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CHUYỂN MÃ NGÔN NGỮ TRONG SONG NGỮ: NỀN TẢNG LÝ THUYẾT

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TÓM TẮT

Bài viết là tổng quan về hiện tượng chuyển mã ngôn ngữ, một hiện tượng ngôn ngữ trong song ngữ, khái niệm chỉ những người có thể nói hoặc sử dụng được hai ngôn ngữ. Khái niệm về song ngữ được các học giả nhìn nhận theo các góc nhìn khác nhau - dựa trên mức độ thành thạo của hai ngôn ngữ (ngôn ngữ thứ nhất và ngôn ngữ thứ hai). Chuyển mã ngôn ngữ cũng được các nhà nghiên cứu ngôn ngữ tiếp cận và định nghĩa khác nhau. Tuy vậy, trong nhiều trường hợp vẫn khó phân định với một hiện tượng ngôn ngữ khác trong song ngữ: Hiện tượng vay mượn từ. Rất nhiều học giả phân loại chuyển mã ngôn ngữ theo các tiêu chí riêng, và hiện tượng ngôn ngữ này được các học giả nghiên cứu có các chức năng nhất định. Việc này khiến quan điểm cho rằng cần tránh hiện tượng chuyển mã ngôn ngữ gây tranh cãi. Với góc nhìn và cách tiếp cận của mình, tác giả bài viết đưa ra ý kiến phản biện về khái niệm để phù hợp với ngữ cảnh, sự phân biệt các hiện tượng ngôn ngữ, và hy vọng ít nhiều đóng góp cho nền tảng lý thuyết về chủ đề này.

Từ khoá: *chuyển mã ngôn ngữ, chức năng, khái niệm, phân loại, song ngữ, tiếp cận*

CODE-SWITCHING IN BILINGUALISM: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the theoretical background of code-switching, a common phenomenon of bilingualism which is used to refer to those who can speak or use two languages. The concept of bilingualism has been approached from different perspectives by scholars based on levels of proficiency of language users (language one and language two). Code-switching has been also viewed and defined differently by linguists, and there seems an overlap between code-switching and another language phenomenon, borrowing. Scholars have classified code-switching using criteria and this language practice has been found to serve various functions. That code-switching is discouraged raises a question to those who advocate this common practice since switching back and forth is rather natural to bilinguals. Conceptualisations are context-bound; therefore, the author, with a critical view, defines code-switching to suit a specific context and it is expected that this working definition contributes to the background knowledge of the topic to researchers of interests.

Keywords: *code-switching, functions, concepts, classification, bilingualism, approach*

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of bilingualism has traditionally been viewed from numerous perspectives. The most common views are from a linguistic perspective and based on the level of language proficiency of the speaker. Three main categories of de-finitions of bilingualism approached from linguistic

perspective are briefly reviewed as follows. The first group of definitions of bilingualism concentrate on the bilinguals who master two languages equally (Mackey, 1970, 2000). In other words, such definitions focus on the balance of the languages involved, or on fully-fluent bilinguals. The notion of bilingualism refers to those who have a native-like control of two languages (Romaine, 1995). This notion of bilingualism is at odds with the second category which holds that anyone who is capable of demonstrating minimal use of two languages is recognised as a bilingual. In the second group of opinions, an individual's ability to speak both languages despite having low proficiency in either of them can be seen as sufficient for him/her to be considered a bilingual. For example, in Haugen's (1953) view, bilinguals are individuals with proficiency in one language but with "the ability to produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (p. 7). This approach has been accepted by other authors such as Hamers & Blanc (2000) and Myers-Scotton (2006), who claim that rarely are speakers equally fluent in two languages. The third group of scholars do not seem to be satisfied with either of these two perspectives, which range from maximal proficiency (i.e., a native-like control in both languages) to a minimal proficiency in a SL. This should be written in full for the first time). Therefore, an in-between definition has been developed to describe speakers using two or more languages alternately (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982; Edwards, 2004; Mackey, 2000; Romaine, 1995). This definition of bilingualism does not mention the level of proficiency in either language of the speakers.

Three common phenomena of bilingualism which have traditionally been addressed include interference, borrowing and code-switching. Interference refers to "the invo-luntary influence of one language on the other" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 299). Borrowing is seen as the phenomenon in which features of one language are used as part of the other (Haugen, 1953, 1956). Code-switching refers to the using of two languages alternately within the same or between utterances or turns. Among these three phenomena, code-switching seems to attract the attention of a greater number of researchers. Code-switching is the central topic of the present study.

As a common feature of bilingualism, code-switching, a "complex research topic" (Bell, 2014, p. 22), has been defined by various scholars. This section attempts to cover viewpoints on different aspects of this phenomenon: its definitions; the distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, between code-switching and borrowing; and, types, functions and models of code-switching.

2. CODE-SWITCHING

2.1. Conceptualisations of code-switching

The most general definition of code-switching is "the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation" (Hoffmann, 1991, p. 110). Sociolinguistically, each dialect can be seen as a language code. In this perspective, code-switching is identified by Gardner-Chloros (2009) as "the use of several language dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people" (p. 4). Similarly, code-switching is used to refer to the phenomenon in which "speakers switch backwards and forwards between distinct codes in their repertoire" (Bell, 2014, p. 111). By means of juxtaposition, i.e., elements of different languages put next to each other, Gumperz (1982) defines conversational code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different systems or subsystems" (p. 59). Muysken (2000) prefers using other terms, "insertion" and "alternation" to refer to the process of mixing elements from different languages (p. 1). Regarding the feature of insertional code-mixing (i.e., switches within the same clause or sentence), Muysken (2000) claims that in insertional code-mixing, what are inserted into a sentence are usually syntactic constituents. These syntactic constituents can be lexical units such as nouns, verbs, or prepositional phrases. In alternation, a

common strategy of mixing, one clause in language A is used after a clause in language B.

However, other authors distinguish insertion and alternation in different ways. For instance, Myers-Scotton (1993) believes that insertion is one form of borrowing, in which the difference, if any, between mixing and borrowing is the size and type of the element inserted. Meanwhile, Poplack (1980) views alternation as the switching of codes between turns or utterances. In general, from a broad viewpoint, code-switching can be regarded more widely as the alternation of two languages in the same discourse. More narrowly, it can be seen as alternation within a sentence or across sentences, or sometimes neutrally by considering code-switching between these two viewpoints.

In the language classroom context, code-switching has been defined based on the above viewpoints. For example, Levine (2011) adopts Hoffman's (1991) definition of code-switching, focusing on the act of switching – a speaker moves from language one (L1) into language 2 (L2) or from L2 into L1 – and defines code-switching as "the systematic, alternating use of two or more languages in a single utterance or conversational exchange" (p. 50). More specifically, Cook (2010) refers to the teacher's code-switching as the use of the first language in his/her L2 classroom. Cook (2010) also sees translation as one means for a bilingual to code-switch. However, he notes that teachers' L1 use does not necessarily involve translation because translation is not the only tool for a bilingual to use.

Consider the following examples of code-switching in a Vietnamese context, the English classroom. In each example, the first line is the teacher's original speech, and the second line is the English translation (the Vietnamese words in original and their English equivalent translation are italicised). The examples below should be in the analysis sections rather than in the concluding remarks.

Example 1:

T: *Nào cả lớp về nhà làm* exercise 87 *trong* workbook

<*Now class at home do* exercise 87 *in your* workbook>

Example 2:

T: Now open your book on page 92. *Nào mở sách ra trang 92.*

<Now open your book on page 92. *Now open your book page 92*>

Example 3: Observation transcript T6.1

T: What did the mother say?

St: [no response]

T: *Bà mẹ đã nói gì*?

<*What did the mother say*?>

The three examples above involve teachers' code-switching. According to Crystal, an utterance refers to "a stretch of speech preceded and followed by silence or a change of speaker" (Crystal, 2008, p. 505). The term "utterance" may firstly denote what is recorded, for example, the speakers' speech. Furthermore, Crystal (2008) views an utterance as either a word or a group of words. For example, discourse markers such as "Okay" or "Understand" can be seen as words, and they can become utterances. An utterance is determined based on such features as speakers' pauses or pitch movements. A turn is defined as "the contribution of each participant" (Crystal, 2008, p. 498).

2.2. Code-switching and code-mixing

Code-switching is sometimes referred to as code-mixing. However, some authors distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing. For example, Muysken (2004) and Wardhaugh (1992) see code-mixing as occurring at the lexical level (i.e. within a sentence) and code-switching as relating to an alternation of languages between clauses, sentences or utterances. Ritchie and Bhatia (2004) distinguish code-switching from code-mixing in terms of the use of various linguistic units such as words, phrases, clauses and sentences across sentence boundaries within a speech event (for code-switching), and morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences within a sentence (for code-mixing).

The employment of the two phenomena appears to be terminological. Therefore, some authors, for example, Ritchie and Bhatia (2004), use the term language mixing/switching, or Barnard and McLellan (2014) use code-switching to refer to both of these two phenomena. Sharing the view that there is not a clear distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, other authors argue that both phenomena are "parole", i.e. speech, not "langue", i.e. language (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, p. 270), and are on a continuum (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). According to Hamers & Blanc (2000) code-mixing, similar to code-switching, is the transference of elements from language A, or the base language, to language B.

The core distinction between code-switching and code-mixing appears to be the language level at which the phenomena occur. That is, code-switching can occur across sentences, or at an inter-sentential level, while code-mixing only occurs within a sentence, i.e., at intra-sentential level. I regard the term code-switching used to cover both cases, i.e., code-switching and code-mixing: switching between utterances or turns, or inter-sentential switching.

2.3. Code-switching and borrowing

Borrowed words (or loan words) are described by Hoffmann (1991) as features of "langue" (p. 102). This means that when words from a language have entered the vocabulary system of another language and are ready for use by the community after a process of assimilation of certain aspects, they are seen as loan words. The process of assimilation is revealed, for example, through pronunciation and/or grammar and/or spelling. In this case, the phenome-non of borrowing is not a feature of speech or "parole" (Mackey, 2000), as "parole" is seen as an individual's production (writing/-speaking) of language pieces, for example an utterance or a long speech.

Some authors (e.g., Haugen, 1956; Poplack, 1980) argue that code-switching and borrowing are distinguishable. They usually base their distinction on two aspects: assimilation and the language unit level of the phenomenon. For example, Poplack (1980) distinguishes borrowing from code-switching by describing borrowing as the adaptation of lexical material to the morpho-logical, syntactic and phonological patterns of the recipient language. The use of words or phrases from one language that has become so much part of the other language cannot be seen as code-switching, the alternate use of two languages (Haugen, 1956). A typical example that illustrates the distinction between code-switching and borrowing is cited below (both mean the same thing: "I can't believe that we code-switched as often as that"):

Example 4:

(a) ça m' étonnerait qu' on ait *code-switched* autant que ça

(b) ça m' étonnerait qu' on ait *code-switché* autant que ça

(Grosjean, 1982, p. 308)

Example 4 (a) is seen as an instance of code-switching because the speaker, in his utterance in French, uses the English word "code-switched" with English grammar, and perhaps, English pronunciation. Meanwhile, "code-switché" in 4 (b) can be regarded as a case of borrowing as, from its original English root, it adopts French grammar and morphology (i.e., the past participle form – é, seen as being formed from the infinitive verb "code-switcher"). In other words, it is morpho-grammatically assimilated into French.

Other authors (e.g., Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1993) had a contrasting view, arguing that borrowing and code-switching are phenomena at either end of a continuum. With a similar view, Baker (2006) argues that it is hard to find criteria to distinguish between code-switches and loans as they are not entities that can be separated. When words from an SL are first used by an individual, they are seen as switches. After a process of being used frequently by a group of individuals and accepted by the community, they become borrowings. Other authors (e.g., Eastman, 1992; Hoffmann, 1991) considered the most probable source of

borrowings, seeing code-switching as the first step in the process of borrowing words or phrases of a language and using them in a communicative interaction.

In sum, there have been two main viewpoints on code-switching and borrowing. The first viewpoint is that these two phenomena are distinguishable. That is, any word from a language inserted into the utterance in another language without being assimilated is seen as code-switching. While borrowing occurs at the lexical level, code-switching involves both the lexical level and the largest unit of syntax, the sentence. The second viewpoint is from authors who doubt the possibility of distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing – and instead, consider code-switching as one form of borrowing. In other words, when a word or a phrase of one language comes into use in the other language it can be seen as code-switching. After the word or phrase has been used frequently and steadily in the other language, it can be regarded as an instance of borrowing.

2.4. Types and models of code-switching

Sociolinguistically, Blom & Gumperz (1972, 2000) classify code-switching into situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching (or, conversational code-switching). According to these authors, situational code-switching refers to changes of settings or participants when there is a change in the language choice, and metaphorical code-switching involves only a change in the topic with the setting and participants staying the same. It appears that these authors' classification of code-switching types is based on the functions of code-switching.

Regarding linguistic factors involved in code-switching, Poplack (1980) divides code-switching into three types: extra-sentential code-switching (or tag-switching), intra-sentential switching, and inter-sentential switching. Following are examples of these types.

Extra-sentential code-switching/tag-switching refers to the insertion of a tag from one language into an utterance which is entirely in another language. Examples of English tags inserted are: "you know", "I mean" "umm" (fillers), "oh, my God" (interjection), "no way" (idiomatic expression), "understand?", "right?", and so on.

Example 5:

But I wanted to fight her *con los punos*, you know.

(But I wanted to fight her *with my fists*, you know).

(Poplack, 1980, p. 596)

Example 6:

Pero como *you know* la Estella y la Sandi relistas en el telefon.

(But how you know Stella and Sandi are very precocious on the phone).

(Gumperz, 1982, p. 78)

The two examples cited from Poplack (1980) and Gumperz (1982), above, involve speakers' switching of the tag "you know". In Poplack's example, the tag is inserted by the speaker at the end of the sentence (the second switch in English in Example 1). (However, this tag is inserted in the middle of the speaker's utterance Example 2), and in Gumperz's (1982) view it "serves to mark sentence filler" (p. 78). This filler can be seen as tag switching in Poplack's notion (Romaine, 1995, p. 162).

Intra-sentential switching refers to switches occurring within the clause or sentence boundary. The following examples are from Poplack and Myers-Scotton, respectively:

Example 7 (switching Spanish and English):

Leo un *magazine*

(I read a *magazine*)

(Poplack, 1980, p. 583)

Example 8 (switching between Shona, the official language in Zimbabwe, and English)

Shona/English

Unofanirwakupedza *one year* uinanyo motor yacho.

(You should spend *one year* with that car).

(Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 5)

Inter-sentential switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary (i.e., one independent clause/sentence in one language, the other in another language). A very typical example of inter-sentential code-switching is part of the title of Poplack's (1980) article:

Example 9:

Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en Español*

(Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *and finish it in Spanish*)

In terms of the framework of code-switching, Myers-Scotton (2001, 2006) proposes the Matrix language frame (MLF) model. This model is used to identify the matrix language (ML) or the base language, and the embedded language (EL) within a clause when there is the involvement of two different languages by the speakers. The ML is understood as the one that is the "source of the abstract grammatical frame of the constituent", and the EL is the one that "can only contribute limited materials" (Myers-Scotton, 2001, p. 24). This means that when two languages are involved in an utterance, one language is dominated by the other in terms of, for example, the grammatical structure. The one that is dominant is seen as the matrix language, and the one that is dependent is the embedded language.

Concerning the grammatical structure in code-switching, in Myers-Scotton's (2006) MLF model, the ML within a clause can be identified based on the morpheme order and the system morpheme principles. She claims that the order of the constituents, for example nouns or adjectives, of the two languages when mixed will be that of the ML. In other words, only one language provides morpheme order for the other. Thus, the language supplying morpheme order to another will be the ML of the clause.

It appears that the MLF model works well to identify the matrix language when two grammars coincide to some extent. The best example of this is code-switching between Malay and English in plural nouns, as found by McLellan (2009). In sentences involving switches between English and Malay, there are three ways of pluralising an English noun. These ways are through the use of the English plural noun; the English noun in its singular form with Malay reduplication of the noun to indicate pluriality; and English singular noun understood as plural from the context. Thus, according to McLellan, there are cases of code-switching in which one language is the dominant one, functioning as the ML. However, there are other cases in which both language systems involved functioned equally, which can be referred to as "equal language alternation" (MacLellan, 2009, p. 18).

The MLF model is useful to identify the ML or EL within a clause, i.e. the intra-sentential code-switching type. However, as Bell (2014) notes, it is challenging for researchers to identify the matrix language in many cases. For example, using the MLF model to determine the matrix language in the speakers' turn where there are many utterances, and when two grammars do not coincide seems to be problematic. In the following examples, I illustrate and explain how the model works, involving switches between Vietnamese and English. In each of these examples, the first line is the speaker's original speech, the second line provides a literal word-for-word translation of the Vietnamese into English, and the third line is an English translation.

Example 10:

(a) *She is very* nice

Cô ấy	Aunt – distant deixis
nice	is nice
lắm	very

(b) Linh is sick today, right, right?

Linh	Linh
hôm nay	day this
bị	*this negative marker*
ốm,	sick,
phải không,	right not,
right?	right?

(c) Look! It's going to rain. *Did you bring a raincoat with you*? Do you have a raincoat? *Did you bring it*?

Look! It's going to rain.	Look! It's going to rain
Em	*Younger sister*
có	*interrogative particle*
mang	bring
áo mưa	raincoat
không?	*interrogative particle*?
Do you have a raincoat?	Do you have a raincoat?
Có	*Interrogative particle*
mang	*bring*
không?	*interrogative particle*

In Example 10 (a), the inserted word is English (nice). Furthermore, in English, the adverb of degree "very" comes before the adjective (nice), but in this utterance, the adjective "nice" comes before the adverb "*lắm*" (very) because it follows Vietnamese grammatical structure (or morpheme order). Therefore, Vietnamese is the ML. This is an instance of intra-sentential code-switching. Example 10 (b) is an illustration of extra-sentential code-switching (or tag switching). The speaker switches from Vietnamese to English (right?). The inserted word here is an English tag, thus Vietnamese is the ML, and English is the EL in this utterance. Example 10 (c) consists of five utterances in a turn of the speaker. The speaker switches back and forth between English and Vietnamese. Here the speaker starts speaking in English and then switches the entire later utterance to Vietnamese. In his/her first utterance, the speaker follows English grammar, but in the second one, he/she follows Vietnamese grammatical rules. Therefore, it is impossible to identify what the ML is as it is hard to say whether English or Vietnamese is the dominant language. It is also hard to know which language provides the structural frame for the other even if only, for example, the two utterances (It's going to rain. *Em có mang áo mưa không*?) in this turn are considered. The MLF model in cases like this appears to be problematic for identifying what the ML is.

2.5. Functions of code-switching

Code-switching may be discouraged by some people because of their belief that it shows deficiency or lack of mastery of both languages. However, as a common feature of a bilingual community, code-switching serves a large variety of functions: linguis-tic, social and discourse functions.

Linguistic functions:

With a similar view to Baker's (2006) that code-switching is a valuable linguistic tool, Chung (2006), Hamers and Blanc (2000), and Skiba (1997) note that code-switching can allow the switcher to compensate for his/her linguistic deficiency in using the base language, e.g. in a shortage of the words or of expressions, or overcoming the gap in linguistic competence between the two languages. In her research involving Puerto Rican residents in a bilingual community, Poplack (1980) found that switches occurred among both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals.

Though their switches were of different types, she concluded that code-switching is a linguistic norm in the New York Puerto Rican community, and is used as an indicator of bilingual competence.

Social functions:

As mentioned, Blom and Gumperz (1972), and Gumperz (1982) classify code-switching into situational and conversational code-switching. Though expressing her doubt about how these two functional types are classified, Myers-Scotton (1993) notes that situational code-switching is motivated by changes in factors external to the participants' own motivations, and conversational code-switching is understood as a shift in topic and in other extralinguistic context markers that characterise the situation. Examples of extra-linguistic factors which affect speakers' choice of language in conversation are referred to by Wei (1998) as the topic, the setting, or the relationships between participants.

In the Vietnamese FL context, teachers' code-switching which performs the above authors' social functions can occur, as the following shows:

Example 11:

(In an English classroom)

T: Now work in pairs and discuss the questions in your book with your partners. Do it.

Another Vietnamese-only speaking staff member arrives, coming in the door:

T: *Xin lỗi lớp mấy phút nhé, tiếp tục làm đi tôi sẽ quay lại sau mấy phút*.

<Excuse me for a few minutes, just keep doing it, I'll come back in a couple of minutes>

Example 11, above, involves situational code-switching, occurring in an English classroom where the teacher is organizing tasks for students. There is a Vietnamese-only speaker, i.e, a school librarian who does not speak English, arriving at the door. The guest wants to talk to the English teacher. The teacher switches to Vietnamese to speak to students to give them directions. The teacher's switch is due to a change in the situation as Blom & Gumperz (1972) note. The situation here changes because of the change in the participants (the school librarian) as he does not speak English.

Example 12:

(In teachers' waiting room)

TA: Manchester *hôm qua lại thắng*

<Manchester *won again yesterday*>

TB: (is reading the news on his cell phone)

Lại có storm *ở Hà Tĩnh*

<*There's* storm *in Ha Tinh again*>

TA: Really?

Example 12 is an illustration of conversational code-switching, i.e., the changes in language choice when there was a change in the topic of a conversation (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982). Two Vietnamese male teachers of English are talking to each other in their break time. Here teacher A (TA) starts in Vietnamese about the football match he watched on TV the previous night. Teacher B (TB) suddenly changes the topic as he saw the news (published by a Vietnamese internet newspaper in English) on his cell phone about a storm occurring in Ha Tinh (a province in central Vietnam where there are frequent storms during summer). About a week before another storm also happened in this place. Teacher B switches to English to quote "storm" in his utterance in Vietnamese. Teacher A switches to English to show his surprise at the news teacher B has just given. Teacher A switches to English because the topic of the conversation between him and his colleague has changed.

Other authors (e.g., Auer, 1998; Baker, 2006; Hoffmann, 1991) also examined the phenomenon of code-switching and found other social functions of this phenomenon. They found that code-switching can serve as a means for expressing group identity (an in-group marker) and solidarity with such a group (Auer, 1998; Hoffmann, 1991). Thus, the social functions of code-switching can be understood as the functions that code-switching performs in social relations between interlocutors, in establishing and maintaining social identity. In addition,

according to (Baker, 2006), apart from these social functions, code-switching may also be used to mark a change of attitudes or relationships among the speakers.

A very well-known study of code-switching among different urban communities of Kenya was conducted by Myers-Scotton (1988). She found that different choices in the language varieties used in these communities by speakers of different social backgrounds reveal different identi-ties, or social roles. The mother tongue, which is used by most people sharing the same ethnicity in most informal conversa-tions in Kenya, plays an important role in establishing and maintaining group identity. For example, in her study, a young well-educated Luyia woman switched from Swahili to Luyia when she discovered through the gatekeeper's pronunciation that the gatekeeper shared her ethnicity. Similar social functions of code-switching have been stated by other researchers (e.g., Heller, 1988; McConvell, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993). In these studies, code-switching is employed as a means of expressing the identity of the speakers.

Discourse functions:

Gumperz (1982) relies on discourse analysis to identify the conversational functions of code-switching, including "quotations", "addressee specification", "interjection", "reiteration", and "message qualification" (pp. 75-79).

Firstly, the quotation function is for a bilingual speaker to quote a message in one language amidst the production of an utterance in the other language, i.e., he/she switches to another language when quoting. Between the two languages, Gumperz (1982) notes, not all speakers quote in the language they normally use. That is, a message is not always quoted in the code in which it was said. A very good example of this function was given by Romaine (1995). In this example, a Tok Pisin-English bilingual child in Papua New Guinea quoted within her narrative in Tok Pisin a character's speech in a story "Billy Goats Gruff" she/he heard at school in English.

[...] Em kirap na tok, liklik got iskiprap na tok: "I am the small goat." *Na em kiprap na tok* "go away." *Na liklik got ia kiprap na siksti tasol go lo hapsait.*

[…] *He said, the little goat said,* "I am the small goat." *And he [the troll] said:* "go away*" And the little goat got up and raced across the other side.*

(Romaine, 1995, p. 162)

Secondly, addressee specification is used to identify directly or indirectly the person the speaker is speaking to. One example of this from a bilingual speaker living in an Australian village is:

Example 13:

Where 'nother knife? *walima* pocket-knife *karrwa-rnana*?

(Where's the other knife? *Does anyone have a* pocket knife?).

(McConvell, 1988, p. 135)

In the example above, the speaker switches from Kriol (an English-based Creole spoken by Aborigines) to Gurindji (spoken in the Wave Hill area as 2nd or often 3rd or 4th language by Whites and Aborigines). His/her switch "walima" "karrwa-rnana" (Does anyone have a) implies the group of butchers who are indirectly spoken to (McConvell, 1988).

Thirdly, code-switching serves to mark interjections or sentence fillers. These interjections or sentence fillers are discourse markers and they can be tag switching according to Poplack's (1980) notion. An example of the speaker's code-switching which served to mark a sentence filler is cited from Gumperz (1982) "Pero como *you know* la Estella y la Sandi relistas en el telefon" (But how *you know* Stella and Sandi are very precocious on the phone). The speaker's code-switch is between Spanish and English. Here, his/her switch of "you know" functions to mark a sentence filler, or discourse marker of the text as it does not necessarily add to the content of this utterance.

Fourthly, code-switching is used to reiterate what has been said. That is, the

repetition may serve to clarify or emphasise a message. This example is a part of a conversation between a salaried worker and a farmer. The farmer asked the worker for money. However, the worker refused to give money to the farmer and switched from English to Swahili (official languages in Kenya) and then switched from Swahili to Liwidakho - a language variety in Kenya.

Example 14:

(English) You have got a land

(Swahili) Una shamba (you have a farm/land).

(Liwidakho) Uli mulimi (you have land).

(Myers-Scotton, 1988, p. 170)

All the worker's switches (in Swahili and Liwidakho) here were to repeat what he had just said in English to the farmer. His repetition of the same message served as an emphasis of his refusal to give the farmer money because according to the worker, the farmer already had property, i.e, "a farm".

Finally, code-switching is also used to qualify a message. That is, a message (or a subject) is introduced in one language and qualified or expressed in another way in another language. The example below is a sentence in English and Spanish, where the speaker starts the subject/topic in English and switches to Spanish, using a relative clause, to qualify the subject "the oldest one".

Example 15

The oldest one, *la grande la de once años*

(The oldest one, *the big one who is eleven years old*)

(Gumperz, 1982, p. 79)

In sum, three main categories of functions of code-switching by bilinguals have been found in the context outside the classroom in the literature: linguistic functions, social functions, and functions related to discourse, as reviewed above. Among these functional categorisations, the social functions and discourse functions seem to be more prevalent than linguistic functions.

3. CONCLUSION

It seems that there is not a single definition that best describes all situations. The defining of bilingualism, thus, should be context-bound. From my own perspective, in the context of teaching and learning English, my definition of bilingualism is rather an emphasis on the teachers as bilinguals who alternately use English and Vietnamese in their English classes.

In the context of the language classroom in Vietnam, teachers' code-switching seems to be a common practice in their classroom instruction of English. I define code-switching as the practice of using two languages alternately within the same utterance or between utterances or turns. For example, in a classroom, a teacher may use Vietnamese (the first language,) and English (the second language) alternately in his/her instruction in one or all of the ways illustrated above: switching within an utterance (Example 1) or between utterances (Example 2) or between turns, where silence is also considered a turn (Example 3).

Avoiding a controversy (discussed above) that seems to be of little significance to researchers, I consider loan words to be those words that come from the L2 (English) and are assimilated (in one or more aspects such as pronunciation, spelling, grammar) into the L1 (Vietnamese), or are used by the Vietnamese community, or have even entered the Vietnamese lexicon. The phenomenon of borrowing is seen as the using of words from the L2 in utterances of the L1 by individual/s without any assimilation. Obviously, those words have neither been accepted officially by the Vietnamese community nor entered the lexicon of the L1. Accordingly, the phenomenon of borrowing does not include loan words. I consider borrowing a form of code-switching. The term code-switching, thus, is used to refer to instances of words or phrases which the speakers directly borrow from English without adapting such words/phrases into Vietnamese.

For example, words such as "email", "Google", or "video clip" appear to be widely used by Vietnamese people though there are Vietnamese words equivalent to them. However, many Vietnamese people tend to borrow these English words and use them in their conversations. When inserting such words into their utterances, two cases may occur. The first case is when people phonologically adapt the words to Vietnamese, pronouncing "email" as /i-mei/ or /i-meo/, "google" as /guk-gə/, and "video clip" as /vi-zeo-kə-lip/. This first case will be considered examples of loan words because those words are assimilated to Vietnamese phonetically. The second case is when the speakers insert those words into their utterances but still pronounce them as they are pronounced in English, i.e, without any adaptation to their first language. This second case is viewed as an example of the borrowing phenomenon, (i.e., involves the speakers' insertion of the words that are borrowed from English without any indication of adaptation), and can be counted as code-switching. Note that the speakers' use of the borrowed words as exemplified above occurs in the context where they are sometimes used by the media, and tend to be used more and more by young Vietnamese people. That is to say, these words are in the process of being used frequently by certain individuals, but they have neither been accepted nation-wide nor entered Vietnamese vocabulary yet. This is also the reason why I extend the term code-switching to include the speakers' borrowing.

Regarding code-switching types, Poplack's (1980) classification has turned to be most accepted and used by code-switching researchers over the years. Due to various functions of code-switching, including linguistic functions, social functions, and discourse functions, this common language practice challenges researchers to the extent that whether it is discouraged or not.

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