen as the language of work/practical issues).
- **second-generation immigrants**, often subjected to the suffocating aspects of their parents’ cultural expectations
 - find themselves constantly negotiating between their allegiance to their parents’ native culture/language and the culture/language of their adopted home
 - live a phase of transition which involves an inevitable adjustment and reworking of socio-cultural, ethnic as well as linguistic identities,
 - and engage in double linguistic identity practices simultaneously, moving from one identity to the other also from the linguistic point of view.

This can be observed in the film *Ae Fond Kiss*, where **Casim’s** moral, cultural and linguistic **dilemma** is mirrored by his recurrent use of intra-sentential code-switching when talking to Roisin, in particular when he compares her first to a *khotee* (a butterfly) and then to a *durdou* (a frog), two Punjabi lexical items commonly used as pet names.

Casim	You are a <i>khotee</i>
Roisin	A “ <i>khotee</i> ”? Is that a compliment?
Casim	A lovely little <i>khotee</i>
Roisin	Ah--...
Casim	Do you know what you are?
Roisin	What?..
Casim	A <i>durdou</i>

Roisin	"Durdou"? What's that?
Casim	Frog.

Code-switching and gender

In immigrant multiethnic/multilingual communities the we-code tends to be used mostly by **women**, thus proving **code-switching among 1st-generation immigrants** to be also often **gender-related**.

Indeed, **autonomisation of migrant communities** and their recourse to a social structure based on the models offered by the home culture allow members who do not have to maintain close links with the host society (e.g. **housewives**) to develop **minimal skills in the majority language**.

As **women's** central position in the family imposes the extensive usage of their **native language as the privileged code for daily conversation**, they generally assign themselves the role of **guardians of home language retention and use within both nuclear and extended families**.

This can be observed, in *Ae Fond Kiss*, when Amar and Rukhsana announce their marriage to Casim and **Mrs Khan** always uses **Punjabi**, by means of turn-specific code-switching, even though the conversation is entirely carried out in English by the other speakers:

Mrs Khan to Rukhsana	[Punjabi : Tell him the good news.]
Casim	What happened?
Rukhsana	Tried to phone you so many times but your mobile was off or something, I don't know and... guess what?
Casim	What?
Rukhsana to Amar	You tell him
Mrs Khan	[Punjabi : Tell him the news]
Casim	Mom!
Amar to Rukhsana	I think you should tell him.
Rukhsana	You tell him!
Amar	No, you tell him!
Mrs Khan to Rukhsana	[Punjabi : Tell him!]

This non-reciprocal language use can be observed in specific interactional contexts:

- = **family conversations** : both 1st generations and 2nd generations use their we-code as the language of the emotional sphere in private contexts, where the most intimate feelings are disclosed.

This can be observed in *Ae Fond Kiss* when Casim finds the courage to tell his mother that he cannot marry Jasmine as he is in love with an Irish girl, Roisin. This is a real **confession** taking place in an intimate setting: both **Mrs Khan** and Casim use **Punjabi**, the language of the heart.

Mrs Khan	[Punjabi : You know what your father is like. Tell me what's wrong with you. You haven't spoken to me for months. Won't you tell your mom?]
Casim	[Punjabi : She speaks the truth.] (referring to Tahara)
Mrs Khan	[Punjabi : What truth? You tell me.]
Casim	[Punjabi : I can't do it.]

Mrs Khan	[Punjabi: <i>What?</i>]
Casim	[Punjabi: <i>I know you're preparing things for me.</i>]
Mrs Khan	[Punjabi: <i>What can't you do?</i>]
Casim	[Punjabi]
Mrs Khan	[Punjabi]
Casim	[Punjabi: <i>I can't get married.</i>]

- **generational conflicts**: they are almost always linguistically represented by different uses of “we-code” and “they-code” parents use the we-code mainly to express anger and disappointment when their sons/daughters break home tradition rules that they should instead respect. This can be seen, in *Bend it Like Beckham*, when **Jess** quarrels with her **mother**, Mrs Bhamra, who often uses **Punjabi** in an attempt to strengthen her power over her daughter, as she considers her “we-code” as the symbol of the respect Jess should still have for her family traditions and principles, that she instead bends in thinking only about her career in football instead of
 - completing school
 - learning how to prepare a full Punjabi dinner
 - marrying a proper Indian suitor, as all good and dutiful Pakistani girls do.

Verbal conflict occurs for instance when **Mrs Bhamra** finds a pair of football shoes in her daughter’s bag and expresses her annoyance switching from English to Punjabi by means of **inter-sentential code-switching**: In this case **Western** and **Indian** traditions are clearly counterposed through references to two of their typical symbols: **football shoes vs sari**

Mrs Bhamra	These don't even have a heel! How will they fall nicely with your sari?
Jess	I'll take them back. Give me the bag!
Mrs Bhamra	((Opening the bag)) Football shoes! [Punjabi]

Code-switching in multiethnic societies on and off the screen

As observed so far, **code-switching** proves to be a crucial communicative means of creating and negotiating identities in interaction. Whereas in immigrant communities it mainly functions as the **linguistic correlative** of the **cultural clash** between first- and second-generation immigrants, in multiethnic societies at large code-switching becomes relevant as a **socio-linguistic index for displaying, and ascribing, (double) identities in interaction** (Auer 2007). This is particularly to be observed when, in multilingual/multicultural films authentically portraying real-life multilingual/multicultural discourse practices, the bilingual (often immigrant) ethnic protagonists regularly use **code-switching**

- from the **they-code**, i.e. the language of the host society
- to the **we-code**, i.e. their mother tongue (Myers-Scotton 1993)

to refer to their **background heritage ethnocultural specifics**, in order to **build and maintain the intercultural relationships they are involved in**.

These **culture-specific terms**, also referred to as culture-bound references (Pedersen 2005) or extralinguistic culture-bound references (Díaz Cintas 2007), are especially relevant to

- **material, social and ethnolinguistic customs**
- **forms of address, pet names, greetings and formulaic expressions**
- **religious and spiritual traditions**
- **places and geographical landmarks**
- **food and local products...**

Their use, both on and off the screen, in instances of turn-specific, intersentential and (especially) intrasentential code-switching,

- crucially aims at authentically representing multiethnic communities' ethnolinguistic Otherness
- establishes a specific transethnic and translinguistic common ground within which different cultural and linguistic traditions merge
- leads to continuous processes of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic mediation, re-mediation and transmission.

Material and social culture

A category of cultural specifics often referred to in multilingual interactions regards ethnic traditions, cultural beliefs and moral principles,

- mentioned with their original names
- often explained by the ethnic/immigrant characters using English as a meta-language during interactions with people from other nationalities
- with the main aim of bringing their different worlds closer together.

This can be seen in the film *The Mistress of Spices* when Tilo, the owner of an Indian spice bazaar in San Francisco, explains one of her American clients that the Indian ceremonial art form called *mehndi* is typically done on brides during weddings.

Myisha	Do you know how to do this? My girlfriend says it's an Indian thing
Tilo	<i>Mehndi</i> . When are you getting married?
Myisha	What's that got to do with anything?
Tilo	<i>Mehndi</i> is normally done on brides

As far as **moral values** are concerned, both versions of *Ae Fond Kiss* include the Punjabi words *izzat* and *zakah* used by Rukhsana and Casim when explaining the meaning of these Pakistani principles to Casim's Glaswegian girlfriend Roisin.

Rukhsana	[...] See, we have this concept called, ehm, <i>izzat</i> , which I guess is family honour, and that's really important to-to people. [...]
----------	---

Casim	Exactly. There's still so much I'm proud of. D'you know what <i>zakah</i> means?
Roisin	((shakes her head))
Casim	It's when you give a percentage of your income to the poor. [...]

Forms of address and greetings

Also **culture-specific forms of address, pet names, honorifics and greetings** are used within cross-cultural relationships to shorten ethnolinguistic distances.

For instance, the Arabic term *sahib*, i.e. "holder, master, owner", commonly employed to address a man in a position of authority, is frequently used in *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* by Pravesh to express his social deference to Graham, newly arrived from Britain.

Graham	This can't be right, surely?
Pravesh	I am thinking so, <i>sahib</i> .

Greetings

Culture-specific greetings represent another category of cultural specifics regularly used

- to reinforce the ethnic/immigrant characters' sense of belonging to the same background community
- to facilitate cross-cultural relationships.

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- to facilitate cross-cultural relationships.

As far as **greetings entailing a spiritual import** are concerned, the Sanskrit respectful form *Namastè*, i.e. "I bow to you", is often to be found in *The Hundred-Foot Journey* when used by Indian characters to address French characters, and in *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* when Indian and British characters greet each other.

In *Spanglish*, the traditional Spanish greetings *Hola* and *Buenos días* are often adopted by John and his daughter Bernice to address Flor as the linguistic correlative of their desire to overcome the barriers initially separating them from Flor and to make Flor feel at ease (or we could say 'at home') in their WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant) environment.

Culture-specific greetings are often used to **overcome ethnolinguistic distance in cross-cultural relationships** as in *Eat Pray Love* when Felipe addresses Liz with *oi*, the Portuguese equivalent of "Hello".

Formulaic expressions, interjections

Another category of culture-bound references whose sociolinguistic peculiarities are always preserved in cross-cultural interactions is represented by formulaic expressions, exclamations and interjections.

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* many typical Greek phrases are used both for emotional manifestations and for celebrations when Greek and American characters interact such as *opa*, i.e. a cheer of joy, and *yia sou* i.e. "health to you".

In *Eat Pray Love* Felipe often addresses Liz using the Portuguese expression *ta bom*, an equivalent of "All right, okay".

Religion and the spiritual sphere

Also **culture-specific references to the religious and spiritual sphere** are commonly used, as we can see in *Eat Pray Love*: when Liz arrives at the *guru's* sanctuary in India and she is shown the *ashram*, the *guru's* devotee uses the Hindu word *seva*, i.e. selfless work performed without any thought of reward.

Man	Change into your work clothes. I'll take you to your <i>seva</i> . It's a Hindu word for "selfless devotional work".
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In *My Bollywood Bride*, Reena refers to "destiny" using the Sanskrit form *karma*...

Reena	I'd say if meeting me was predestined by your karma that would mean it was my <i>karma</i> as well.
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...a term that Alex himself then uses thus building a linguistic and ideological bridge between their two worlds only apparently far apart.

Alex	<i>Karma</i> , destiny... before Reena I'd never thought on these terms
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Geographical references

Another type of **culture-bound terms** often used to **overcome ethnolinguistic barriers** is represented by **references to geographical landmarks, historic sites and places of worship**.

In *Spanglish*, Deborah Clasky mentions the *barrio*, i.e. “district”, referring to Carbon Beach where her family owns a summer house, and she uses Flor’s ‘language of the heart’ to convince her to live with them there working as a full-time house-keeper.

Deborah	Oh come on, it’s... there’s no buses from her to here. There’s no question. Double come on. The <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, the <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach
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In *Eat Pray Love*, when Felipe shows Liz a religious temple in Bali, he uses its original name, *Pura Melanting*, to further plunge the American woman into the magical Indonesian atmosphere.

Felipe	It’s beautiful, no? It’s <i>Pura Melanting</i> , which means “temple of prosperity”.
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Linguistic flavours of ethnic food across cultures

Also **ethnographic references to traditional food** are used in multilingual/multicultural interactions illustrate the key role ethnic food plays

- not only as a powerful marker of ethnic belonging and, therefore, of sociocultural differentiation,
- but also as an important means to **reconcile the clash between two cultures**, creating **affective bonds across cultural and linguistic difference**.

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, Toula’s great-grandmother, who has never really integrated in the Western world and rarely speaks throughout the whole film, is often portrayed in the act of offering *spanakopita*, as when, during a party at the American high-school attended by her great-granddaughter Paris, she introduces herself to everybody uttering nothing else but the word “*Spanakopita!*” while giving out slices of this typical Greek pie, in order to honour her Greek heritage and to impose it within an all-American context

In *The Hundred-Foot Journey* the **function ethnic food has of blending both cultures and languages** is clear: here food brings people together, it unites two seemingly unequivocally different cultural systems as the French and the Indian ones also from the linguistic point of view.

Food critic 1	While it’s only been a few months since my last visit, I was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of coriander, fenugreek and <i>masala</i>
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Food critic 2	...glutinous sauce resonant of <i>tandoori</i> and this was a surprising triumph...
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The process of **culinary-cultural-linguistic integration** is mainly carried on by Hassan, transforming French cuisine and creating unusual but tasty combinations with his introduction of **Indian spices**, whose **original names are always perfectly amalgamated in the English/Italian utterances**.

Another film that extensively celebrates the intermingling of two cultures/languages as figuratively allowed by **mentioning ethnic food** is *The Mistress of Spices*, where **Tilo**

- feeds her American customers’ needs with the help of her magical Indian spices
- thus also bridging the gap between the complex culinary science of India and the American fast-food consumption culture.

Tilo	He was nervous that day so I just gave him some <i>brahmi</i> leaves to chew.
------	---

Tilo	<i>Chandan</i> , the powder of the sandalwood tree, that relieves the pain of remembering.
------	--

Tilo	What does Haroun need? <i>Kalo jire</i> , black cumin seeds, protection against the evil eye.
------	---

Ethnic food in intercultural and interlingual relationships

Ethnic specialties and their original names are also seen as perfect vehicles for emotional manifestations as intercultural passions find shape in tasting food typically belonging to the partner’s culinary traditions.

In *Ae Fond Kiss* Casim offers Roisin some *glab jamin*, a popular dessert in India and Pakistan, in the attempt to assimilate her into his own Pakistani cultural heritage teaching her something of his own foodways also from the linguistic point of view.

Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Glab jammin</i> .
Casim	No, <i>glab jamin</i> and ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Jamin</i> , thanks very much. What is it?
Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice cream.

In *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, Hassan tells Marguerite that his favourite dish is *jalebi*, adding that it reminds him of his mother, thus pointing out that food really represents cultural, and linguistic, memories of the heart.

Marguerite	What's your favorite dish to cook?
Hassan	<i>Jalebi</i> .
Marguerite	What is that?
Hassan	Fermented dal and flour, deep fried... The smell reminds me of my mother.

In *Eat Pray Love*, Felipe offers Liz *rambutan*, i.e. a Malay-Indonesian term referring to fruits from Southeastern Asia similar to lychees:

Felipe	These are <i>rambutan</i> . They're delicious. It's like an orange made love to a plum. Would you like some?
--------	--

As these exotic fruits are unknown in the Western countries and Liz has never heard their name, Felipe tries to explain how they taste using a simile that has amorous connotations, thus projecting on food the love expectations he has of the woman.

Similarly, in *The Mistress of Spices*, when Doug goes back to Tilo after his mother's death, she offers him *nimbu pani*, a drink traditionally used in Indian medicine to calm one's nerves, whose healing power is assimilated to the healing power ascribed to love itself.

As observed so far, the use of code-switching on the screen thoroughly **re-creates the transcultural interactional dynamics** to be daily observed in contemporary **real-life multiethnic scenarios**...communicating **transnational linguistic identities** in **never-ending processes of linguacultural negotiations, mediations and re-mediations**.

From code-switching to new, hybrid language varieties

In investigating the dimension of variation in contemporary English, what emerges is the amount of language mixing and the number of mixed (hybrid) varieties involving English spoken worldwide.

Linguists commonly believe that mixed languages evolve from persistent code-switching, in particular with younger generations adopting code-switching but not necessarily the source languages from which it stems.

In today multiethnic environments, there is often a tendency for immigrant/ethnic people to mix English with their mother tongue to form a hybrid variety with unique linguistic features. The formula X [language name] + English, indicating a variety combining elements of both languages at stake, has produced blends in many different countries, like

- Spanglish = Spanish + English
- Hinglish = Hindi + English
- Chinglish = Chinese + English
- Japlish / Japanglish = Japanese + English
- Poglish/Polglish /Ponglish = Polish + English
- Denglisch: Deutsch + English (it mainly refers to the increased use of anglicisms and pseudo-anglicisms in German)
- Danglish: Danish + English (used in both speech and writing)
- Dunglish: Dutch + English
- Finglish: Finnish + English
- Franglais: Français + Anglais (originally it referred to the overemployment of English words by French speakers and then to diglossia or to a colloquial mixture of French and English)
- Hunglish: Hungarian + English
- Italianglish: Italian + English, also known as *Itanglese*, *Italgish*, *Anglitaliano* or (in the UK) as *Britalian* (it refers to various hybrid varieties of language based on Italian and English)
- Maltenglish / Manglish / Minglish: Maltese + English (also known as Maltese English)
- Porglish / Portugish: Portuguese + English
- Portuñol (Spanish spelling) or Portunhol (Portuguese spelling) is a blend of the words *portugués/português* ("Portuguese") and *español/espanhol* ("Spanish"), and is the name assigned to any non-systematic mixture of Portuguese and Spanish. It is a hybrid language spoken in border regions between Spain and Portugal, as well as in South America between Brazil and Spanish-speaking countries such as Uruguay and Paraguay
- Runglish / Ruslish / Russlish: Russian + English (also defined as Russian English, common among Russian people speaking English as a second language and mainly spoken in post-Soviet States).
- Siculish: Sicilian + English (the informal "Sicilianization" of English words and phrases by immigrants from Sicily to the USA in the early 20th century)
- Svorsk: *svensk(a)* 'Swedish' + *norsk(a)* 'Norwegian' (a mixture of the Swedish and Norwegian languages)
- Swenglish: Swedish + English (the use of English influenced by Swedish in terms of pronunciation, lexicon, grammar)

And there are also other well-known and widely used ethnolinguistic varieties such as Multicultural London English, London Jamaican, African American Vernacular English resulting from language contact.

SPANGLISH

Spanglish, also known as "espanGLISH" or "engliñol" (Lipski 2004), is a hybrid of Spanish and English. Spanglish is above all an oral form within which parts of the two languages are mingled and spoken together. It is used in many regions of the United States with large Spanish-speaking communities, especially along the border between the United States and Mexico, as well as in some

parts of Spain and Latin America where there is a great deal of cultural mixing between English and Spanish speakers. This sociocultural hybridity is crucially reflected in language use and in language combination. Spanglish is indeed currently considered a hybrid language practice by linguists who sometimes refer to it as Spanish-English code-switching, though there is some influence of borrowing and lexical and grammatical shift as well leading Spanglish to be a blend of both lexicon and grammar of the two languages.

Speakers of Spanglish may be able to communicate in both English and Spanish, but they choose to speak the languages concurrently, following cultural norms in which the two languages are merged. English speakers may pepper their sentences with Spanish words or Spanish-isms, while Spanish speakers may occasionally drop in words in English. Spanglish speakers may apply Spanish grammar rules to English vocabulary and common Spanglish phrases may incorporate both English and Spanish words to create a unique meaning.

These practices are especially common among children of immigrants who feel more comfortable in English and sometimes struggle to think of the correct Spanish word to use.

The attitudes people have towards Spanglish is controversial. Some scholars say that Spanglish is "A type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression..." (Lipski 2004), that "Spanglish has been interpreted just a deformed and corrupted Spanish" (Zentella, 1997), an "invasion of Spanish by English" (Lipski, 2004), a form weakening both Spanish and English, and even a sign of poor education. On the other hand, defenders of Spanglish consider it first of all a form of identity, the positive result of the encounter of different languages, a blend of English and Spanish that has allowed people to bridge linguacultural gaps, especially in border communities.

This overcoming linguacultural barriers is proved by the fact that speakers of Spanglish may also use made-up words, Hispanicizing common English words with the addition of familiar Spanish suffixes. Combining Spanish and English gives: new verbs such as *parquear* (to park), *emailear* (to email), *twittear* (to twit) according to the use of the productive Spanish verb-making suffix *-ear* attached to an English verb; new nouns such as *carpeta* (carpet), *marketa* (market); new adverbs such as *actualmente* (actually).

False cognates are also common, which can be confusing to native Spanish speakers as they may see familiar words used in unusual ways which are sometimes accidentally amusing. *Embarazada*, for example, is a Spanish word meaning "pregnant" which sounds and looks like the English word for "embarrassed," and Spanglish speakers may make puns on this similarity.

Spanglish is today extensively used also in advertising. This is a consequence of the fact that Hispanics often use Spanglish as a bonding mechanism (Nueliep 2003) and that also marketers have become increasingly aware of the need to connect with multigenerational Hispanic communities by blending Spanish and English in their commercials. This is something to be recognized in the marketing campaigns by such companies as Taco Bell (Find out what it means to *live más*), McDonald's (Sweet tea. Only \$1. *Muy Frio*; *Refréscate*. Sweet Teas o *Refrescos*) and Dr. Pepper (23 *sabores* blended into one extraordinary taste).

To clearly distinguish code-switching English-Spanish from Spanglish we can consider two advertisements in particular.

The first one, Wells Fargo's "First Paycheck", is a good example of code-switching operationalized in a commercial. (<https://www.ispot.tv/ad/70zc/wells-fargo-first-paycheck>)

"Hola todos...I got my first paycheck today!" In the opening, the central character transitions from English to Spanish as she walks into her home, sharing the news of this personal milestone with her family. She continues to switch from English to Spanish in her conversations with her father, brother and grandmother, who also speaks in both Spanish and English in the commercial. This is code-switching operationalized: that natural transition between languages by a single person that is done effortlessly.

The Wendy's "Mucho Mejor" campaign is the closest example of an ad that uses Spanglish. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzLqs6rTvzs>) The Mucho Mejor campaign features a Hispanic family, the Rojos, who embrace both American culture and their Hispanic roots. Roslyn

Rojos and her non-Hispanic boyfriend bond over Wendy's pretzel bacon cheeseburgers. The young couple are at either pole of the language spectrum in this ad: Roslyn describes her burger in Spanish, while her boyfriend describes his burger in English. Her boyfriend finishes his description of their burgers with his Spanglish phrase "pretzelicioso," a hybrid between the English word "pretzel", and the Spanish word "delicioso", which translates to delicious in English. While the commercial is mostly bilingual, the phrase "pretzelicioso" is neither English nor Spanish but rather Spanglish. Generally speaking we can therefore observe that language plays a central role in the new social hybridity processes characterizing contemporary societies and that Spanglish is one of the linguistic icons of language hybridity reflecting today continuous hybrid ethnocultural dynamics.

HINGLISH

The phenomenon of code-switching as applied to switching from Hindi into English and viceversa has led to the birth of a new variety called *Hinglish*, a blend of the words *Hindi* and *English*, which refers to a **hybrid mix of Hindi** (the official language of India) and **English** (an associate official language of India) within conversations, individual sentences and even words.

Though the name Hinglish is based on the Hindi language, it does not refer exclusively to Hindi, but it is used

- in India, with English words blending with Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi,
- in the Indian diaspora
- and in British Asian families to enliven standard English
- in Bollywood movies with movie characters constantly switching between English and Hindi, sometimes even in the middle of a sentence.

Some examples: "She was *bhunnoing* the *masalas ju* phone *ki ghuntee bugee*" that means 'She was frying the spices when the phone rang.'; "ek minute" = 'I'll be with you in one minute'; "kya problem hai?" = *What's the problem?*

Hinglish

- is spoken nowadays by upwards of 350 million young, middle-class people in urban areas of India
- is gaining increasingly popularity as a way of speaking that demonstrates you are modern, yet locally grounded
- is now the fastest-growing slangy language in the country.

So much so, in fact, that **multinational corporations** have increasingly in this century chosen to use **Hinglish** in their ads:

- a **McDonald's** campaign in 2004 had as its slogan 'What your *bahana* is?' (What's your excuse?)
- **Sunsilk** advertises a shampoo saying "Come on girls, *waqt hai shine karne ka!* (Come on girls, it's time to shine!)
- **Coke** had its own Hinglish strapline: 'Life *ho to aisi!* (Life should be like this)
- **Pepsi's** slogan 'Yeh Dil *Maange More!* (The heart wants more!) is a Hinglish version of its international "Ask for more!" campaign
- **Domino's Pizza**, which offers Indian curiosities such as the chicken tikka pizza, asks its customers "*Hungry kya?*" (Are you hungry?)
- **Chupa Chups** announces: *Fun Ko Seriously Lo* = Take Fun Seriously
- **Mc Donalds** invites customers: *Hamaari treat. McDonald's aaye aur enjoy kare* = Our treat. Come to McDonald's and enjoy

The ads featured above illustrate another influence of English, i.e. "Romanization", the writing in roman letters of a language that uses a different script (such as Punjabi or Hindi). Romanization is extensively used in India by multinational companies in their advertising, as it has become an easy way to reach a larger number of consumers that may understand Hindi but are not able to read its script, such as native speakers of another Indian language or those who have been educated in another country.

DENGLISH

German has borrowed many words English and English has borrowed many words from German but *Denglish* is a slightly different matter. This is the mashing of words from the two languages to create new hybrid words, particularly to be recognized in contemporary global culture.

Five different definitions have been assigned to Denglish (or Denglisch):

- The use of English words in German, with an attempt to incorporate them into German grammar. Examples: *Downloaden* (from to download), as in "*ich habe den File gedownloadet/downgeloadet*", or the English words "meeting" and "consultants" as used in "*Heute haben wir ein Meeting mit den Consultants.**"
- The (excessive) use of English words, phrases, or slogans in German advertising, e.g. a German magazine ad for the German airline Lufthansa displays the slogan: "There's no better way to fly."
- The (bad) influences of English spelling and punctuation on German spelling and punctuation. One example is the incorrect use of an apostrophe in German possessive forms, as in *Karl's Schnellimbiss*, instead of *Karls Schnellimbiss*, or in *Andrea's Nagelsalon* instead of *Andreas Nagelsalon* with no apostrophe. Another example is a growing tendency to drop the hyphen (English-style) in German compound words: *Karl Marx Straße* versus *Karl-Marx-Straße*.
- The mixing of English and German vocabulary (in sentences) by English-speaking expats whose German skills are weak.
- The coining of faux English words that are either not found in English at all or are used with a different meaning than in German. Examples: *der Dressman* (male model), *der Smoking* (tuxedo), *der Talkmaster* (talk show host).

New varieties emerging from language contact

Language contact is the social and linguistic phenomenon by which speakers of different languages interact with one another, leading to a transfer of linguistic features.

Language contact often occurs along borders or as a result of migration.

Indeed, in virtually every country in the world today, linguistic minorities can be found. These have arisen both through immigration and through the adoption – often, but not always, imposition – of languages previously not spoken by local populations. We could therefore say that language contact is part of the social fabric of everyday life for hundreds of millions of people all over the world. (cf. Trudgill, Chambers 2001).

But to what extent have these different historical and contemporary social processes produced different linguistic outcomes? The linguistic outcomes of language contact are mainly determined by the history of social relations among populations, and migration, in particular, has crucially contributed to the development of new mixed languages, characterized by their own lexical, grammatical and phonetic features.

MULTICULTURAL LONDON ENGLISH

Multicultural London English (usually abbreviated as *MLE*) is a sociolect or **multiethnolect**, specifically referring to the speech of young people living in multicultural and multilingual districts of large cities that emerged in the late 20th century in the East End of London.

Some linguists defined it for the first time around 2006 as

- **Popular London speech**
- the **speech of London youth**, prevailing used within adolescent peer groups
- belonging especially to the **working-class**
- a modern replacement of Cockney in London inner areas.

MLE began to develop

- when London became the new multicultural centre of Europe

- and young immigrant speakers from Jamaica, India and Africa, living in **different inner-city multi-ethnic neighbourhoods as Tower Hamlets and Hackney**, started to influence the speech of **native British speakers**.

The linguistic repertoire of **Anglos** (white British) on the one hand and of **African-Caribbeans** (mainly from Jamaica) on the other hand differed, as

- both **Anglos** and **African-Caribbeans** spoke **Cockney (i.e. the variety typically associated to low-class speakers living in the East End)**
- whereas **African Caribbeans** only spoke **London Jamaican**** or patois.

****London Jamaican**

When, in the 16th century, many people were brought over to England from the Caribbean during the period of slave trading, the Jamaican people spoke minimal English and many of them didn't speak English at all. To communicate effectively with the British natives, there was the need to create a common language, also known as '**pidgin**'. When the immigrants from the Caribbean had children, the pidgin language, currently known as London Jamaican, became the native language of the 2nd generations and this led to what is now known as a **creole** = a 2nd generation pidgin.

As the Jamaican community within London grew, so did their language, and this made London Jamaican one of the most popular creoles in the capital city.

London Jamaican is today most commonly spoken at home and in social groups as an informal language. It is considered as a group language, mainly used to bring together people of the same ethnic background. It is primarily a spoken language and it is rarely written down, this is the reason why there's no official spelling system and there's never been a set of standard rules established.

Going back to MLE, some linguists noted also the existence of an intermediate "**Black Cockney**" or "**multiethnic vernacular**", apparently used by **adolescent peer groups** only, therefore not actually a native dialect but more a style.

Furthermore, some of them noted the use of a new language among **young black people in East End** (in particular in Hackney and its neighbouring boroughs) in the **early 1980s**, when poverty left the groups in these areas with few opportunities for interaction with the wider community, consequently leading to the formation of dense family and neighbourhood networks.

All this explains why MLE is also referred to, especially in slang terms within the media, as Jafaican (i.e. derived from immigrants of Jamaican and African descent), often implying negative connotations, prevailingly due to the fact that it was mainly spoken by black adolescents and their white peers who adopted the same vocabulary and speech features. This was considered as a threat to educational standards as many thought that it could have replaced the use of StE also at school. However, many linguists (e.g. Kerswill, Fox, Cheshire) state that its **origins** are more complex and that it is the **result of language contact** and **group second-language acquisition**, presenting elements from

- learners' varieties of English
- Englishes from the Indian subcontinent and Africa
- Caribbean Englishes
- local London and south-eastern varieties of English
- local and international youth slang.

Multicultural London English has its own distinctive features with regard to

- Grammar
- Lexicon
- Phonetics

As far as **grammar** is concerned

- **MLE speakers** tend to level the forms of the past tense of the verb *to be* throughout the paradigm, with
 - *was* used for all conjugations (i.e. *I was, you was/you were, he was* etc.)
 - *weren't* used likewise for negative conjugations (i.e. *I wasn't/I weren't, you wasn't/you weren't, he wasn't/he weren't* etc.)

- tag-questions are limited to “*isn't it?*”, realized as “*innit?*”, and the corresponding “*is it?*” (e.g. “*he was getting jealous, innit?*”)
- *innit* is also used
 - as a follow up (e.g. “*it weren't like it was an accident*” “*innit*”)
 - to mark a topic or to foreground new information (e.g. “*the brother innit he's about five times bigger than you innit Sheila?*”)
- *man* is sometimes used as
 - an indefinite pronoun (e.g. “*I don't really mind how my boy looks.....it's his personality man's looking at*”)
 - a form of address (e.g. “*where's man going?*”)
- *them man* is often used instead of *they*
- *us man* is used instead of *we*.
- the question frame “*Why... for?*” is used in confrontational contexts instead of the Standard “*Why ...?*” or “*What ... for?*” (e.g. “*Why are you reading that essay for?*”)

As far as **lexicon** is concerned, there is an extensive use of slang words (mostly from Jamaican Creole), belonging to the categories of:

- **nouns**, e.g.
 - *blood* (friend),
 - *bruv* (an endearing term used for a close friend or brother),
 - *creps* (shoes),
 - *ends* (neighbourhood/place of residence),
 - *fam* (family/friend),
 - *wasteman* (worthless person);
- **adjectives**, e.g.
 - *bait* (obvious/well-known)
 - *clapped* (ugly)
 - *buff* (attractive)
 - *peng* (attractive)
 - *safe* (used both to greet a friend and to show appreciation for sthg. a friend has done)
 - *sick* (good/cool)
- **verbs**, e.g.
 - *to aks* (to ask)
 - *to cut* (to leave)
- **interjections and exclamations**, e.g.
 - *dun know* (of course)
 - *oh my days!* (oh my God!)
 - *allow it!* (don't worry about it!)
 - *my size!* (to say that a person is perfect for you)
- **intensifiers**, e.g.
 - *bare* (very, used in expressions of disbelief as in “*I'm bare tired*”)
 - *nuff* (really/very)
- As far as **phonetics** is concerned:
 - there is **no h-dropping** in e.g. *go home, my house*
 - **narrow diphthongs and monophthongs** replace broad diphthongs as in
 - FACE [æi] → [ei] → [e:]
 - GOAT [ʌu] → [ou] → [o:]
- **th-fronting** in word-initial and final position giving [f] for [θ] or [v] for [ð], especially used by young non-Anglo speakers and Anglos with a non-Anglo network e.g.
 - *thin* → *fin*
 - *through* → *frough*

- *mother* → *mover*
- *bath* → *baf*
- **dh-stopping** involving word-initial [d] or [t] for [ð] in words like
 - *thing* → *ting*
 - *that* → *dat*.

Multicultural London English

- can be considered as a new, mixed variety;
- it varies to a small extent across ethnicities but most is shared;
- it is distinct from traditional London English in specific ways
- even though some features may be tied to youth style, therefore they could be lost in adulthood, they could also be kept becoming the speaker's vernacular.

See examples of *MLE* on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KdVoSS_2PM

AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH

The term *African American English* (*AAE*, formerly referred to as *African American Vernacular English* – a definition emphasizing that this doesn't include the standard English usage of African Americans – and much earlier as *Black English*) refers to the **variety of English spoken** by those **African Americans in the United States** who stem from the original African population transported there in the 16th century.

An alternative, though less used, definition of *AAE* is *Ebonics* (a blend of the words *ebony*, meaning "black", and *phonics*, meaning "sounds"), which highlights the African roots of African American speech and its independence from English.

The speakers of *AAE* are currently distributed geographically across the entire country. However, the African Americans were originally settled in the south (from Texas in the West to the Carolinas in the East) where they were kept as slaves to provide a labour force for the plantations of the whites in this region.

AAE can be traced back to **forms of English** which developed in the **17th century in the Caribbean**, following the slave trade initiated in the 16th century.

This slave trade consisted of taking native Africans from the region of West Africa and transporting them as slaves to the islands of the Caribbean where they worked on the plantations of the European powers.

Later on, with crowding on smaller Caribbean islands such as Barbados and Montserrat, black slaves were moved to the southern coast of the present-day United States and put to work on tobacco and cotton plantations.

These historic facts supports the linguistic assumption that the **native Africans** first developed a **pidgin in West Africa** (as they were mixed with members of different tribes to prevent plotting).

Then, when moved to the Caribbean, the **following generations** developed this make-shift language into a **creole** based on fragments of English and presenting structures not to be found in the input varieties of English.

A **pidgin** is a simplified language that

- doesn't have native speakers
- develops as a means of communication between two or more groups that do not share a common language.

In order for a pidgin to form, one of the groups involved must be in a more dominant position than the other so that... .. the less dominant group abandons their primary language in favor of creating a pidgin language.

A **pidgin** is most commonly used

- in contexts such as trade (e.g. the slave trade in the past)
- or where both groups speak languages different from the language of the country in which they reside.

An example is...

- **Pidgin Hawaiian**

It was a pidgin spoken in Hawaii which

- derived most of its vocabulary from the Hawaiian language
- was mainly spoken by immigrants to Hawaii
- died out in the early 20th century.

A **creole** is a stable language that has originated from a pidgin that has been nativized.

This means that the pidgin becomes the native language for second-generation pidgin speakers: instead of inheriting their parents' original mother tongue in addition to the pidgin, the children learn only the pidginized form of language within a community of speakers who claim it as their first language.

An example is...

- **Hawaiian Creole English**

A creole language partly based on English spoken by many residents of Hawaii, especially in casual conversation.

The second major hypothesis concerning the origins of *AAE* is that its specific features arose due to contact with dialects of English convicts which had been transported to the southern United States by white settlers.

While it is undeniable that *AAE* has developed features of its own, the structural similarities with Caribbean creoles point towards an origin as a creole which has undergone different degrees of decreolisation (i.e. approximation to more standard varieties of English surrounding it, in this case American English).

Though the exact status of the structural characteristics of *AAE* is still much debated, it undoubtedly has its own distinctive features with regard to

- phonology
- morphology
- syntax
- lexicon.

Here are the most common ones.

- Non-rhotic, i.e. syllable-final /r/ is not pronounced:
 - *car* [ka:]
 - *party* [pa:ti]
- Frequent deletion of final /l/, especially
 - after labials, e.g. *help* [hep]
 - word-finally with auxiliaries, e.g. *she'll be home* [shi bi ho:m]
- Reduction of word-final clusters:
 - *test* [tes]
 - *desk* [des]
 - *looked* [luk]
- Strong initial stress is often to be observed with words of two syllables
 - *police* ['po:lis]
 - *define* ['di:fain].
- In word-final position /θ/ is frequently shifted to [f] (a feature also to be found in ___ ? ___):
 - *bath* [ba:f]
 - *teeth* [ti:f].

Such shift is also to be observed for /ð/ (> [v]) in word-internal position: e.g. *brother* [brʌvə].

SYNTAX

- Multiple negation is common, as it is in many non-standard varieties of English, with the function of intensifying a negation
 - *I ain't goin' to say nothin' to nobody*
- Existential *there* is replaced by *it* *it ain't no water in the glass*

- Plurals are not marked if preceded by numerals (as in other non-standard British dialects)
 - *she wrote her book two year ago.*
- The genitive is not necessarily marked with /s/, as position is sufficient to indicate this category
 - *she used her mother glasses.*
- A formal distinction is frequently made between
 - 2nd person singular, realised by *you* [ju:], and
 - 2nd person plural, realised by *y'all* [jɔ:l] (*you + all*)
 - *Y'all have to go now* = All of you have to go now.
- 3rd person singular -s is omitted
 - *she like cats*
- Deletion of copula
 - *he a professor*
- *Like to* has often the meaning of 'almost'
 - *he like to fell from the stairs*
 - Base subject relative clauses are to be found in both *AAE* and popular London English
 - *she the girl (who) work in the factory.*
- *AAE* can have two modals within the same verb phrase.

This is an inherited feature from Scots-derived dialects originally brought to the USA in the 18th century which then diffused into the language of the African-American population

- *he might could / may can solve the problem*

- The number of verb forms is reduced compared to those in StE.

Typically in the past there is one form, based either on the simple past or the past participle:

- *I have already ate*

ASPECT

- **Habitual aspect** → expressed by uninflected *be*
 - *they be at school in the morning* = they are always at school in the morning
- **Iterative aspect** → expressed by *steady*, also in final position
 - *they steady chattin'* = they are always chatting
 - *she sad steady* = she is always sad
- **Intentional aspect** → expressed by the particle *a* preceding the verb form
 - *I'm a go to the cinema* = I'm about to go to the cinema

The unstressed past participle form of *do*, *done* [dʌn], is used to signal an action that has just occurred:

- *the plate done broke* = the plate has just broken.

This is similar to the immediate perfective found in other varieties of English such as Irish English (e.g. *I'm after opening the window* = I have just opened the window)

VOCABULARY

- Some vocabulary items are clearly of West African origin
 - *buckra* = 'white man'
 - *tote* = 'to carry'
- Even more obvious are terms referring to food also found in African
 - *goober* = 'peanut'
 - *yam* = 'sweet potato'
- There are also some semantic extensions of existing English words
 - *homies* = 'close friends'
 - *bloods* = 'other blacks'
 - *whities* = 'white people'
- ***AAE* slang** is quite distinctive. *AAE* slang words that are popular in particular among teenagers and young adults, especially rap and hip hop fans, are
 - *phat* = 'excellent'

- *bling-bling* = 'glittery, expensive jewelry'

BUT...

... there are some "black" words that are virtually unknown (in their 'black' meanings) outside the African American community:

- *kitchen* = the especially kinky hair at the nape of one's neck
- *ashy* = the whitish appearance of black skin when dry, as in winter.

A short history of AAVE: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UZpCdl6ZKU4>

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that new varieties are continuously emerging in contemporary multicultural / multilingual societies proves that language finds itself in constant change and is shaped by its speakers as well as by the situational context they find themselves to be. One of the most key influences that shape a language is contact with new people and other languages. This has led and will continue to crucially contribute to the development of new varieties emerging from language contact; indeed, more and more multicultural accents/dialects can be expected to emerge due to the continuous renewal of immigrant populations that will lead to constant linguacultural mixing.

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