THE RUSSIANS ARE 'CHILLING:' A STUDY OF CODEMIXING IN THE RUSSIAN COMMUNITY OF PITTSBURGH, PA

by

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This study describes patterns of code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing in the speech and behavior of 25 participants, native Russian speakers and English bilinguals, currently residing in Pittsburgh, PA. Even though these speakers choose to code-mix naturally, I hypothesize that the choice of English verb stems is morphophonologically constrained according to the specific limitations created by Russian linguistic structure and phonemic inventory. I focus on verb borrowing and explore to what degree Russian morphological structure affects the borrowing and code-mixing of the English verbs into predominantly Russian speech. The results reveal that the speakers accept and prefer to code-mix specific verbs according to morphophonological constraints and that age of arrival and time in country correlate with the acceptability judgments of the speakers. I propose that this speech community presents a case of code-mixing, where both languages are unmarked and freely embedded into the matrix of everyday communication of the participants. I utilize Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Matrix Language-Frame Model to describe the patterns of code-mixing in this speech community. Her hypotheses are described and contrasted with the findings of this thesis. I postulate that the type of code-mixing that exists in this speech community is not specific to certain practices or speech events. The study demonstrates that the pattern of speech represents a recognized norm

within the group. The switch is an unmarked choice for all of the members of this speech community, which in turn defines and separates the group from the other members of the overall Russian-speaking community, specifically by age. This paper suggests that a gap exists in the literature on code-switching as it rarely describes any cases from the Russian-English bilingual community and from any speech community where neither language possesses an indexicality of power and is somehow hierarchically placed within the language matrix of the community. Specific languages appear during specific topics of discussion and discourse contexts, however I suggest that in this particular speech community, the speakers do not assign dominance to Russian or English and code-mix freely, limited and restricted only by discourse and topic issues and morphophonological constraints.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

It is always amazing for my American friends to witness the mixed speech of Russian-English bilinguals. The speech patterns of this community are natural and seems to be uninterrupted by code-mixing and code-switching that occurs in our speech community. The speakers themselves often do not notice the free-flowing mixture of languages that appears in their conversations. These types of conversations emerge throughout the world and often have underlying similar patterns. Many studies have explored the nature of freedom of alternation between two distinct linguistic varieties (Treffers-Daller, 1997; Azuma, 1997; Backus, 1999). Scholars seek to find structural constraints on code-switching and code-mixing in order to describe with accuracy what exactly occurs and why it occurs in this manner (Joshi, 1985; Bock, 1989; Romaine, 1989). They search to discover if sociolinguistic factors influence the outcome of linguistic structures which are produced by the speakers (Gumperz, 1976; Heller, 1988; Herbert, 1992; Treffers-Daller, 1992).

Similarly, the current study examines the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing that surface in the speech community of first generation Russian-English bilinguals with analogous intentions and research questions. This thesis focuses on how codemixing and incorporation of the Russian morphological system onto particular English verb stems occurs and how it may assist the speakers in overall in-group competence and ability to communicate with ease. The study proposes to explore specific questions that may reveal the nature of the patterns and to develop an

understanding of the codemixing process. This paper seeks to uncover the linguistic constraints that restrict and block the appearance of specific forms that surface in the codemixing paradigm. I'm interested to find out if topics of conversation, issues of identity and awareness affect the codemixing process. The study finds if age of arrival to the United States and the time spent in this country correlates with the speech of the speakers, and if some speakers accept and utilize the codemixing patterns more than the others. The goal of the study is to describe this speech community and to demonstrate the composition and structure of its language. It's possible to propose that the speakers have developed a separate code that belongs to their specific speech community and unifies them, while distinguishing them from the overall Russian-speaking community.

The participants of this study are between the ages of 21 and 32 years of age. Fourteen males and eleven females participated in this study. The participants' speech was recorded in a free environment in order to create a limitless flow and to allow the speakers to feel unrestricted. Their speech was analyzed with the specific focus on codemixing of English verbs. The participants were interviewed and were asked to fill out Acceptability Judgment questionnaires that dealt explicitly with the research questions. The questionnaires and the transcriptions of their speech may be found in the Appendices section of this thesis. The questionnaires sought to explore the responses and judgments of the speakers and to compare these results with the participants' age of arrival and time in country. The study hoped to find correlations between these variables.

Myers-Scotton (1993a, p.2) writes that "Codeswitching is a way to overcome difficulties in sentence-planning by making use of the resources of more than one language." The speakers of this study have automatized codeswitching (CS) and

codemixing (CM) into their speech and seem to construct mixed sentences effortlessly. They utilize the two languages in such a way as to allow them to converse with ease within their group. It is difficult to propose exact reasons for specific examples of codeswitching and codemixing, especially in the environment of bilingual speakers. They choose to switch, even though they are clearly able to communicate the utterance in one language. Each act of codeswitching may have a special, distinct explanation and scholars look to combine and aggregate these explanations and reasons for codeswitching to create a model of general understanding and analysis, so that we are able to plug other codeswitching circumstances into the grid of possibilities.

Codeswitching utterances will always conform to the grammars of the participating languages, though restricted by certain general constraints (Halmari & Cooper, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1989). Social motivation plays a significant role for language mixing (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, 1997; Treffers-Daller, 1992). Typological differences between the languages usually create the constraints that designate the surface representation of the mixed code (Myers-Scotton, 1992a; Poplack, 1980a). These general ideas that guide the field of codeswitching significantly influence the findings of this study and form the basis of my research questions. As other researchers, I have investigated the reasons for the appearance of this mixed code. Through understanding of the sociolinguistic environment of the speakers and the typological differences between the languages, I was able to find some patterns for the manner of the specific codemixing patterns. As a researcher and a member of the above named speech community, I possess the intuition and competence of the other participants. Hence, I'm

able to cultivate a thorough description of the codemixing paradigm that appears in this speech community.

2.0   KEY CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Monica Heller (1988, p. 1) describes *codeswitching (CS)* as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode."   This definition considers the use of only one language in a community as a normal activity, while the bilingual community may behave abnormally according to the general understanding. Heller (1988) explains that the definition generates a pattern of limitations. Eastman (1992, p. 16) expands this definition and states that CS is "…the use of at least two languages (or *dialects* or *registers*) within a particular *genre* (song, conversation) during a speech event often in a multilingual (primary urban) setting." In my study, I further expand these definitions and explore the environment of CS and suggest that CS is also restricted by social and formal, linguistic constraints of the speech community in question. Other studies have served as precedence to this proposal. Lattamus (1990) and Rosencweig (1972) have stated that both social and linguistic factors affected the codeswitching environment of their studies. Nonetheless, my study will focus particularly on codemixing (CM) and how social and linguistic factors affect the outcome of the utterances in the data. Pandharipande, R. (1990) states that codemixing is the selection by bilingual or multilingual speakers of forms from an embedded variety in utterances in of a matrix variety. In other words, the speakers choose to mix two or more languages intermorphemically. Words will consist of parts from both the embedded and the matrix languages.

Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b) generated the *Matrix Language-Frame* (MLF) Model, which allows linguists to systematize the situations and cases of code-switching and provides a concrete pattern for research and understanding. She presents the Matrix Language as the code with the majority of lexical items and morphemes that occur in the particular speech event. She states that the Matrix Language (ML) is "the principal language in CS, the one 'around which something develops" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 47). The ML sets the morphosyntactic framework for sentences in the CS. In other words it supplies the syntactic structure of the sentences. In many studies, the ML is also called the base, first, native or the borrowing language (Krjuckova, 1991; Pfaff & Chavez, 1986). However, these definitions often have some particular secondary meanings. Thus I will consistently utilize the notion of the matrix language (ML) in my study as is presented and defined in the MLF by Myers-Scotton (1993a). Since the Russian language is the 'principal' language of our speech community and has the majority of lexical items that will appear in the speech events and activities, it will be the matrix language of our study in most contexts and discourse situations.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) calls the language from which the borrowing occurs - the *embedded* language. The Embedded Language (EL) also participates in the CS/CM, but has a lesser role. It is "fixed firmly in a surrounding mass, in this case the matrix language" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p.47). In a multilingual context, it's possible to have a number of embedded languages interacting and mixing. Martin's (2005) study from Northern Borneo demonstrates a case where many languages are able to mix in the same context. In many studies we have seen this concept called as the second, non-native or acquired language (Krjuckova, 1991; Pfaff & Chavez, 1986; Eastman, 1992). Myers-

Scotton (1993a) calls it an Embedded Language Island (ELI), when a chunk of words from the embedded language appears in the CS. The MLF hypotheses describe how the ELIs are incorporated in the framework. The hypotheses appear below. The embedded language in my study is English. Myers-Scotton (1993a) creates a single continuum that encompasses both *borrowing* and *code-switching*. She uses *frequency* as the concept that may distinguish borrowings from the single-use code-switches or *code-mixes*. Borrowings that appear frequently are linked more strongly to the mental lexicon and may be stored as concrete lexical items, while single-use code-switches are contrasted by their infrequent use, thereby suggesting their non-acceptance into the mental lexicon of the matrix language. Eastman (1992, p. 3) states that "all code-switches structurally represent material embedded into a matrix language, while all borrowings are matrix language material *par excellence*."

In my study, I plan to link the definitions of borrowing and code-mixing and decrease the distance on the continuum. I propose that code-mixes are stored in the mental lexicon in the same way as the borrowings. In the speech community under observation, Russian and English are mixed in such a manner that the distinguishing features between code-mixes and borrowings are difficult to identify since these items are often mixed *intermorphemically* and occur very frequently with certain limitations discussed further. I agree with Myers-Scotton (1993a) and support the view that the frequent appearance of borrowings links them more strongly to the lexicon; however, I posit that in the bilingual situation which is described by the current study, the borrowings and code-mixes already exist within the speaker's lexicon as chunks and idiomatic phrases and as Embedded Language Constituents (ELCs) and Embedded

Language Islands (ELIs). In other words, the speakers utilize these code-mixed items so frequently in a myriad of forms in their speech, that these code-mixes are stored directly into the lexicon and produced with ease. It is impossible to prove. Nevertheless, the ease of production and the frequency of these code-mixes suggests that they have been acquired and stored in the lexicon. This is not a primary purpose of this study and stands outside the scope of this paper, however there are implications for further research. Within MLF, CS may be intersentential and intrasentential. In other words, the speakers may switch languages within the same sentence or setntence fragment – intrasententially; or they may utter each sentence or whole phrases entirely in one language and then switch to the other language within the same conversation – intersententially. Martin's (2005) Northern Borneo study clearly exemplifies both of these possibilities. Speakers in his study often switch intersententially and intrasententially in the same discourse.

2.1   THE INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN MORPHOLOGY, SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND INHERENT LEXICAL ASPECT

During the height of Soviet power, Russian linguists exclaimed that the myriad word formation processes in Russian illustrated the richness and supremacy of the Russian language. Guided by Marxist and communist ideologies, these linguists proposed that the Russian language will continue to expand only from already existing construction material within the language. In other words, the bound and free morphemes that appear in Russian will continue to generate new forms without the necessity for borrowing or any outside influence.

Shanskii (1968) was one of the most respected Soviet linguists and was able to thrive in the field with the help of the Party. Like other prominent Russian linguists, he suggested that Russian has only evolved through an expansion of materials that the language itself has furnished. Thereby, borrowings from a host of other languages were de-emphasized, even though they were found throughout the language. Wade (1992) and Timberlake (2004) state that borrowed terms often undergo the complex Russian morphological processes. Shanskii maintained that an increase in the lexical stock of Russian depends on both the "vocabulary" and "grammar" of the Russian language (p.153, 1968).

Shanskii (1968) and other prominent Russian linguists pointed out that a large number of Russian verbs contain a CVC(C) or VC(C) structure in their stems and could be clearly seen in its infinitival form (Altayskaya, 1955; Chesnokova, 1991; Privalova, 1958). In other terms, many verbs have a CVC/VC syllable structure in their stem presentation and then the infinitival suffix is appended. Furthermore, other morphemes are added in order to inflect the verbs. In the following examples, it is clear that the verbs contain a CVC structure and other morphemes are added to inflect and derive different forms and meanings. In the examples, the CVC structures - **[l^j_ezh_], [_pis_]** and **[_igr_]** are repeated in all of the other forms with other morphemes added for inflection and derivation. Karaulov (1999) writes that this pattern appears in a plethora of Russian verbs.

1) **[l^j_ezh_-at^j] – to lie down; [po-l^j_ezh_-at^j] – to lie down for a bit; [l^j_ezh_-it] – he lies; [l^j_ezh_-ala] – she laid**

2) **[_pis_-at^j] – to write; [pere-_pis_-at^j] – to copy; [za-_pis_-at^j] – to write down;**

9

[*pis*-al] – he wrote

3)   [*igr*-at^j] – to play; [*igr*-ala] – she played; [po-*igr*-at^j-sya] – to play (for a short time) punctual – [po], reflexive- [sya], infinitive [at^j])

Shanskii (1968, p.159) contended that semantic widening figures prominently in "word production." A method of morphological construction, which is designated by a phonological change may be attributed to the *Lexical Phonology* approaches presented by Kiparsky (1982). The proponents of this approach stated that morphological operations must be interleaved with the rules of phonology and therefore should belong in *Phonology*. Shanskii (1968) postulates that *morphological method* or morphological word formation is the most productive method of word formation in Russian. This process involves the combination of morphemes in the creation of new morphological forms that determine the semantic content and the grammatical category of the new lexical items.

Morphological method consists of *compounding* and *affixation*. This method states that morphology belongs to no other discipline and deserves to be examined on its own as a viable independent entity. Sadock (1991) presented a similar notion, when he championed an idea that morphology constituted a separate mode, distinct from the rest. The examples below illustrate the morphological method by demonstrating the ability of the Russian language to attach both bound and free morphemes together in order to create new words.

4)   [utSi-t^{j}el^j]$_N$ 'teacher' *from* [utSit^j]$_V$ 'to teach' (free morpheme) + [t^{j}el^j]

(nominal marker – bound morpheme)

5)   [za-kop-al]$_V$ 'he burried' *from* [za]$_P$ 'behind' (free morpheme) + [kopat^j]$_V$

'to shovel' (free morpheme) + [al] (past tense marker for masculine singular nouns – bound morpheme)

In this method, Shanskii (1968) also presents another type of compounding. *Compounding* is portrayed as the combination of two or more stems, however this type of compounding undergoes phonological changes, specifically an insertion (*Epenthesis*) of a phonological segment. Shanskii (1968) is unable to describe the nature of the phonological epenthetic segment. Nevertheless, we postulate that the epenthetic vowel is constrained by OCP, the *Obligatory Contour Principle* (see Goldsmith, 1976). This language universal states that languages disprefer when two or more similar sounds appear adjacent to each other in the same lexeme. This principle restricts such appearances and often the segment undergoes phonological disassimilation or deletion. Hence, Russian appears to possess two epenthetic vowels that appear in the appropriate contexts in order to apply and preserve the *Obligatory Contour Principle* (OCP). Again this phonological accommodation hints at the connection of this method with Kiparsky's (1982) *Lexical Phonology* approach. Two examples of compounding follow:

6) **[paravoz]$_N$ 'locomotive' *from* [par]$_N$ 'steam' + [a] (phonological connector, the *Epenthetic* vowel) + [voz] (verbal stem from [v^{j}ezti]$_V$ 'to carry, to bring')**

7) **[tr^{j}oh⬜ta$\mathit{Z}$n_j]$_A$ – *three-storey* (floor) – from [tri] – three (inflected genetively) + [⬜ta$\mathit{Z}$] – floor (borrowed from French, although uncontested by Shanskii (1968) due to obvious reasons of patriotism and allegiance to the Party) + [n_j] – masculine adjective marker.**

For Shanskii (1968), the difference between compounding and simple affixation is important. However, the distinction is sometimes problematic insofar as certain word formation processes, such as *fusion*, involve both compounding and affixation. Anderson (1992) writes that word structure can be understood only as the product of interacting principles from many parts of the grammar, therefore the *Fusion Approach* may be supported by this theory.

Shanskii (1968) suggests that affixation is the richest and most productive word-formation process in Russian. He describes the following three kinds of affixation possibilities: a) *prefixal* (prefixation) b) *suffixal* (suffixation) and c) *prefixal-suffixal* (circumfixation).

8) *__Prefixal__***: [razbudit^j]$_v$ 'to awaken' (perfective aspect)** *from* **[raz] (prefix) + [budit^j]$_v$ 'to awaken' (imperfective aspect)**

9) *__Suffixal__***: [starik]$_N$ 'old guy'** *from* **[star-_j]$_A$ 'old' + [ik] (masculine nominal marker)**

10) *__Prefixal-suffixal__***: [sabut_l^{j}nik]$_N$ 'drinking buddy'** *from* **[sa] (prefix derived from [s]$_P$ 'with') + [but_l-ka]$_N$ 'bottle' + [nik] (masculine nominal marker)**

Nevertheless, Shanskii's (1968) examination strictly negates the effect of *borrowing and language contact* on Russian morphology. In the past decades, the lexicon of the Russian language has grown tremendously as a result of the free market and immense external communication. Volodarskaya (2002) and Karaulov (1996, 1999) writes that the borrowings that entered the Russian language from various other languages still conform to Russian morphological norms and patterns that were presented

in our discussion above. The Russian morphological system overrides language specific norms and patterns that may transfer with the loan words that enter the language. A similar effect is seen in the current study. The ML, Russian, allows the entrance of many borrowed terms and idiomatic phrases that belong to the EL, English. However, the lexical items that enter the mixed code of the speakers of the speech community in this study are influenced and affected by the morphophonological rules and regulations that exist intuitively in the speakers' grammar. The items are affixed and restricted by the rules of the ML and they are additionally influenced by socio-linguistic considerations. Topics of conversations often designate the codeswitching and codemixing patterns.

Inherent Lexical Aspect is interwoven in the morphological structure of the Russian language. Aspect is represented in the surface structure by affixes which are attached to verbs to change the manner and type of the action. According to Shanskii (1968), the rich Russian morphology allows for a plethora of aspectual possibilities. In other words, most verbs are able to append all aspectual affixes and create other verbal meanings. Znamenskaya (1958), Vasil'ev (1958) and Wade (1992) state that the nature of aspectual affixation and the inherent lexical aspect is so vast and undetermined in Russian, that any general over-arching pattern is difficult to construct. Wade (2002) writes that Russian verbs have two overarching aspects: imperfective and perfective. Timberlake (2004, p. 399) states that perfective verbs report definitive change, while imperfective verbs "do not report definitive change, but instead report continuity of states or processes over time." Examples of imperfective and perfective aspects follow:

Imperfective	Perfective	Meaning
[*$p^j e t^j$*]	[*s- $p^j e t^j$*]	**'to sing'**

Moreover, he states that there is a variety of sub-aspects. These sub-aspects may denote habitual, repeated, punctual, completive and resultative action. The denotations are often designated by the actual verbs and the circumstances they appear in. In the current study, I encountered the same dilemma. All of the participants believed intuitively that all aspectual affixes may be appended to EL verbs that enter the mixed code. The two codemixed verbs in the following sentences from the transcribed data of this study exemplify such a distinction.

Imperfective   Perfective   Meaning

[*download-at^j*]   [*s-download-at^j*]   **'to download'**

                                  ELC (name)   CMV 4

17. Tanya: Ilya, u   tebya   netu   **Limewire**, s**download**at'?

               Ilya, at you GEN   not (verb) GEN   Limewire INST download **PERF**

               Ilya, you don't have Limewire, should I download it?

                                CMV 5

19. Tanya: Eta programma chto-bi   pesni   **download**at'

               This program   that CLITIC sings PL download INF **IMPERF**

               This program is for downloading songs
                             (First Segment – Appendix E)

The imperfective version of the verb 'to download' denotes a repeated action. Timberlake (2004) writes that these affixation patterns change the meaning of the verbs slightly and add the manner presented in the inherent aspect of the particular affix. Since the affixation of the inherent lexical aspect to the EL mixed verbs does not affect the verbs' frequency of appearance or the acceptability judgments of the participants, I chose

to not focus on *Aspect* as a variable in this thesis. The inherent Lexical Aspect is outside of the scope of this study and further research is necessary to discover the influence of this variable on the codemixing process.

2.2   MATRIX LANGUAGE-FRAME MODEL

Myers-Scotton (1993a) proposed that there are four general hypotheses that occur in most circumstances and environments. Firstly, the Matrix Language must play a more dominant role. This does not necessarily mean that the language has a significantly higher social status. The ML sets the grammar and establishes the morphosyntactic structure. EL enters this framework as Embedded Language Constituents (ELC) or EL Islands, consistent only of EL items. Secondly, the ML network is dependent upon the division between system and content morphemes. According to Myers-Scotton (1997), the entrance of the EL, depends on its status as a system or content morpheme. She states that the EL content morphemes must be congruent with the ML morphemes in order for it to enter the ML + EL interface (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). She defines congruence as a harmony or agreement between EL constituents and ML counterparts (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p.120). In other terms, if the EL morpheme is realized as a content morpheme in the EL, but as a system morpheme in the ML, then the ML will block or constrain its appearance in the ML. Also if the thematic roles of the EL-ML counterparts are not congruent with each other, ML will again block the appearance of the EL constituent. In addition, if the EL-ML content morphemes are not congruent with each other in terms of

pragmatic discourse functions, ML will block the occurrence of the EL content morpheme. Hence, Meyers-Scotton (1993a, p. 7) proposes the following hypotheses:

I. **The Matrix Language Hypothesis** – The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML + EL constituents.

II. **The Blocking Hypothesis** – The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet congruency conditions with ML conterparts.

III. **The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis** – Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML Hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island (ELI).

IV. **The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis** – Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.

In addition to these hypotheses, Myers-Scotton (1993a) believes that in order to participate in the actual CS network, the speakers must master the systems morphemes and the grammatical structure of the EL. They don't have to know all of content morphemes in the EL. The speakers must have more ability in the ML than in the EL. My study handles primarily the codemixing circumstances of the data. Nevertheless, I will analyze the general applicability of the MLF to the situation in my study. Further, I discuss other factors that may or may not affect the output of the speakers in this study.

2.3   PRESTIGE, POSITION AND STATUS FACTORS

Codeswitching may reflect language contact situations as is described in Gal's (1978) paper on German-Hungarian *co-existence* in Oberwart. CS may also be affected by the *diglossic* hierarchical representation of H(igh) and L(ow) languages, based on *prestige, position* and *identity*. Peter Martin's (2005) study of codeswitching and codemixing of Malay and Belait in Northern Borneo illustrates clearly that Malay is the dominant language in that specific environment. My study presents a linguistic situation, which Fishman (1967) calls '*Bilingualism without diglossia.*' In the speech community in question, neither Russian nor English dominate the other during certain prestigious domains. Neither consistently possesses a power indexed in usage over the other or in all contexts. In other words, the speakers do not use the ML or the EL in specific domains which are indexed with power. For instance, when the speakers enter a synagogue or another respected, prestigious location, they do not change their way of speech and continue to codemix in the same manner as they would in other locations. Hence, I propose that the languages of my study are hierarchically indistinguishable. The code choice is demonstrated not by motivations of prestige and power, but is strictly illustrated and motivated by topic and discourse context, and by idiomatic, automatized utterances that appear as ELCs or ELIs in our data. (See the Appendices)

The concepts of codeswitching and codemixing may reflect the *ethnic and racial relations* of languages or dialects as found in the studies by Marjolein Gysels (1992). These studies attempt to illustrate the situations of codeswitching in Africa and seek to distinguish between the concepts of code-switching and borrowing. Gysels (1992) enhances our systematic approach to this distinction and argues that a categorical

distinction between these concepts cannot be made. She shows that elements from the embedded language may be borrowings and may be used as codeswitches in the same context. Although my study will not deal with constructs of racial relations, I agree with Gysels' (1992) understanding of the lack of categorical distinctions between the concept of borrowings, codeswitches and codemixes because in this study the same boundaries between these definitions are blurred and indistinguishable.

2.4   THE EFFECT OF TOPIC AND DISCOURSE CONTEXT

Gysels (1992) presents other key concepts that identify certain *functions* of language use: *topic marking, conversational turn* and *emphasis.* She illustrates how the speakers of her study codeswitch for specific *pragmatic purposes.* Gysels (1992) continues Fabian's (1982) work, describing and emphasizing how borrowing and codeswitching may fulfill discourse functions like *foregrounding* and *change in subject* amongst others mentioned above. Similar elements are at work in our study. From the data, it is evident that the participants often codeswitch due to a change in subject and topic. Certain topics demand the use of one code over the other and thus influence the linguistic choice. For instance, we find that when the speakers discuss American sports they often switch to English, the EL and full utterances or sentence fragments appear as ELIs. (Segment 1, Lines 50, 51, 54). Hence, we may suggest that topic influences the choice of code for the speakers, because they are more comfortable in describing the actions of this topic in the language closest to the topic.

2.5   IDENTITY AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

In Blommaert's (1992, p. 64) view, *communicative competence* serves a major role in a systematic codeswitching pattern. In the current study I claim that the mixed code allows the participants to communicate with ease and comfort. Blommaert (1992, p.65) calls *communicative competence* a "macro-concept: the phenomenon of codeswitching and codemixing allows the participants of the speech community to achieve the highest levels of communicative competence." The members of such a community are not constrained by one code and are able to freely use both codes in communication with other in-group members. Myers-Scotton (1993a) also suggests that codeswitching is a way to overcome difficulties in sentence creation, since speakers have the use of the resources of more than one language. The participants of my study have stated that the ability to use two language and mix freely, allowed them to converse competently and confidently and with ease.   Hence, appropriate codemixing and codeswitching patterns are a part of this community's communicative competence.

Blommaert (1992) explores the concept of *identity*, and agrees with Myers-Scotton (1989). They propose that codeswitching may construct *identity by exclusion* due to class or other hierarchical structures, or inclusion due to membership, created by the use of a specific code in a particular circumstance. Inclusion into the specific group, which is directly designated by language, generates a certain unique cohesion for the members of the speech community of this study and allows the speakers to associate with a particular identity, while out-group members, even if fluent in Russian and English are designated by the inability to codemix and associate with the *specific in-group identity.* Since CM and CS are a part of the overall communicative competence of the members of

this speech community, the speakers that do not obtain such specific speech patterns would not be able to identify with the group as easily as the speakers that do possess codemixing patterns. They would be identified as out-group members and treated as such, which often results in a less-communicative situation. The participants of this study have stated that interlocutors that do not posses the specific patterns of CM and CS, often feel 'out of place' while in conversation with in-group members.

Didier Goyvaerts' (1992) studies discuss how multiple identities may be revealed through systematic linguistic analysis. His extensive research in the town of Bukavu (a principal center in former Zaire, today's Congo) illustrates that codeswitching, which is represented by marked (unusual, less natural) choices, often occurs *intersententially*. Each sentence or utterance appears entirely in one language. However, unmarked (usual, natural) choices of codeswitching often occur *intrasententially*. Two or more languages are mixed within the same sentence or utterance. Therefore, he posits that speakers do not accept the unnatural codemixing choices and prefer to mix intrasententially with more natural examples. I am defining natural speech as speech that is generated with ease and without pronunciation and processing difficulties, the unnatural marked speech has an opposite definition and is produced with discomfort and difficulty. This thesis postulates similarly that speakers prefer to utilize natural, unmarked forms. These forms are often created due to the constraints which are discussed in detail in the second chapter. A similar case is observed by Peter Martin (2005) in his study in Brunei. He demonstrates that in the town of Kuala Belait, where the language distinctions are more pronounced, most speakers tended to mix and switch intersententially. On the other hand, the

participants in the village of Kiudang, where language distinctions are less prominent, the people tended to mix intrasententially.

I propose that this study will illustrate a similar pattern. From the data, it is transparent that the most natural, unmarked code-mixes occur intrasententially. In other words, it is accepted for the speakers to mix the codes within sentences. The participants in the study codeswitch intersententially, and their linguistic choices are influenced by specific topics, purposes and morphophonological constraints. If the speakers choose to speak about particular topics that index American culture, we observe that they codeswitch intersententially. In other words, whole sentences appear entirely in English. However, when the conversation addresses inter-cultural concerns or topics, we notice that the speakers mix intrasententially.

Therefore, these studies show that the speakers are negotiating codeswitching according to specific *purposes, topics* and *goals*, reflecting the *power* and/or *solidarity* indexicalities. Based on Myers-Scotton's (1983) *markedness model*, which seeks to explain the roles of marked and unmarked choices and their frequencies, Goyvaerts (1992) posits a *markedness dictionary*, which exists in continuous revision, forced and influenced by socio-historical and linguistic factors. Every competent speaker of the speech community possesses this dictionary in his/her mental lexicon and chooses to codeswitch according to each specific circumstance. This thesis proposes that the speakers of the speech community in question possess such a dictionary and it has become part of their sociolinguistic competence. Such a dictionary may consist of two separate language paradigms or one mixed dictionary with both languages placed in one paradigm in some manner. This statement is significant since, further in this study I

suggest that the participants of the current study have developed a third mixed code. This code has become the preferred method of communication with in-group members. Goyvaerts (1992) is unable to describe the nature of this mental dictionary and how codechoice is motivated, although such an abstract idea allows for a plethora of interpretation.

2.6   VARIATION

Code-switching may occur not only between distinct languages but also between *variations of one language*. These changes are illustrated by the studies conducted by DeBose (1992), Burt (1992), Dubois and Horvath (2000), and Labov (1963, 1972). These studies demonstrate how speakers negotiate their linguistic choices between varieties of one language, English. The participants of this study speak multiple variaties of Russian, since they immigrated from different former Soviet Republics. Nevertheless, the Russian sociolect that has been generated in this community is unique in that it unifies the participants even though they come from different varieties of the Russian language. There are definite instances of variation in the speech of this community. Sometimes there occur pronunciation variations of specific Russian phonemes; nonetheless, it never affects comprehension or competence of the speakers. All of the variations are mutually-intelligible.

Monika Heller (1988) presents constructs and variables that influence language choice in most communities. *Status* and *social position* of the language or variation within the speech community can be clearly observed in Labov's studies of Martha's

Vineyard's (1963) and the study of New York's Lower East Side (1972), where the speakers chose a certain variety due to their *perception of the quality* and *status* of the language in the community and how this variety presented their identity. The constructs of status and quality also influence the identity of the participants of this study, however they are not the integral motivating factors for language choice for the participants of the current study. The members of the Russian speech community observed in this study possess similar status and class features and relate to each other beyond physical and material needs unlike the individuals in the Labov studies. The communication of the speakers in this study is motivated by cultural and social needs.

Penelope Eckert (2000) examines how *social goals* and *practices* compel the speakers to use a specific code, and how *group allegiance*, *boundaries* and *membership* often create tensions for the speakers and necessitate a specific code-choice. She defines a *community of practice* as an "aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise" (p. 35). The participants in her study, students at Belten High School near Detroit, Michigan, shared certain practices, beliefs and values that defined their identities and developed their linguistic varieties. The participants in the current study are not united solely by a specific type of activity or practice. There are very minimal boundaries between speech activities and events in this speech community. The speakers of Russian community in this thesis are not defined by their activities as are the 'Burnouts' and 'Jocks' in Eckert's (2000) study. The language of the community in this study, the mixed code, is not defined by the practices of the members of the community. It encompasses all of the phases of their in-group communication. No specific practice

can be observed as the unifying factor of these participants. The language itself may serve as a unifying factor.

2.7   CLASS AND AGE FACTORS

Blommaert (1992) illustrates how the use of codeswitching affected by these factors may create a distinct *sociolect* or a mixed code at the group level. In his study, Blommaert (1992) discovers sociolinguistic associations attached to the process of code-switching. The concepts and variables of *class* and *age* designate and influence the specific usage of a particular code. The current study is not influenced by class distinctions, however the creation of our sociolect is directly dependent on age. All of the members of our speech community are identified primarily by age as well as heritage.

There are other *generational differences* in codeswitching practices. This concept is clearly evident, through the studies of Martin (2005), Labov (1972), Dubois and Horvath (2000) and Farris (1992). These studies illustrate how age affects code choice. Farris (1992) demonstrates how Chinese participants in her study codeswitch from babytalk to adult-talk, and how this switch affects parent-child relations and interactions.

Dubois and Horvath (2000) described the linguistic situation where the older generation propagated a certain linguistic variation in Southern Louisiana. The younger generation, due to specific socio-historical reasons, rediscovered this Cajun identity and once again reasserted some of the features of the "grandpa's droll" into their variety. Age affects the codemixing patterns of current speakers as well. The patterns of codeswitching and codemixing do not occur whenever the participants of this study

communicate with the 'older generation' – parents, grandparents and other older members of the Russian community. Also the data demonstrated that age of arrival and time in country directly correlated with the acceptability judgments of the speakers. This is further discussed in chapter two. All of the studies discussed above and the concepts proposed by them contribute to the following study. Most importantly this study leads the reader to conclude that because of an intense and long-term pattern of codemixing, there might exist and develop a *third separate code*, which is born, as in the Swigart's (1992) study, out of a prolonged language contact and becomes often the least marked and most favored choice for the speakers of the community.

The next chapters provide the research questions and hypotheses of the current study. It also describes the participants as a group and how they compare to the rest of the society and the methodology that was utilized in the experiment. The analysis of the data and the presentation of the constraints appear in the second chapter.

3.0   THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study I wanted to observe the patterns of speech in the community of Russian immigrants. I could have pursued many possible venues of research in the speech of this community.   I chose to narrow the realm of this study and explore the following questions:

Linguistic factors

1) **LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS** - What verbs are allowed to transfer to the mixed code? What verbs are blocked and why?

2) **TOPICS** - Are codes used in different domains and topics, because of specific relationships between the topics and the language?

Extra-linguistic factors

3) **IDENTITY** - How does the bilingual environment influence the identity of the speakers? Scholars and linguists generally accept that languages index identity of the speakers. The current study asks if the languages create in-group and out-group sections of the community. What are the characteristics of the in-group section, is it distinguished strictly by the age of the participants? How is the in-group defined and separated from the overall Russian-speaking community?

4) **AGE** - How does age affect linguistic choices? Does age of arrival and time spent in the United States correlate with the preference or acceptability of the patterns of codemixing?

5) **AWARENESS** - Are the speakers aware of the code-mixing that occurs in their speech? Do they consider such mixing to be a sociolect being created as a result of their mixing and switching?

3.1   METHOD OF THE CURRENT STUDY

The study was conducted at the researcher's home, where the participants were audio recorded and interviewed. I conducted an informal observation of the speech of the members of this community. The observation was conducted with an IRB approval and the permission of the participants. The interaction was audio-taped. The participants were aware that their speech was being recorded. Three separate sessions of interaction were audio-recorded on three different occasions in the period of three weeks. Three randomly picked 20 minute portions of speech were transcribed, transliterated and translated (Appendices E, G and I). Additionally, the participants were asked to fill out two questionnaires. The first questionnaire consisted of Acceptability Judgments (Appendix B). They were asked to give a score of acceptability (Likert Scale of 1 through 5) to 19 verbs. The score of 1 meant that the verb was unacceptable or least acceptable for their speech. The score of 5 meant that the speakers accepted the verb into their speech. In order to find out the preferences of the members of this community, they were told to judge the verbs in terms of their acceptability into their speech in the form

that the verbs appeared in the questionnaire. The second questionnaire dealt with the phonological aspect of the study. In the phonological questionnaire (Appendix C), the participants were asked to underline sounds they perceived difficult to pronounce. Then they were asked to judge how difficult these sounds were according to a Likert scale. The score of 1 meant that the sound was very hard to pronounce. The score of 5 meant that they have no difficulty pronouncing the sound. Moreover, an interview was conducted with each participant (Interview Protocol – Appendix A). They were asked about their identity and awareness of their language patterns. They were asked whom they interact with and if they used the same kind of speech with different members of the Russian community in Pittsburgh. General data was also collected during the interview which included: current age of each participant, age of arrival and time spent in country. The results from the questionnaires were correlated with the age of arrival (AGE) of the participants and the time they have spent in the United States (TIME) using SPSS statistics software.

3.1.1 DISCUSSION OF THE METHOD OF THE CURRENT STUDY

The methodology was constructed in order to answer the research questions with the utmost efficiency. The audio recording illustrated the codemixing patterns and established the linguistic and socio-linguistic constraints. The Acceptability Judgment Questionnaire demonstrated the linguistic and structural hypotheses and the participants' responses aided the analysis of the restrictions. These results made it possible to correlate the variable of age and time in country with acceptability and preference

judgments. The interview uncovered how identity, awareness and topics of conversation affect the codemixing process.

There were three taping sessions and the participants were audio taped as they spoke freely about any topic they chose in free conversation. I wanted to record free, uninterrupted speech events and acts of this speech community. After the recording, the participants filled out Acceptability Judgment Questionnaires that dealt with the verbs which I chose to explore. 15 of the verbs appeared in the audio recordings. 4 of the verbs were constructed to address the linguistic constraints which the audio recordings uncovered. There were 19 questions on the questionnaire. The participants were asked to judge the acceptability of these verbs into their speech. In other words, the questionnaire sought to find if they accepted these verbs in those specific codemixed forms as verbs that would enter their speech. Each verb represented a constraint that will be discussed in more detail further in the paper. The questionnaires were supposed to elicit an intuition from the participant about the verbs and the codemixing concept itself. Partnered with the audio recordings, the questionnaires revealed the participants' feelings towards the designated verbs. All of the verbs were divided into five groups and the scores were aggregated. The five groups represented the five constraints that the study presents as plausible restrictions for codemixing in this community.

In addition, the participants were interviewed. They were asked a number of questions that dealt with preliminary data: current age, age of arrival to the United States, time in country; identity: if they identify themselves as Americans or Russians; topics and domains of their English and Russian usage, self-awareness of codemixing usage in their own speech. The interview exposed the participants' feelings towards their

language identity. It demonstrated what the participants thought their languages meant to them. It showed that the participants are aware of this mixed code and that they realize that during certain topics of conversation, they tend to mix and switch more frequently than during others.

They were also asked about certain phonological segments. They were asked to underline troublesome sounds in 20 words and then judge each word according to acceptability or preference. In other terms, they judged if they preferred these sounds or not, according to the same Likert scale. This short questionnaire was meant to show that all of the participants have a similar understanding of difficult English phonological segments. The audio recording showed how these participants codemix in a free environment. The questionnaires demonstrated the preferences of certain forms over others. The interview exposed the participants' beliefs and feelings towards their language identity. (The complete scripts of the transcribed audio recording can be found in the Appendices E, G and I.)

3.2   PARTICIPANTS OF THE CURRENT STUDY

25 native Russian speakers participated in the current study. 14 of the speakers are males and 11 are females. The oldest speaker was 32 years old and the youngest speaker was 21 at the time of data collection. There are two speakers that arrived in the United States at the age of 10. One speaker arrived when he was 18. So the range of the age of arrival is between 10 and 18. One participant has only spent 6 years in the United States. On the other hand one participant has spent 18 years of his life in the United States. So the

range of the time in country is between 6 and 18. All of the participants are bilingual and speak English and Russian fluently. They have mastered all grammatical structures in both languages. They were born and grew up in various locations of the former Soviet Union. They grew up with various cultural and dialectical backgrounds, however these backgrounds do not affect the linguistic output of this group. The participants of this study represent a specific small portion of the overall Russian population of Pittsburgh. They represent the young in-group of immigrants, that still has retained the understanding and knowledge of their homeland, though fitting perfectly into their new American environment. The participants are part of a small Russian community in Pittsburgh. The whole community is comprised of 3000 people. They were chosen for the study because they belonged to the smaller speech community and each participant knew the researcher.

3.3   HYPOTHESES

3.2.1   DISCUSSION AND INTRODUCTION TO HYPOTHESES

Scholars generally suggest that speakers codeswitch and codemix extensively in order to attain a better sense of communicative competence and comprehension within the group as discussed by Blommaert (1992) and Myers-Scotton (1997). In other words, the speakers utilize the mixed code in order to communicate with each other easier and allow a smooth communicative process. Members of such speech communities develop norms of recognition and interpretation by codeswitching and codemixing in a specific way.

These norms are shared by all of the members of the speech community making communication unmarked and natural.

The participants of the current study do not constitute a community of practice as presented in Eckert's (2000) study. In other terms, their relationship is not strictly constituted upon a particular practice. They participate in many activities and are not restricted to special events and practices like the Burnouts and Jocks of Eckert's (2000) study. Their completely fluent, bilingual context creates a significant possibility for a development of a mixed language, which bonds the group together as a distinguishable speech community and separates the group from the overall Russian community in Pittsburgh, PA. The speakers have a choice to speak in Russian, English or the mixed code. All of the participants of this study choose the mixed code, a separate language variety, which is created by mixing Russian as the Matrix Language (ML) and English as the Embedded Language (EL). I propose that it is easier for the participants to utilize the mixed language in this in-group and their conversation are fluid and natural in this separate, third code. The transcriptions will show the abundance and preference to use the mixed code for all of the participants. Nevertheless, their speech is restricted by linguistic and socio-linguistic constraints.

The participants' matrix language is Russian, which is the code that contains most of the lexical items that appear in speech events. The concept of the ML is explained by Myers-Cotton (1993a). They embed English lexical items and English idiomatic phrases and utterances in order to create their new alternate mixed code. Neither language has power over the other. Prestige and power do not play a significant role in the creation and production of the mixed code.

The choices of the speakers are directed by domains and topics of conversations and are limited by morphophonological constraints. Therefore, codemixing patterns are affected by topics and domains; morphophonological constraints; and semantic considerations. Each of these effects will be explained in detail further in this chapter. The morphological elements are presented via Shanskii's (1968) and Vinogradov's (1953) extensive portrayals of the Russian morphological system and allow the current study to grasp the phenomenon that appears to encompass both the phonological and morphological features and restrictions. Only morphophonologically preferred forms are borrowed into the speakers' output, since they are usually phonologically unmarked, natural and easy to pronounce. I postulate that English verbs, with the syllable structure of CVC, are preferred by the speakers. The morphophonological limitations are generated by Russian patterns and rules and restrict the appearance of dispreffered forms. Hence, these items are unmarked and are permitted to enter the matrix language, though still restricted by other phonological and semantic constraints. The constraints are formally explicated further in the study.

The speakers mix intrasententially and intermorphemically, creating a special *sociolect*, generated by language contact and co-existence, similar to the situation that occurred in the study conducted by Martin (2005). In his study of Northern Borneo co-existence of Malay and Belait demonstrated that language may mix intrasententially and intersententially. The speakers of those communities in Northern Borneo are influenced by multiple languages and cultures (including Arabic and English). They codeswitch extensively, utilizing all of the languages available in their repertoire. Some of the older and inland speakers identify stronger with the traditional language and culture of Belait,

33

while other younger, coastal inhabitants are identifying more with the modern language of Malay. The participants of this study identify with both American and Russian elements of society and develop allegiances to both groups, both speech communities and both national identities.

The group of speakers in the current study is a *generationally restricted* speech community. Codemixing and codeswitching occurs only within this group. Unlike in the Cajun region of Dubois and Horvath (2000) study, where the older generation generated and propagated the Cajun features, the current study posits that when the speakers of the in-group communicate with the members of the out-group – their parents or grand-parents (separated by generations), the participants of the study do not code-switch or code-mix, and if they do, they execute such changes extremely infrequently. The out-group does not possess the appropriate norms of recognition and interpretation to competently comprehend the intentions of the younger generation and the mixed code the younger generation has generated. Furthermore, the study seeks to examine what indexicalities, if any, may exist as a result of the specific code-mixing that occurs in this community.

3.2.2 HYPOTHESES

Linguistic factors:

Hypothesis 1 (refers to the first research question) – There are constraints that disallow or limit certain verbs to codemix. These constraints are ranked according to their ability to be violated and guide and restrict the output of the speakers.

I propose that the following constraints restrict the transfer of specific codemixed verbs into the speech of this community:

Constraints

1. All English verbs must have a coda in order to appear in the mixed code and allow the affixation of Russian morphemes onto its root-form. The ***Coda Necessity Constraint (CODA)*** is fatal and is never violated. The transcription data will clearly show that the speakers do not allow for coda-less verbs to enter the mixed code. Moreover, the participants in this study are asked to judge the acceptability into the mixed code of coda-less verbs morphologically inflected in the same manner as the verbs with codas. I hypothesize that the speakers will not judge these verbs favorably, and will not accept them into the mixed code.

2. Speakers of this community prefer single syllable English verbs to transfer into the mixed code. ***Multi-syllable Constraint (MS)*** is very rarely violated. The data will again show that the Multi-syllabic verbs rarely transfer into the mixed code. These type of verbs transfer only because they contain a special semantic quality which is necessary for the speech event. The participants will be asked to judge Multi-syllabic English verbs, which are inflected with Russian morphology like the single syllable verbs. I posit that the speakers will not readily accept these verbs into their mixed code and judge them unfavorably.

3. Speakers prefer to transfer verbs that are semantically distinct from the possible equivalents in Russian. If the verb contains indexicalities particular

to English, then the speaker often chooses to use this verb in the mixed code. However, the ***Semantic Differentiation Constraint (SD)*** is often violated, because the speakers are bilingual and code-mix and switch freely. This constraint acts in congruence with the second constraint in that the semantic quality of the verb will designate its ability to enter the mixed code. Thereby, the data will show that verbs that violate other constraints will transfer into the mixed code, because they are necessary items of the speech event.

4. Speakers prefer to transfer the verbs that do not contain phonemic features that do not exist in the Russian phonemic inventory. The ***Phonemic Inventory Constraint (PI)*** is often violated. Firstly, the speakers are bilingual and hence are able to pronounce all English sounds. Secondly, the verbs are often needed in the mixed code, because of their semantic quality. The data will show that the majority of transferred verbs do not contain phonemes that do not appear in the Russian phonemic inventory. Furthermore, the participants were asked to judge the acceptability of particular sounds in a phonological survey, which could be found in Appendix C. They were asked to underline a sound in the words provided in the questionnaire and judge this sounds according to its acceptability and preference. I suggest that all of the speakers will underline the same sounds that they find problems articulating and pronouncing and thus accepting. They will judge these sounds critically.

5. Finally, speakers of this community prefer verbs that do not contain consonant clusters, especially clusters that are not found in the Russian language. Nevertheless, for the same reasons as above the ***Consonant Cluster***

Constraint (CC) is often violated. The transcriptions will show that most of the verbs that the speakers transfer into the mixed code do not contain consonant clusters. I postulate that the majority of the mixed verbs will possess a CVC structure. However, some verbs with consonant clusters will appear in the data. These verbs are necessary for the speech events and often occur in the data. The participants will not judge these verbs as harshly as they will with the verbs from the other constraints. Overall, I claim that the participants will accept these verbs more readily than the other verbs in the questionnaire. The questionnaire may be found in Appendix B.

Hypothesis 2 (refers to the second research question) – The mixed code is a result of a bilingual environment that does not possess features of diglossia or prestige. Topics of discourse often designate the nature and layout of CS that occurs in this community. The transcribed data will demonstrate patterns of CS. I hypothesize that the speakers will codeswitch more when discussing topics which are directly connect with the EL.

Extra-linguistic factors:

Hypothesis 3 (refers to the third research question) – Codemixing is restricted to in-group communication. The interview of the participants will illustrate that all of the members of this speech community utilize the mixed code only when conversing with other members of this speech community. I suggest that they do not speak in the same manner with their grand-parents or older members of the overall Russian community. Also I suggest that the speakers that arrived to the United States do not codemix as frequently and easily as the speakers that arrived at an earlier age. This should be shown

by the correlations conducted with the acceptability judgments of the participants and the time in country data gathered from the speakers during the interview.

Hypothesis 4 (refers to the fourth research question) – Furthermore, Age of arrival (AGE) and time spent in the United States (TIME) correlate with the acceptability judgments of the participants. The aggregated scores of the acceptability judgments will be correlated with the statistics of age of arrival of each participant and the time spent in country with the help of the SPSS statistics software.   I theorize that the individuals who have spent more time in country and arrived when they were younger codemix more and are more accepting of codemixed forms in their mixed code.

Hypothesis 5 (refers to the fifth research question) – The participants identify with the mixed code and are aware of its features. The interview should illustrate that the speakers of this community identify with this mixed code and knowingly produce mixed forms. The conscious awareness of the mixed code adds to the allure of this third language and generates a realization of identity and in-group mentality. I propose that these factors further unite these speakers and construct a stronger, more communicative speech community.

4.0   ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The first section of this chapter discusses the linguistic factors of this thesis. Firstly I present the linguistic morphophonological constraints that affect the speakers' output. The data is analyzed to show how morphophonological constraints restrict and guide the speakers' language choices for the pattern of codemixing that appears in their speech. Second, I describe the pattern of codeswitching and codemixing and how topics of the discourse often designate and influence the output. I demonstrate in the data how topics of conversation affect the speakers' CS patterns and frequency. Third, I discuss the results of the phonological questionnaire and show that the speakers unanimously demonstrate their dispreference for particular phonological segments. I illustrate that the results of the phonological survey, found in Appendix C, prove that the speakers are unanimously aware of the difficult to pronounce sounds and disprefer these sounds, because they do not appear in the phonemic inventory of Russian. Fourth, I describe how age of arrival and time in country correlate with the acceptability judgments of the participants. The correlation show that the speakers that arrived at a younger age judge the codemixed verbs with more acceptability and thereby allow them to enter the mixed code. The fifth discussion deals with the variables of identity and self-awareness. From the qualitative data of the interviews, I claim that the mixed code is directly connected to the identity of the participants and indexes in-group norms. I also contend that the

participants are aware of the patterns of their language. I propose that this self-awareness aids in the establishment of the identity behind this speech community and creates a further plausible environment for the existence and growth of the mixed code. An Index of Abbreviations may be found in Appendix D. All Russian words are transliterated and no phonetic transcription is utilized for ease of transfer and formatting.

4.1   MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS

4.1.1   DISCUSSION ON CONSTRAINTS

The data demonstrate that constraints affect the codemixing process and are ranked in order to allow only certain forms to surface in the mixed code and to acquire the Russian morphological affixation. Some of the constraints are never violated and thus forms that are restricted by these constraints will never appear in the mixed code. These constraints are ranked the highest in our paradigm of limitations. I will utilize the *Optimality Theory's* (Prince & Smolensky, 1993) format and terms in order to present and describe the ranking system and explain how certain forms are restricted from occurring in the mixed code. *Optimality Theory's* (Prince & Smolensky, 1993) states that grammatical forms compete with each other and linguistic constraints designate which of the forms appears in the surface representation. However, the verb forms in the current study are not competing for the best possible surface output. All of the constraints are actually interacting with each other to produce the surface representation. Hence, the OT terminology is used in order to describe the effect of the constraints on the codemixing

environment. These linguistic and structural constraints affect, influence and guide the codemixing process.

Since the speakers are completely bilingual and are able to produce all utterances in both languages fluently, most of the constraints and restrictions are violable. In other words, the speakers are not completely restricted by these constraints. They are affected, limited and influenced by them and the output is manipulated because of these limitations. Nonetheless, the speakers are able to accept almost many forms and possible choices for their mixed code because the mixed code is an evolving entity, which is still developing. Therefore, the speakers often violate the constraints that are proposed in this study. However, I propose that one of the constraints cannot be violated and another is very rarely violated. The constraints guide the production of codemixed speech in this community. The data support the view that most of the speech is affected by the proposed constraints. All of the constraints are affected by the syllable structure and/or semantic quality of the verb. There are many other limitations and restrictions in the codemixed speech of this community, such as the restrictions against certain plural forms of nouns and limitations of codemixed adjectives and their forms, nonetheless I picked to focus on five specific constraints, because they are the most visible and integral restrictions that appear in the speech of this study's participants.

As the speakers incorporate a verb into their mixed code, they attach the Russian morphological affixes to the stems of the English verbs. The prefixes often designate the aspectual quality of the verb. The data shows that all aspectual prefixes are able to be affixed onto the English borrowed verb-stems. As I described in Chapter 2.1, the aspectual paradigm in the Russian language is very complex and it is difficult to construct

clear reasoning behind certain aspectual marking. Therefore, the underlying elements contained by the English verbs, like transitivity and punctuality, do not affect the affixation of aspectual markers. In other words, the aspectual affixation won't affect the transfer of the English verbs, and it will not make a difference if the English verbs are transitive or intransitive, stative, durative or punctual. Hence, aspect will not play an integral part in this paper. In any case, the aspectual nature of Russian verbs is beyond the scope of this thesis and further research is needed to analyze the effect of aspect on the codemixing process. However, I mark all of the aspect affixation in data transcriptions to the best of my ability in order to give a fuller description and analysis of the data and to show that all aspectual possibilities are being utilized by the speakers of the mixed code. (All of the transcriptions can be found in Appendices E, G and I.) Each codemixed verb is individually analyzed in Appendix N. An example of this complex aspectual nature is the verb [*chill*]. It is used with different aspects in lines 26 (*imperfective aspect*) of the second segment and line 12 (*punctual/imperfective aspect*) of the third segment. (The list of abbreviations can be found in Appendix D. The analysis of individual codemixed verbs can be found in Appendix N.) In the first example, the verb [chill-aem] – we are chilling, possesses an imperfective aspect, while in the second example [po-chill-aem] contains a punctual/perfective aspect. The punctual aspect asserts that the action occurs for a specific, short period of time. The speaker specifies the temporal meaning of the conversation with this aspectual affixation.

CMV 15

26.   **chill-**aem,   sme-yom-sya   ot   pyanstv-a

         Chill-1PR PL PRES   laugh 1PR PL PRES REFL   from drunkenness BEN

         Chilling and laughing from being very drunk.
                            (Second Segment – Appendix G)

CMV 21   **ELC**

12.   po-**chill-**aem,   a   potom po-smotrim   **box**

         PUNC-chill-1PR PL FUT   and then   PUNC-look-1PR PL FUT   box

         We'll chill, and then we'll watch some box
                      (Third Segment – Appendix I)

Suffixes in Russian may designate gender, number, person, tense and reflexivity. Some suffixes in Russian may possess gender, number, person and tense at the same time. For example, the past tense marker [*al*] also contains features of masculinity, singularity and a 1st or 2nd person marking. An example of such an affixation appears in the verb [*sobr-al*] – 'gathered' in line 43 of the second segment.

43.   s-del-ayut!   Ya takoi   sobr-al

         INST-do-3PR PL FUT.   I   such A   gather 1PR SG M PAST

                        I gathered
                         (Second Segment – Appendix G)

Furthermore, a verb that appears in the mixed code may acquire multiple affixes. The verb [*po-**puk-**ala*] is an example. It appears in line 17 of the second segment. The English verb 'to puke' (*meaning 'to vomit'*) is borrowed and incorporated into the mixed code by attaching both a prefix and a suffix. Even though the verb 'puke' contains a non-Russian phoneme [u] (with a slight preceding glottal stop and aspirated [p]), that does not

appear in the Russian phonemic inventory, the speaker chooses to transfer this verb into the mixed code and attach multiple affixes to its base. [po] is a prefix designating a punctual aspect and stating that the action continued for a specific short time (Chesnokova 1991), while [al-a] is a suffix combination that designates the gender (feminine – with the addition of the suffix [a]), number (singular), person (3rd person, she) and tense (past) with the suffix [al]. Hence, the mixed verbs are able to incorporate both Russian suffixes and prefixes into their surface structure.

CMV 13

17.   u-kladiva-t',   ona po-   **puk-** ala   chutok pri vhode

        COMPL-lay INF she PUNC puke   3PR SG PAST bit   by entrance LOC

        to put her to bed, she puked a bit by the entrance.
                                            (Second Segment – Appendix G)

I.   *Coda Necessity Constraint (CODA)*

        Whether a verb is used in the mixed code is restricted by morphophonological and semantic constraints. One phonological constraint is that verbs that do not contain a coda do not transfer into the mixed code, because of the *Coda Necessity Constraint*. This constraint is never violated. As I have stated in Chapter 2.1, scholars have proposed that a large number of Russian verbs possess a CVC structure in their stem. I posit that due to the *OCP constraint* (Goldsmith, 1976), which states that a language will block the appearance of similar adjacent sounds, coda-less verbs do not transfer into the mixed code. The *OCP constraint* is a language universal. If the speakers were transfer coda-less verbs into the mixed code, they would contain three vowels adjacently. An example would be: [g**o-ae**m] – we are going. This verb violates the OCP and the Coda Necessity

44

Constraint. These two constraints are essentially the same. I will use the Coda Necessity

Constraint terminology, because the data deal specifically with verbs and their codas,

while the OCP may deal with all adjacent sounds. There are three vowels in this verb as

a result of the affixation of the morphological inflection to a coda-less verb. Therefore,

verbs like *do, *know and *go do not transfer into the mixed code. The transcriptions

further illustrate that the verbs do not transfer into the mixed code and the Russian

equivalents are used. In the first segment, the Russian equivalent verbs are used by the

speakers and the verb 'know' is not borrowed and not transferred into the mixed code in

lines 5 and 38; verb 'do' – lines 6 and 53; 'go' – lines 27, 49, 64. The same phenomenon

occurs in the other segments as well: second segment – 'know' – lines 38, 81, 'do' – 3,

13; third segment – 'know' – line 9; 'do' - line 1; 'go' – line 3. There are many examples

of this sort in the data. Speakers tend to codeswitch and borrow one of these verbs as a

part of an Embedded Language Constituent (ELC) or an Embedded Language Island

(ELI). (Example, line 62 in the first segment)

ELI

62.   kakie nibud' **drinks, treats or something, you know!?**

         What some   drinks, treats or something, you know!?

         Some drinks, treats or something, you know!?
                                (First Segment – Appendix E)

Furthermore, these kinds of verbs, the verbs that do not contain a coda, are not

transferred into the **mixed code.** The Acceptability Judgments questionnaire data also

confirm that all of the participants no matter when they arrived in the United States or

how many years they have spent in the United States disprefer codemixed verbs that

45

come from coda-less English verbs. (The results of the questionnaire may be found in the Appendices O, P, Q and R.) Almost all of the participants gave a score of one or two on the Likert scale to the codemixed verbs like [**go-aem**] – 'we are going' and [**draw-ala**] – 'she drew' (one being the most unacceptable level). The average aggregated score for this category was 1.3. Hence, the speakers do not transfer coda-less EL verbs into the mixed code, because they possess a *Coda Necessity Constraint* which restricts such transfer.

Another example that brings forth more evidence of this constraint appears on line 80 in the first segment. The EL verb '*play*' surfaces as another coda-less verb. It emerges as an Embedded Language Constituent (ELC) and does not acquire any ML morphological affixation. It is an ELC, because it is realized in the present progressive aspect of English – [playing] and stays in that form as the speaker codeswitches to the EL. In other words, it has English morphology and not Russian.   This example contributes as evidence for the *Coda Necessity Constraint* and shows that the speakers are not able to transfer coda-less verbs into the mixed code.

ELC

80. Vova: Da ya prosto   **playing**,

              Yes I   just ADV   playing

              Hey, I'm only playing

                                        (Second Segment – Appendix G)

Another example of this constraint occurs in the third segment in lines 3, 27 and 63. The speakers use the phrasal verb 'to go out' in their speech. Both speakers do not transfer the verb 'go' into the mixed code. Nevertheless, they codeswitch and allow the EL constituent [out], the particle borrowed from the phrasal verb 'go out,' to enter their

speech.   The verb does not transfer because it is coda-less and it violates the Coda Necessity Constraint.

ELC   ELC (name)

3.   po-id-yom   **out** v **Level**!

             PUNC-go-1PR PL FUT   out in Level!

       We would go out to Level
                                    (Third Segment – Appendix I)

ELC

27. Sveta: Nado   vsyo ravno   po-iti   **out** potom, horosho!?

             Necessary ADV all   equal ADV PUNC-go INF out then,   good!?

       We need to go out later either way, right!
                                    (Third Segment – Appendix I)

ELC

63.   Teper' mi i   mozh-em   po-iti   **out**, Svetochka!

             Now   we and can 1PR PL PRES PUNC-go INF out, Svetochka!

       Now we can go out, Svetochka! (name DIM)
                                    (Third Segment – Appendix I)

II.   *Semantic Differentiation (SD)*

Another constraint is **Semantic Differentiation**: the verb that will transfer into the mixed code cannot have a transparent, unmarked translation in Russian. If the word has an exact equivalent in Russian, then the speakers tend to use the Russian verb instead of transferring the English verb, even if the English verb does not violate all other constraints. Hence, the verbs like ***sit***, and ***run*** will not transfer into the mixed code, even though they do not violate any other constraints.   These verbs have exact

47

translations in Russian. There is no semantic need for transfer. The following verbs do not have exact Russian translations 'to chill,' 'to puff,' 'to spell,' 'to puff,' 'to click,' 'to jab.' These verbs appear in the transcriptions (Appendices E, G and I) in the codemixed context. They are borrowed into the codemixed sphere because of the semantic qualities. They are semantically necessary for the speakers and these verbs contain specific indexical qualities that the speech needs.

Not all of the verbs appearing in the mixed code are semantically necessary. The speakers often transfer the verbs that do possess Russian semantic equivalents for multiple reasons. Firstly, speakers often disprefer the Russian verb because of its difficulty of pronunciation. Even though these speakers are native speakers of Russian, some verbs are easier to pronounce in English (EL) than in Russian (ML). For instance, the verbs 'to teach' and 'to move' have exact equivalents in the ML. 'To teach' is [prepodavat'] and 'to move' means [pereezzhat']. According to the intuition of the speakers, both of the verbs are significantly harder to pronounce than the English equivalents.

	CMV 27		**ELC**	**ELC**

39. Sasha: A   on **mov-**aet-sya   v etot **weekend**,   v **New York**.

            But he move-3PR SG PRES REFL in this weekend,   in New York

            But he is moving this weekend, to New York.
                                                  (Third Segment – Appendix I)

	CMV 28	**CMN 17**

44. Sasha: **Teach-**ayet   pro **computer-**i   chto-to,

            Teach 3PR SG PRES about computer PL something

He teaches something about computers
<p style="text-align:right">(Third Segment – Appendix I)</p>

The EL verbs transfer into the mixed code because of ease of pronunciation and the CVC preference which will be discussed further in the study, even tough they are not semantically necessary. Secondly, they might use the English verb or item in order to identify with a specific discourse and/or situation. Verbs like 'to puff,' 'to roll' and 'to hit' are designated and describe a situation of smoking and the speakers of this speech community utilize these verbs when they are in this situation.

CMV 22

17. Oleg: A kto tut **puff-**aet? Potom nado reshit'

And who here puff-3PR SG PRES then necessary decide INF

Who puffs (slang for smoking) here? We need to decide
<p style="text-align:right">(Third Segment – Appendix I)</p>

CMV 10

70. Yasha: Mozhet **roll**nyom chto nibud'?

Possible roll 1PR PL FUT what thing

Maybe we can roll something?
<p style="text-align:right">(First Segment – Appendix E)</p>

CMV 20

11. Lyopa: Nu slushai, mi s-nachala po-**hit-**aem,

Well, listen 2PR SG COM we from-beginning PUNC-hit-1PR PL FUT

Well, listen, at first we'll hit a 'little' (slang for smoking)
<p style="text-align:right">(Third Segment – Appendix I)</p>

Other instances of situation and discourse-led codemixing are computer-technology related verbs and lexical items. Many tech verbs and words are borrowed into many

languages. Nouns are exemplified by words like 'computer,' 'mouse' and 'keyboard.' In the data, we find verbs like 'download' and 'click' being transferred into the mixed code, even though they violate other linguistic constraints that will be presented further in the study. These verbs are semantically necessary items and the members of this speech community ignore the linguistic structural restrictions in order to allow these verbs to enter the mixed code.

CMV 1

11. Tanya: **Click**ni,   vot   tut,   i   potom   zdes'…

Click CAUS   right   here   and   then   here

Click right here and then here…
(First Segment – Appendix E)

CMV 5

19. Tanya: Eta programma chto-bi   pesni   **download**at'

This program   that CLITIC   sings PL download INF

This program is for downloading songs
(First Segment – Appendix E)

Thirdly, the English verbs often contain indexicalities that are particular to the person and the circumstance, and hence must be used in a particular, distinct case. 'To chill' is such an example and has multiple levels of indexicality. Its first order indexicality proposes a meaning of relaxing and resting. Its second order indexicality suggests that the individuals are hanging out together without any worries or complaints. Often the verb contains both meanings when it appears in speech. The codemixed verbs that appear in the data will be described individually and appear in Appendix N.

50

	CMV 6		**CMV 7**

22. Vitalii: Mi **chill**aem,   kushaem,   **drink**aem,

            We chill PRES 1PR PL   eat PRES 1PR PL   drink PRES 1PR PL

            We are chilling, eating and drinking,
<div align="right">(First Segment – Appendix E)</div>

	CMV 21			**ELC**

12.   po-**chill-**aem,   a   potom po-smotrim   **box**

            PUNC-chill-1PR PL FUT and then   PUNC-look-1PR PL FUT   box

            We'll chill, and then we'll watch some box
<div align="right">(Third Segment – Appendix I)</div>

Furthermore, the speaker gave a favorable judgment to the verbs that possess a semantic quality which is necessary for the speech event. The average aggregated score from all of the participants is 4.0. Therefore, the speakers accepted the verbs approvingly into the mixed code.

III.   *Multi-syllable Constraint*

The speakers in this speech community tend to transfer only single syllable verbs. Therefore, verbs like **marry* and **understand* do not transfer into the mixed code, because they are multi-syllabic and they violate the *Multi-syllable Constraint*. However, verbs that are semantically necessary for the context and contain more than one syllable may be rarely transferred. The examples of such transference are [*download*] found in lines 17 and 19 of the first segment; and [*support*] found in line 56 of the third segment.

There are no exact ML equivalents to these verbs and therefore they are semantically necessary. Even though these verbs are obviously multi-syllabic, the speakers prefer to transfer them into the mixed code, because these verbs possess qualities that the speakers feel are necessary for the context or discourse.

ELC (name) CMV 4

17. Tanya: Ilya, u   tebya   netu   **Limewire**, s**download**at'?

Ilya, at you GEN   not (verb) GEN   Limewire INST download

Ilya, you don't have Limewire,
                                        (First Segment – Appendix E)

CMV 31

56.   vsyo taki nado   **support-**at'   svoi-h!

All   so   necessary support INF our ACC

All things being equal, we need to support our own.
                                        (Third Segment – Appendix I)

Some verbs stay in their stem forms and appear as ELCs. The speakers do not attach ML affixes to the stems of the verbs '*exaggerate*' and '*back up.*' '*Back up*' as a phrasal verb becomes a multi-syllabic chunk like the verb 'exaggerate.'

ELC

41.   i   **back up** k nam Larisa takaya za   menya   hvatat-etsya

and back up to us Larisa such A over me ACC grab 3PR SG PRES REFL

and they back up to us. Larisa grabs me strongly,
                                        (Second Segment – Appendix G)
                                                          ELC

81.   ti   zna-esh   kak ya lyubl-u   **exaggerate!**

You know 2PR SG PRES how I   love 1PR SG PRES exaggerate!

You know how I love to exaggerate!

<div align="right">(Second Segment – Appendix G)</div>

Moreover, the speakers judged multi-syllabic verbs unfavorably in the Acceptability Judgment Questionnaire. They gave this category the second lowest average aggregated score of 1.9. The speakers did not accept multi-syllabic verbs into their mixed code.

IV.   *Phonemic Inventory Constraint*

The ***Phonemic Inventory*** of English is different from the phonemic inventory of Russian, thus the speakers disprefer to transfer phonemes that do not appear in the Russian language. However, if the verb is semantically differentiated and a need for this verb exists in the mixed code for any reason, and the verb does not violate other higher ranking constraints, it may violate the ***Phonemic Inventory Constraint*** and transfer into the mixed code, even though it contains a phoneme that does not exist in Russian. Consequently, the Russian speakers of this community prefer not to transfer verbs like ****laugh***, (containing [Q]) ****ring***, (containing [N]) and ****judge*** (containing [dʑ]) amongst many other verbs, simply because these phonemes do not appear in the Russian phonemic inventory, while ☺***jab***, (containing [Q] and [dʑ]), which appears in line 47 of the third segment, is semantically necessary for the participants and thereby enters the mixed code, in spite of possessing phonemes that do not occur in Russian.

<div align="right">**CMV 29**</div>

47.	smotri	kak Klichko s-raz-u	**jab-**ayet,
	Look 2PR SG COM	how Klichko from-once BEN	jab 3PR SG PRES

Look how Klichko jabs 'right off the bat' (slang – from the very beginning)

<div align="right">(Third Segment – Appendix I)</div>

Production data cannot provide definite for support this constraint, because it is possible that the verb does not transfer into the mixed code for other reasons. There may exist an exact equivalent in Russian, or the consonant cluster may disallow the verb's entrance. These constraint are often working together to restrict verb transfer. However, the results of the phonological questionnaire (found in Appendix C) demonstrate that the speakers of this speech community disprefer the sounds that do not appear in the ML phonemic inventory by judging them with low acceptability scores.

V. *Consonant Cluster Constraint*

Finally, the speakers of this community have indicated in the Acceptability Judgments Questionnaire (Appendices O and P) that they disprefer verbs that contain consonant clusters. The speakers are influenced by the *Consonant Cluster Constraint*. Further evidence suggests that the speakers prefer CVC verbs. The transcribed segments illustrate that 21 out of 34 (62 %) codemixed verbs (Appendix L) have a CVC construction. Therefore, the data proposes that the speakers prefer the codemixed verbs to possess a CVC structure. All of the speakers judged the CVC verbs in the Acceptability Judgment Questionnaire favorably. Regardless of whether the speakers entered the country at a young age or later in their lives, all of them gave high, very accepting scores to the CVC verbs, like [*chill-aem*]. However, this constraint is often violated and the following verbs enter the mixed code: [*drive*] - line 26 in the first segment; [*drink*] – line 12 in the second segment; [*click*] – line 11 of the first segment;

[*park*] – line 14, second segment; [*bluff*] – lines, 59 and 64, second segment; [*blink*] – line 76, second segment; [*mix*] – line 21, third segment; [*spell*] – line 25, third segment.

CMV 1

11. Tanya: **Click**ni,   vot   tut,   i   potom zdes'…

Click CAUS   right here and then   here

Click right here and then here…
(First Segment – Appendix E)

CMV 9

26. Ilya: Ne, vsyo est'.   A   on **drive**aet   ili Dilyara?

No, all   have INF   and he   drive 3PR SG PRES   or Dilyara?

No, we have everything. Is he driving or Dilyara?
(First Segment – Appendix E)

The verb [*drive*] - line 26 in the first segment, is transferred into the mixed code, even though it contains a consonant cluster, because it is semantically and structurally necessary for the context. In Russian 'to drive (a car)' can be only said in a two word combination – [*vezti mashinu*], just the verb [*vezti*] means to guide and could be used in multiple contexts. Hence, the English verb 'to drive' has a restricted meaning, especially for the speakers of this community, and means specifically 'to drive a car.' Thereby, the ease of pronunciation and the quality of the word creates the necessary conditions for its transfer. The speakers prefer to use this word since it means exactly what they need it to mean and it is only one word. From the data we can observe that even though these verbs contain consonant clusters in the initial, final or both positions, they are often transferred into the mixed code for multiple reasons, usually because these verbs are semantically desired for the context and the circumstance of each verb situation or they don't have

exact equivalents in the ML, like the verbs: 'to spell,' to bluff,' 'to park' and 'to click.'

Each of these verbs has a specific meaning and cannot be easily translated into Russian.

In the questionnaire, the participants gave the third highest average aggregated score to

this category of verbs – 3.9. Most of the speakers accepted verbs that contained

consonant clusters into their mixed code and judged them favorably.

4.1.2   SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION ON CONSTRAINTS

Hence, according to the analysis above and the acceptability judgment scores, the

hierarchical structure of morphophonological and semantic constraints is as follows:

1.*CODA Necessity Constraint* **- *do, *draw – never violated (FATAL)**
2.*Multiple syllables constraint* **- *marry, *understand – rarely violated**
3.*Semantic Differentiation Constraint***- *sit, *talk, *run – sometimes violated**
4.*Phonemic Inventory Constraint* **- *laugh, *ring, *judge (often violated) ☺ jab**
5.*Consonant Cluster Constraint* **- (***C***)CVC(***C***) – *preference* (often violated) - mix, ☺ drink, ☺ click, ☺ drive (☺chill, ☺move, ☺hit, ☺cook, ☺hug, ☺roll – all CVC – preferred!)**

Nevertheless, I have stated that often these constraints work together to restrict the

entrance of the verb into the mixed code. In relation to Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Matrix

Language-Frame Model (MLF) one may state that in the current study the ML sets the

morphosyntactic frame for the ML + EL interface, which supports MLF's first

hypothesis. Furthermore, the study shows that the ML may set a morphophonological

frame as well. Myers-Scotton (1993a, p. 7) states that the ML blocks the appearance of

any EL content morphemes which are not in agreement (congruence) with its ML

counterparts and when it is blocked it appears as an obligatory EL island. A similar

pattern occurs in the current study, though the EL morphemes may appear as EL

constituents and not as obligatory ELIs. The following example illustrates this point and

shows an instance of many ELCs that appear in the data.

<div align="center">

ELC   **CMN 10**
</div>

64.   na **Penguins games** hodit'   a   esho i   v **box-**e   posidet'!

              on Penguins games go INF and   also and in box LOC sit COMPL INF

              (It's great) to go to penguins games especially to sit in the luxury box!
<div align="right">(First Segment – Appendix E)</div>

Additionally, Myers-Scotton (1993a) proposes that ELIs occur because of their

formulaic, idiomatic or peripheral nature. This study clearly showed that often EL

islands are designated by topic of the discourse and therefore are very formulaic and

idiomatic. This point is discussed further below. Overall, the frame of the speech of this

community fits the parameters presented by the MLF. Nonetheless, it is important to

note that the MLF is meant to deal directly and specifically with codeswitching. The

current study is particularly interested in discovering the patterns of codemixing in the

bilingual environment. Hence, the MLF is not principally adequate to describe the

patterns of speech in this community.

<div align="center">

4.2   DISCUSSION OF TOPICS OF DISCOURSE
</div>

The current study has hypothesized that the pattern of codemixing and codeswitching in

this speech community is affected by the topic of the discourse. In other words, the

speakers switch to the language that they deem to be more appropriate for the specific theme or topic of conversation or to the language that they are more comfortable with describing the specific theme or topic. This is evident from the data. More EL items appear during certain topics of conversation. The following examples illustrate this pattern. The first segment contains a number of Embedded Language Islands (ELIs), where the speakers switched to English during the discussion of a sports activity. Full English sentences and sentence fragments appear in this segment and allow us to see how certain topics designate the code choice.

ELI

50.   **he had the ball between his legs, and somehow got through,**

ELI

51.   nikto   ne smog   bi   **make this play, I'm telling you**!

                  Noone not can   CLITIC

                  Noone can make this play, I'm telling you!

ELI

54. Misha: **By far the best goalie in the game**!

                              (First Segment – Appendix E)

The speakers of this community and especially the participants in this study grew up watching American sports and have become avid sports fans. Sports is a frequent topic of conversation especially amongst men. Since this topic revolves around American life and is experienced in the English language, the speakers tend to choose to

use the Embedded Language for more of the discourse. Other topics of conversation that appear in the data do not contain as many ELIs and ELCs as the portions of the transcribed data that deal with sports. Drinking, eating, going out and everyday life is usually described through the use of the Matrix Language. The data demonstrate that the speakers tend to codeswitch to English when discussing sports. The participants of this study tend also to codemix more when discussing particular topics. In the third segment, two participants discuss the upcoming election in Pittsburgh. They describe their feelings on voting and choosing a representative. Since this is an American, even local topic, the participants tend to codemix frequently in this discourse.

CMV 30

53.   **vot-**at'! Pervii raz!

         Vote INF First time!

         to vote for the first time!?

54. Natasha: Seriosno,   zachem   i   za kovo!?

         Seriously ADV   what for and for whom!?

         Seriously, why and for whom!?

              CMN 19   **CMN 20 (name)**

55. Sveta: Tut   za   **representativ-**a   **Dan Frankel-**ya,

         Here for   representative BEN   Dan Frankel BEN

         Here for state representative Dan Frankel

              CMV 31

56.   vsyo taki nado   **support-**at'   svoi-h!

         All   so   necessary   support INF our ACC

All things being equal, we need to support our own.

CMV 32

57. Natasha: i   ti   evo   **choos-**ala,   i   zachem?

And you him ACC choose-2PR SG PAST and what for?

And you chose him, why?

(Third Segment – Appendix I)

There are three codemixed verbs and two codemixed nouns in this five line portion of the third segment. The frequent appearance of Embedded Language items demonstrates the connection of the topic with the necessity of the EL to occur in this passage. Another American topic that contains frequent codemixing and codeswitching is *shopping*. Two female participants discuss shopping in the first segment and they appear to codemix and codeswitch a lot in a short discourse.

ELC

30. Yana: Ti   gde   kupila   takie **shoes**?

You   where bought 2PR SG PAST   these shoes

Where did you buy this kind of shoes?

    ELC   **ELC (name)**

31. Tanya: **Sale** bil   v **DSW**, klassnie,   da?

Sale was PAST 3PR SG in DSW, awesome PL, yes?

There was a sale in DSW, they are awesome right?

         CMA 1   **ELC**

32.   Ochen' **comfortab**elnie. Vsego-lish **thirty dollars**!

Very comfortable PL. Only 30 dollars!

60

They are very comfortable and only 30 dollars!

CMA 2   ELC

33. Yana: Wow, eta **super**naya **price** za takie,

                   Wow, that super SG F price for these

                   Wow, that's a super price for these (shoes)
                                                         (First Segment – Appendix E)

        This portion of the first segment contains five Embedded Language Constituents (ELCs) and two codemixed adjectives (CMAs) in four lines of text. These participants use the EL when discussing shopping because it is the language closer to the topic. I feel that this pattern is directly related to the fourth hypothesis Myers-Scotton (1993a) proposed in the creation of the Matrix Language-Frame Model. She states in the *EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis*, that EL islands occur when the constituents are formulaic or idiomatic. In other words, the ELIs are not obstacles to the morphosyntactic structure of the discourse generated by the Matrix Language. These constituents are directly connected to the topic of the discourse. They are necessary formulaic items, and the speakers feel that they can converse with significant ease when using the Embedded Language in these circumstances. The participants explained to me during the interviews that they feel more comfortable using English when discussing specifically American topics, like American politics and sports. In addition, other ELIs that are found in the current data often contain idiomatic and formulaic phrases.

                           ELI

28. Vova: **Patience, my friend**, nado   zhe   vam   vsyo

                   Patience, my friend, necessary ADV CLITIC   you ACC all

Patience, my friend, I need to tell you everything

ELI

57.   im   nelsya   pokasiva-t' kak mi **scared shitless**!

        Them DAT not possible show INF   how we **scared shitless**!

        We can't show them, that we are scared shitless!
                                    (Second segment – Appendix G)

These types of islands appear frequently in the speech of this community and often designate the idiomatic nature of the utterance itself. According to the participants, the domains of sports, shopping or politics do not contain any prestigious features. The speakers tend to codeswitch and codemix more during these topics because EL is connected more strongly to those topics. Topics of discourse, therefore tend to assign the pattern of codeswitching and codemixing for the speakers of this study.

The research questions address the nature of linguistic and non-linguistic factors that affect the codemixing process of this speech community of Russian-English bilinguals in Pittsburgh, PA. The previous chapter has clearly demonstrated that there exist linguistic structural constraints that restrict and influence the codemixing output. The *Coda Necessity Constraint* is never violated and the speakers do not allow for coda-less verbs to enter the mixed code. The *Multi-syllable Constraint* is rarely violated. Verbs that possess *Semantic Differentiation* often enter the mixed code even if they mutli-syllabic. The participants tend to disprefer codemixed verbs with *Consonant Clusters* and phonological elements that do not appear in the Russian *Phonemic Inventory.* Codeswitching patterns and the frequent appearance of EL items is often designated by the topic of conversation. The data demonstrated that the topic may

62

influence and guide the CS and CM surface output. I hypothesized that the linguistic

constraints help create a mixed code, which takes on an identity of its own and becomes a

third code, which is preferred by the speakers over either the ML or the EL. It is evident

in the transcribed data that the speakers tend to follow the limitations and tend to adhere

to the restrictions of the above-mentioned constraints. Thereby, it may be said that the

speakers choose the mixed code as the preferred mode of speech and enjoy utilizing the

mixed code within the in-group environment.

4.3   PHONOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The data previously analyzed has shown evidence of constraints from production data.

Perception data were also gathered, in the form of a questionnaire that asked the

participants to judge the acceptability and preference of particular sounds and segments.

The questionnaire elicited judgments on sounds that do not appear in the Russian

phonemic inventory. I hypothesized that the speakers of this speech community disprefer

sounds that do not appear in the Russian sound inventory. This questionnaire tested this

claim and demonstrated the unified understanding and unspoken agreement between the

participants of the sounds that may cause pronunciation difficulties. All of the

participants underlined the same sounds in the questionnaire. (The questionnaire is found

in Appendix C, scores are highlighted and responses are underlined and appear in bold.)

Every participant dispreferred the same sounds in the questionnaire and gave them a

score of one or two on the Likert scale. This result illustrates that the participants are

aware of the differences between the English and Russian phonemic inventories. The

participants are completely bilingual and have no difficulty pronouncing English sounds, but they unanimously marked the sounds that don't appear in their native tongue and marked their dispreference for them with 99% agreement. This result partly supports and extends Myers-Scotton's (1993a) first hypothesis - *the Matrix Language Hypothesis,* which states that the ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML + EL constituents. I suggest that the ML also sets the phonological frame for the constituents. The phonological questionnaire and the interviews support the claim that the choice of output is affected by the phonological patterns of the ML. Speakers disprefer English sounds and prefer not to transfer verbs that contain phonological segments that either don't exist in the ML phonemic inventory or appear to be directly restricted by one of the other constraints or a combination of constraints.

4.4   AGE OF ARRIVAL AND TIME IN COUNTRY

The current study hypothesized that age of arrival and time in country correlate with the responses on the Acceptability Judgment Questionnaires (Appendices O, P, Q and R). The participants were asked to judge the acceptability of 19 codemixed verbs and whether they would transfer these verbs in those specific forms. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. These variables were analyzed using SPSS statistics program. The results demonstrate that *age of arrival* correlates with the participants' judgments. I aggregated the answers according to five constraints that were presented earlier:

1. *CODA Necessity Constraint* **[CODA] (r,t)**

2. ***Multiple Syllables Constraint* [MS] (b,e,k)**
3. ***Semantic Differentiation Constraint* [SD] (l,g)**
4. ***Consonant Cluster Constraint* [CC] (f,h,i,j,m,s)**
5. ***CVC preference* [CVC] (a,c,d,n,o,p)**

(The aggregated items are in the parentheses)

In other words, I combined the codemixed verbs presented in the questionnaire into five categories. The verbs that had no coda were placed in the first category – *Coda Necessity Constraint*. The verbs that were multi-syllabic were placed into the second category – *Multiple Syllable Constraint,* etc. The complete aggregated answers to the questions can be found in Appendices Q and R. Most of the verbs in the questionnaire were found in the transcribed data. The only verbs that were not found in the data were constructed to represent the rarely violated constraints: CODA and MS. Since these verbs were not used by the speakers, I created them for the questionnaire. The data show that the participants that came to the United States at a younger age are more accepting of mixed forms than the participants that came later in their teenage years. All of the participants accept the CVC constructions and find them to be very acceptable across the board. CVC results do not correlate with *age of arrival* or *time spent in the United States*. Even though there is no significant correlation between the variables *CVC preference* and *Age of Arrival* or *Time spent in Country*, that fact is significant in itself. *CVC preference* unites the participants and is the first structural feature they accept into their mixed code. There is some variation in the responses, however the range is small and all of the participants judged the CVC verbs as highly acceptable items to transfer into the mixed code.

Age of arrival (AGE) correlated negatively with MS, SD, CC and CODA responses. These correlations were significant and reliable. In other words, the

65

participants that arrived to the United States at a younger age accepted more mixed forms into the mixed code. Such results are expected given the *Critical Period Hypothesis* literature. Even though this study does not focus on this theory it is worth mentioning. Authors like DeKeyser (2000) and Birdsong (1999) have stated that there exists a Critical Period. During this period a shift in language learning occurs. Learners that arrive to their new country before the Critical Period tend to acquire the language more completely than the learners that arrive after this period. This hypothesis is significant since the current study supports it by stating that the participants that arrived at a younger age accept more forms and are more flexible and adaptable to the restricted structures.

The strongest correlation of [-.620] occurred between the *Multi-syllable Constraint* (MS) responses and the *Age of arrival* of the participants. (All of the SPSS correlation graphs and charts may be found in Appendix T.) All other correlation results were not as strong, however they are still reliable and meaningful. The Semantic Differentiation (SD) responses correlated with Age of Arrival significantly at a negative correlation of [-497]. The Coda Constraint responses had the second strongest correlation with Age of Arrival at [-.577]. The Consonant Cluster responses correlated significantly with the Age of Arrival at [-.418]. In summary, the participants that arrived in the United States at a younger age accept more mixed forms and the participants that arrived at an older age disprefer multi-syllabic and coda-less verbs to enter the mixed code.

This study hypothesized that *time spent in the United States* (TIME) would also correlate with the aggregate scores from the questionnaires. However, the statistics do not show significant correlation for most variables. Nevertheless, a meaningful, reliable

and significant positive correlation [+.415] (Appendix T) was found between the *Consonant Cluster* (CC) responses and *Time in Country* (TIME). In other words, the participants who spent more time in the United States would be more accepting of verbs that possess consonant clusters. Contrary to the hypothesis, *time in country* does not correlate with the acceptance and preference of codemixed forms.

4.5   IDENTITY AND AWARENESS

In interviews, the participants expressed how much they identify with their speech. (The questions can be found in the Interview Protocol in Appendix A). The particicpants stated that they knew who belonged to their community by language alone. They do not communicate in mixed code with their parents or grandparents. However, most of the participants said that they codeswitch often with their parents, but not with their grandparents. The type of speech that has been transcribed for this study is a type of speech that siblings and peers within this community use to converse with each other. They use English only at work, at school and other environments where English speakers are the majority. They use the ML at home and with their friends. They are aware of their language and how they codemix two languages intermorphemically.

18 participants identified themselves as Russians and seven as Americans. The participants that identified themselves as Americans arrived in the United States when they were ten/eleven years old, hence their identity has been formed in the U.S. They matured in the U.S. and they mostly associate their childhood with American memories. Nevertheless, all of the participants stated that they want to pass the Russian language

onto their children and they realize the importance of bilingualism in the current era of globalism. They realize that they have created a mixed code that continues to change with every conversation. New verbs and lexical items have entered the mixed code. New varieties of combined words appear in the paradigm and more of these terms are being accepted by all of the members of the speech community. These patterns of language index the in-group identity that is clearly separated from the overall Russian-speaking community on the basis of fluent bilingualism and group membership. The participants said that they only communicate in the manner of the mixed code with their peers, young siblings and other young members of the speech community. They do not use the mixed code with the older generation of Russian immigrants, like their grandparents and parents. They are aware of the forms and patterns of the mixed code and often consciously discuss the new combinations of words and new items that have firmly entered the mixed code. The young Russian speakers who have entered the United States recently mock and disrespect this type of speech. The mixing of languages, according to these speakers, degrades the Russian language. They do not codemix and look down upon such actions. These speakers are called the OTBs (Off the Boat – a slang term, which designates them as new arrivals by the more established immigrants.) The speakers of the speech community described in the current study are constantly searching for a name of their mixed code and try to blend the two language in comparison with 'Spanglish.' One may hear names like 'Russish' or 'Renglish.' However, neither of these has become the official name of the mixed code and the members of this community are still searching for the name of their language to even further define their identity. It is significant that they are searching for a name of the language, because it

demonstrates how connected they are to this identity and they want this identity to have a

name.

5.0   CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that there are restrictions and patterns the codeswitching and codemixing of this speech community. I proposed to discover if there existed linguistic and sociolinguistic limitations and constraints that would guide and influence the output of the speakers of this community. I suggested that identity, linguistic awareness, topics of conversation affected the mixed code of the participants. I posited that a new alternate code has arisen in this community and that the members of this group choose to speak this third separate code, instead of the ML or the EL. I hypothesized that there are five definite constraints that restrict the appearance of some verbs in the mixed code. The data demonstrated that these constraints exist and that the *Coda Necessity Constraint* (CODA) is not violable, while *Consonant Cluster Constraint* (CC) and the *Phonemic Inventory Constraint* (PI) are often violable. This pattern illustrates the paradigm of the hierarchically constructed constraints. All of the participants judged the coda-less and multi-syllabic codemixed verbs unfavorably and preferred not to accept these verbs into their mixed code. On the other hand, most participants strongly preferred CVC verbs, Semantically Differentiated verbs and Consonant Cluster verbs did not pose significant issues for transfer into the mixed code. These results are significant because they demonstrate a community that codemixes and codeswitches extensively, although limited by the above-mentioned constraints. 25 participants were audio recorded in free

70

conversation and randomly chosen portions of their speech were transcribed. These transcriptions illustrated the types of codemixing and codeswitching that occurred in this community.

Most of the hypotheses proposed in this study were supported by the data. Patterns of codeswitching are often designated by topics of discourse and the participants seem to switch to the language that is closer to the topic. However, the environment for diglossia does not exist, as the topics do not designate prestige. The speech community is generationally constructed. The speakers converse in the mixed code only to their peers and siblings of approximately the same generation. They do not utilize the mixed code with their parents, grandparents or older acquaintances. The pattern of codemixing is an in-group quality of this speech community. Age of arrival correlates negatively and meaningfully with the Acceptability Judgment responses. The correlation results are significant. One may see a definite correlation between age of arrival and most of the constraints. Hence, one may state that the individuals who entered the country at a younger age accept more forms and most probably will allow for more forms to enter their mixed code. *Time spent in country* did not correlate significantly with the acceptability judgment responses.

The participants identify with and are aware of their mixed code. There is a certain unity that is created by the continuation and persistence of this code. They codeswitch and codemix possibly in order to circumvent the difficulties of sentence-planning and word-planning and utilize two languages for ease of communication. The patterns and constraints are established in turn to create the separate code that would identify the speakers as members of a speech community. Overall this qualitative study

71

has demonstrated a speech community that is defined in part by the patterns of its speech. Linguists find structural patterns which are related to sociolinguistic reasons. This study illustrates how the structural variables are connected to sociolinguistic ones in one speech community. The findings of this study are significant because they shed light on codemixing constraints which are often ignored in the literature. Most language contact literature focuses on codeswitching patterns (Myers-Scotton, 1997). It is crucial and essential to enhance the literature with a study that establishes limitations in the codemixing processes, which are clearly represented by the data and participant judgment responses. The central point of this thesis is to demonstrate the connection of the group of people to its language and the development of a mixed code which becomes a separate entity and takes on a life of its own. The speakers identify with these speech norms and continue to continue to further develop this code. This study is crucial for sociolinguistic literature because it connects linguistic structural features with sociolinguistic, social considerations.

5.1 IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This study focused on EL verb codemixing and the structural and socio-linguistic constraints that restrict the entrance of the verbs into the mixed code. The data showed that nouns and adjectives codemix as well. Further research should explore the codemixed nouns and adjectives (Appendix M). The transcriptions provide multiple examples, and more restrictions, limitations and propositions may be formed from further analysis. A larger study with more participants might yield more significant results and

clearer and more meaningful correlations. Other factors could be considered in further research. The variables of education and individual language background could shed light on other sociolinguistic patterns and circumstances. More contexts could be explored to allow a more encompassing view of this speech community and illustrate other topics of discourse and patterns of codeswitching and codemixing that appears in other contexts. This study claims that a separate third code is being established by the members of this community in order to identify more strongly with their in-group identity and to communicate more easily with each other. This code distinguishes these speakers from the rest of the ML community and creates a group uniqueness, which is further developed by continuing efforts to fossilize the patterns of speech on the part of the members of this community. Myers-Scotton (1993b) presents various examples of codeswitching to support her Matrix Language-Frame Model. However, she is unable to present a case where the mixed code was as clearly separate and distinctly a choice for the participants and members of the speech community. I suggest that such a code exists in other Russian-speaking communities around the United States and in Europe as well. Different restrictions are established according to the dialect and language that acquires the role of the EL, however similar frames and underlying themes guide their development. Even though the general hypotheses of the MLF are consistent with the case of this study, I feel that the MLF needs to be retooled and other considerations need to be presented. Myers-Scotton (1993a) states that the appearance of EL content morphemes is blocked if the ML content morphemes are not in congruence (harmony) with the EL counterparts. The current study showed that EL content morphemes may be blocked if they are not in congruence with the ML bound inflection morphemes. These

73

bound morphemes are used to create codemixed items and apparently the speech patterns of the community in question prevent and restrict the appearance of certain verbs if they are not in harmony with the constraints of the codemixing process, but this could be overridden by semantic necessity. This mixed code is continuing to evolve and other constraints will appear, while some limitations will decrease and affect the output in a different, possibly less significant, manner. Azuma's (1993) study of Japanese and English codemixing and codeswitching presents a similar pattern and process. However, in that study, multi-syllabic verbs are able to enter the codeswitching paradigm and syllable structure is not considered in his study. The current study focuses on morphophonological issues and influences, while many scholars often focus on morphosyntactic issues and patterns (Myers-Scotton, 1997; Azuma, 1993; Jake & Myers-Scotton, 1994). These scholars target sentence structure as the essential environment for CS and CM. The current study concentrates on the word level and describes a different type of pattern dealing with the morphology and phonology interface and how this interface is affected by socio-linguistic elements.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

(information in the parentheses is for the author and the readers not for the participants)

Circle the most appropriate answer

1. **When did you come to America? How old were you when you came to America?**

    Where did you learn English? (*preliminary information*)_____

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. **How often/how much English/Russian do you use daily? (*frequency*)**

English

a. Everyday – all day

b. Everyday – some times

c. Most days

d. Rarely

Russian

a. Everyday – all day

b. Everyday – some times

c. Most days

d. Rarely

3. Where and when do you use English/Russian? (*domains*)

English

a. Home

b. Work

c. With Friends

d. at Synagogue

e. at School

f. Other_____

Russian

a. Home

b. Work

c. With Friends

d. at Synagogue

e. at School

f. Other_____

4. Whom do you interact with when speaking English/Russian? (*interlocutors*)

a. Girls

b. Boys

c. Parents

d. Siblings

e. Grandparents

5.   When speaking in 'our group' do you realize that you are mixing languages or is it automatic? (*subconscious or conscious code-mixing*)

YES   NO

6. Do you want your wife/kids to speak Russian? (*identity*)

YES   NO

7. Do you identify yourself as an American or as a Russian or...? (*identity*)

AMERICAN   RUSSIAN

WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which sounds are acceptable?

(*Likert scale – 5 = acceptable, 1 = not acceptable*)

Circle the most appropriate answer

a) [chilajem] – 'we are chilling'

1	2	3	4	5
Not acceptable				**Acceptable**

b) [prʲeservajetʲe] – 'you pl. preserve'

1	2	3	4	5
Not acceptable				**Acceptable**

c) [hitajesh] – 'you s. hit' (slang – smoke)

1	2	3	4	5
Not acceptable				**Acceptable**

d) [muvaju] – 'I'm moving'

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

e) [understandaju] – 'I understand'

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

f) [drinkali] – We were drinking

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

g) [supportat'] – to support

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

h) [zaparkovalis'] – we parked

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

i) [otbluffal] – I/he bluffed (them) away

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

j) [blinknul] – I/he blinked

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

k) [marryete] – you pl. are marrying

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

l) [downloadat'] – to download

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

m) [clickni] – command – click

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

n) [scookanul] – I/he cooked (it) up

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

o) [rollnyom] – let's roll

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

p) [podheataem] – let's heat (it) up

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

r) [goaem] – we are going

1	2	3	4	5

Not acceptable **Acceptable**

s) [scramaesh] – you are scramming

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

t) [drawala] – she was drawing (she drew)

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**

Not acceptable   **Acceptable**

PHONOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Which are the most difficult sounds to pronounce?
Underline the difficult sounds
How difficult are these sounds to pronounce for you?
(*Likert scale - 1 = least difficult, 5 = most difficult*)
Circle the most appropriate answer

a.	_th_ink	[T]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	p_e_n	[E]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	thi_ng_	[N]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	_we_re	[r]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	_j_u_dg_e	[Z]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	sh_i_p	[I]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	c_o_t	[a]	1	2	3	4	5
h.	sh_ee_p	[i]	1	2	3	4	5
i.	c_a_t	[Q]	1	2	3	4	5
j.	_w_hen	[w]	1	2	3	4	5
k.	bo_ttl_e	[tl]	1	2	3	4	5
l.	_g_eneral	[Z]	1	2	3	4	5
m.	c_au_ght	[¯]	1	2	3	4	5
n.	_th_ese	[D]	1	2	3	4	5
o.	c_u_t	[ ]	1	2	3	4	5

- *The bold and italicized elements are the responses of the participants. The IPA representations are for the readers of the current study only. The questionnaire for the participant did not include the IPA column and would not be in bold or in italic. The highlighted areas are the answers of the participants.*

APPENDIX D

INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS

A, ADJ - adjective

ADV – adverb

ACC – accusative

BEN – benefitive

CAUS – causative

CC – Consonant Cluster (constraint)

CLITIC – [bi], [zhe] – often have conditional meaning or other idiomatic meaning

CM – code-mixing

CMN – code-mixing noun

CMV – code-mixing verb (examples are numbered)

CMA – code-mixing adjectives

CODA – Coda Necessity Constraint

COM – command

COMPL – completive aspect

COND – conditional mood

CS – code-switching

CVC – Consonant-Vowel-Consonant Preference – the preferred syllable structure

of the speakers of this study's community

DAT – dative

DIM – diminutive

EL – embedded language

ELC – embedded language constituent

ELI – embedded language island

F – female

FUT – action occurring in the future (morphologically the same as the present,

however seen from the context to have future readings)

GEN – genetive (possessive(

HT – hyper-terminative aspect

INST – instrumental aspect (with an object)

INF – verb as an infinitive

INT - interrogative

LOC – locative

M - male

ML – matrix language

MS – Multiple Syllables

N - noun

PAST – action occurring in the past

PL – plural

PR – person

PRES – action occurring in the present

PUNCT – punctual

REFL – reflexive

SD – Semantic Differentiation

SG – singular

Bold – English words

[___] – description of events

( ) – better translation, although words are not actually said.

Verbs – all verbs are highlighted

- (dash) – separation between morphemes/affixes

TRANSCRIPTIONS: FIRST SEGMENT

CMN 1

1. Yasha: Kak **Steelers-**i   vigledyat   na sleduyushii god?

How Stellers PL look INF   for next SG. M year?

How are Steelers looking for next year?

ELC (names)

2. Yura: Ahuyitel'no,   mi tol'ko poteryali: **Kimo, Hope, Randel-El** i   **Bussy.**

Awesome ADV we only lost PL PAST Kimo, Hope, Randel-El and Bussy

Awesome, we only lost Kimo, Hope, Randel-El and Bussy

ELC

3.   Teper' nam   nuzhno   naiti   **replacements**.

Now to us DAT necessary find INF   replacements.

Now we need to find replacements.

CMN 2

4.   Nu   v **offseason-e**   mi kogo   nibud' potberyom…

Well in offseason LOC we some ACC body   pick up 1PR PL FUT

Well, we'll pick up somebody in the offseason.

5. Vitalii: Ya   ne   znayu,   esli mi   smozhem   povtorit'
I   not know 1PR SG   if   we   can FUT 1PR PL   repeat INF
I don't know if we'll be able to repeat

CMN 3

6.   chto mi   sdelali   v   etom   **season-**e!
What we   INST did COMPL   in   this LOC season LOC
What we did last season!

ELC

7.   Prosto   bilo   **unbelievable**,   Pravda?
Just ADV   was SG   unbelievable   truth?
It was just unbelievable, right?

[Behind the action at the computer]

ELC

8. Tanya: Ilya, dai   Ya   tebe   nokazhu   novuyu   **site**
Ilya, let   I   to you DAT   show FUT   new ACC site
Ilya, let me show you a new site

9.   s   Russkimi   filmami   i   musikoi?
With Russian INST   films INST PL   and   music INST SG
With Russian films and music?

10. Ilya: Davai!
Give me!
OK (slang)

88

CMV 1

11. Tanya: **Click**ni,   vot   tut,   i   potom   zdes'…

             Click CAUS   right here and then   here

             Click right here and then here…

CMN 4

12. Yasha: Nam   bi   na **draft-**e   ne   proebat'…!

             To us DAT if CLITIC on draft LOC   not   screw up INF

             We need not to screw up on the draft!

[from the other room]

                                          CMV 2   **ELC**

13. Misha: Ilyuha, ti   voobshe   ne**heat**aesh   tvoi **apartment**,

             Ilya DIM you totally AVD   not heat PRES 2PR SG   your apartment

             Ilya, are you not heating your apartment totally,

14.   ili lyubish   kogda   holodriga,

             or love PRES 2PR SG   when   coldness (slang)

              or you love when it is very cold

15.   i   chto bi   gosti   dolgo   nezasizhivalis' da!?

             And that CLITIC guests PL long ADV   not sit REFL 3PR PL   yes!?

             So that the guests don't stay too long, right?

[Ilya goes from the computer to turn on the heater]

CMV 3

16. Ilya: Sorry, Misha, shas   pod**heat**aem   chutok

            Sorry, Misha, now PUNCT heat FUT 1PR PL   bit DIM

Sorry, Misha, we will heat it up *now a little bit.*

ELC (name)   CMV 4

17. Tanya: Ilya, u   tebya   netu   **Limewire**, s**download**at'?

Ilya, at you GEN   not (verb) GEN   Limewire INST download

Ilya, you don't have Limewire, should I download *it?*

18. Ilya: A   cho   eto takoe?

And what this special?

What's so special about it?

CMV 5

19. Tanya: Eta programma chto-bi   pesni   **download**at'

This program   that CLITIC sings PL download INF

This program is for downloading *songs*

CMN 5

20.   i   **spisivat'** mozhno s   vot etoi   Russkoi   **sit-**i   tozhe

and copy INF possible from right this INST Russian INST site INST   also

and it's also possible to copy *right from this Russian site.*

[on the phone with Lyopa]

21. Vitalii: Lyopa, ti   **edesh**?

Lyopa, you come 2PR SG PRES

Lyopa, are you coming*?*

CMV 6   CMV 7

22. Vitalii: Mi   **chill**aem,   kush**aem**,   **drink**aem,

We chill PRES 1PR PL   eat PRES 1PR PL   drink PRES 1PR PL

We are chilling, eating and drinking,

CMV 8

23.   Ilya tut   takoe   **scook**anul,   palchiki oblizhish!

Ilya here   special INST cook PER 3PR SG fingers   lick 2PR SG FUT

Ilya, cooked up something special here, you will lick your fingers

(idiomatic).

[to Everybody]

24. Vitalli: Chto-nibid' nado?

What thing   necessary ADV

We need anything?

[from the other room]

25. Misha: Esho vodki! (everyone laughs)

More vodka ACC!

More vodka!

CMV 9

26. Ilya: Ne, vsyo est'.   A   on **drive**aet   ili Dilyara?

No, all   have INF and he drive 3PR SG PRES   or Dilyara?

No, we have everything. Is he driving or Dilyara?

[on the phone with Lyopa]

27. Vitalii: Ti kak edesh?

You how go 2PR SG PRES?

How are you going?

[to Ilya]

28. Vitalii: On, no   s   Dilyaroi?

              He, but with   Dilyara INST?

              He is, but with Dilyara?

<u>**[on the phone with Lyopa]**</u>

29. Vitalii: Nu   ladno,   zhdyom!

              Well OK,   wait 1PR PL PRES

              Well, Ok, we are waiting!

<u>**[to Tanya]**</u>

                                              ELC

30. Yana: Ti   gde   kupila   takie **shoes**?

              You where bought 2PR SG PAST   these shoes

              Where did you buy this kind of shoes?

              ELC   **ELC (name)**

31. Tanya: **Sale** bil   v **DSW**, klassnie,   da?

              Sale was PAST 3PR SG in DSW, awesome PL, yes?

              There was a sale in DSW, they are awesome right?

                CMA 1   **ELC**

32.   Ochen' **comfortab**elnie. Vsego-lish **thirty dollars**!

              Very comfortable PL. Only 30 dollars!

              They are very comfortable and only 30 dollars!

                CMA 2   **ELC**

33. Yana: Wow, eta **super**naya **price** za takie,

              Wow, that super SG F price for these

              Wow, that's a super price for these (shoes)

92

34.   Ya   ishu   primerno takie   zhe,   mozhet   chyornie tol'ko.
           I   look 1PR SG PRES   almost   these CLITIC possible black   only
           I'm looking for almost the same kind, possibly only black.

CMN 6

35. Tanya: Tam   naverno   est'   v   **Waterfront-**e.
              There probably have INF   in   Waterfront LOC
              They probably have them there in the Waterfront.

              [walks over to the girls with a bottle of wine]

36. Ilya: Devushki, vam   napolnit'   bakali?
              Ladies,   to you fill up COMPL INF glasses
              Ladies, may I fill your glasses!

      ELC

37. Tanya: Oh, kakoi **gentleman**! Davai!
             Oh, what gentleman!   Give me (slang)
             Oh, what a gentle man! OK!

38. Yana: Mne   poslednii   stakanchik, Ya zhe   ti   znaesh –
              To me DAT last M SG glass DIM, I CLITIC you know 2PR SG PRES
              A last glass for me, you know me –

      ELC
39.   **lightweight**, dva stakana   i   nogi vverh!
         lightweight, two glasses and legs up (idiomatic)
         (I'm a) lightweight, two glasses and I'm wasted!
                              [enters the room with Tanya 2, Maksim, Yulia]

93

40. Misha: Rebyata, vipyem!?
             Guys,   drink FUT 1PR PL
             Guys, let's drink!?

41. Ilya: Prokurilsya,   teper' gotov   pit'?
            Smoked REFL 2PR SG   now   ready   drink INF
            You smoked enough, now you are ready to drink?

                                        [pouring shots]

42. Ilya: Nu,   za chto pyom!?
            Well, for what drink PRES 1PR PL
            Well, what are we drinking to?

                    CMN 7
43. Maksim: Za **Steelers-**ov?!
             For Steelers BEN
             To the Steelers!?

                            CMN 8
44. Yasha: Mi za devushek, luchshe, za **Steelers-**ov   uzhe   pili.
             We for ladies,   better   for Steelers BEN already drank 1PR PL PAST
             Better to the ladies, to the Steelers, we already drank.

45. Tanya: Oh, kak priyatno!
             Oh, how nice!

                            [TV is showing Hockey]

46. Vitalii: Smotrite,   smotrite!

             Look 2PR PL   {same}

             Look! Look!

47. Yura: Cho, cho cho?!

             What, what, what!?

                                    ELC

48. Vitalii: Shas pokazhut   **replay**,

             Now show FUT 3PR PL replay,

             They'll show the replay momentarily,

             ELC (name)

49.   **Crosby**   tak   oboshol   dvoih,

             Crosby   so   go around 3PR SG PAST two ACC

             Crosby went around two guys in such a way,

             ELI

50.   **he had the ball between his legs, and somehow got through,**

                                    ELI

51.   nikto   ne smog   bi   **make this play, I'm telling you**!

             Noone not can   CLITIC

             Noone can make this play, I'm telling you!

52. Yura: Dai   posmotret'!

             Give INT   see INF!

             Let us see!

95

ELC (name)

53. Ilya: Nu   **Brodeur** sdelal   klassnii   **save**!

Well   Brodeur   INST made 3PR SG PAST   great M SG   save!

Well, Brodeur made a great save!

ELI

54. Misha: **By far the best goalie in the game**!

55. Sanya: Na sleduyushei   nedeli   na igru   poidyom?

On next F LOC SG week LOC   on game   go 1PR PL FUT

Will we go to the game next week?

56. Ilya: Budut   bileti?

Be FUT 3PR PL   tickets

Will there be tickets?

57. Sanya: Budut!

Be FUT 3PR PL

There will be!

CMN 9

58. Ilya: Togda idyom,   opyat' budem   v **box-**e?

Then   go 1PR PL FUT   again   be 1PR PL FUT in box LOC

Then we'll go, will we be in the box again?

59. Sanya: A   kak zhe?!

And how CLITIC?!

Where else?!

96

60. Ilya: Prikolno!

               Cool! (slang)

61. Misha: V sleduyushii raz   nado   nam budet   zakasat'

               In next M SG time necessary to us be 3PR SG FUT order INF

               Next time, it's necessary for us to order

                         ELI
62.   kakie nibud' **drinks, treats or something, you know**!?

               What some   drinks, treats or something, you know!?

               Some drinks, treats or something, you know!?

                                   ELC
63. Ilya: Tochno,   vobshe kaefnii   takoi **experience**,

               Definitely,   totally   great M SG such   experience

               Definitely, it's such a totally great experience

                    ELC   **CMN 10**
64.   na **Penguins games** hodit'   a   esho i   v **box-**e   posidet'!

               on Penguins games   go INF and   also and in box LOC sit COMPL INF

               (It's great) to go to penguins games especially to sit in the luxury box!

                         CMN 11   **ELI**
65. Misha: Ya v etom   **season**e,   **four and o**!

               I   in this LOC season LOC, four and o!

               I'm four and o this season!

                                   [joking, everyone laughs]

66. Maksim: Mi tol'ko chetire igri   i   viegrali,

               We only four   games and won PAST 1PR PL

We only won four games,

67.   tebe   nado   bol'she hodit'!

              to you ACC   necessary   more   go INF

              You need to go more!

68. Misha: Nu   eto   ot   Sani   zavisit,

              Well   that   from Sanya BEN   depend 3PR SG PRES

              Well, that depends on Alex!

ELC

69.   nepriglashaet   **enough** menya...

              not invite 3PR SG PRE   enough   me

              He doesn't invite me enough!

[to Vitalii]

CMV 10

70. Yasha: Mozhet **roll**nyom   chto nibud'?

              Possible roll 1PR PL FUT   what thing

              Maybe we can roll something?

CMN 12

71. Vitalii: A   u   tebya   na **blount-**ik   hvatit?

              And   at   you GEN   on blount   DIM enough

              Do you have enough for a blount?

ELI

72. Yasha: **Of course**!

73. Vitalii: Togda   s**roll**nyom!!!

                 Then   INST roll 1PR PL FUT!!!

                 Then, let's roll!!!

VERBS IN THE FIRST SEGMENT

VERBS IN THE FIRST SEGMENT			
Total Number of Verbs	*English not code-mixed verbs (ELI or ELC)* [line of the text in the parentheses]	*English code-mixed verbs (CMV 1-11)* [line of the text in the parentheses, non-CVC verbs are in bold]	*Total number of Russian verbs*
71	**5** *had* (50) *got* (50) *make* (51) *tell* (51) *know* (62) all of these verbs appear in **code-switched** contexts as ELIs or ELCs.	**11** ***click* – [CCVC] (11)** *heat x 2* – [CVC] (13, 16) ***download x 2 – [CVVCCVVC] (17, 19)*** *chill* - [CVC] (22) ***drink* – [CCVC] (22)** *cook* – [CVC] (23) ***drive* – [CCVVC] (70)** *roll x 2* – [CVC] (73)	**55**

TRANSCRIPTIONS: SECOND SEGMENT

1. Yan: Nu   kak   bil   **New York** v   etot   raz?

Well   how   was   New York   in   this   time?

Well how was New York this time?

ELC

2. Vova: Voobshe,   **crazy**!

Totally ADV   crazy!

It was totally crazy!

3. Yan: Cho   vi   tam   del-ali?

What   you PL   there   did 2PR PL PAST

What did you do there?

4. Vova: Nu   vo perv-ih, ya tam Mish-u   s   Yash-oi   vid-il,

Well in first LOC I there Misha ACC with Yasha INST   saw 1PR SG

Well, in the first place, I saw Misha and Yasha there,

CMV 12

5.   **drink-**ali   vmeste!

drink 1PR PL PAST   together

we drank together!

6. Yan: Da   vi   zhe   tako-vo   ne   del-aete!

            Yes you   CLITIC such ACC not   do 2PR PL PRES

            Yeah, you guys never do such a thing! (sarcastically)

[everyone laughs]

7. Misha: Da, oni s Laris-oi   i Katenk-oi   k nam

            Yes, they with Larisa INST and Katenka INST at us LOC

            Yes, they with Larisa and Katenka to us

8.   v restoran   za-ezzh-ali

            in restoran   over-came-3PR PL PAST

            came over to the restaurant

CMN 13

9. Yasha: Nashi vse **cousin**-i   tam   bili

            our   all cousin PL there were

            All of our cousins were there

10.   na den' razhden-ya u Babushk-i   nash-ei,

            on day birth GEN at grandmother GEN our GEN

            at the birthday party of our Grandma

CMN 14

11.   toest' pere-pil   bil po poln-oi   **programm-**e!

            Thus over-drink N was by complete LOC program LOC

            Thus, the drinking was completely out of control!

12. Anya: Nu   ya dazhe ne mog-u   predstavi-t'

              Well I even not can 1PR SG PRES   imagine INF

              Well, I can't even imagine

13.   chto vi   tam   del-ali!

              What you PL there did 2PR PL PAST

              What you did there! (sarcastically)

14. Vova: Tantzev-ali   vsyu noch',

              danced 1PR PL PAST all ACC night ACC

              We danced the whole night away,

15.   poka Katenka nog-i   ne   ot-kinu-la,

              till   Katenka legs PL not   away-throw-3PR SG F PAST

               until Katenka 'threw away her legs' (idiom – was very drunk)

                                            CMN 15 (name)

16.   tak ya v govnish-e po-vyoz   eyo   po **Brooklyn-**u

              so I in shit LOC PUNCtook 1PR SG PAST her ACC by Brooklyn LOC

              so I took her around Brooklyn totally shitfaced (idiom)

                                 CMV 13

17.   u-kladiva-t',   ona po-   **puk-** ala   chutok pri vhode

              COMPL-lay INF   she PUNC puke 3PR SG PAST bit by entrance LOC

              to put her to bed, she puked a bit by the entrance

18.   i   potom ya eyo   nyos   do   posteli…

              and then   I her ACC carry 1PR SG PAST till bed

              and then i carried her to bed!

ELI

19. Yan: A ha! **And then and then**!???

ELI

20. Vova: **Nothing happened**, Larisa so   mn-oi   bila,

Nothing happened,   Larisa with me INST was 3PR SG F PAST

Nothing happened,   Larisa was with me,

21.   i   Katya ne v sostoyaniye bil-a   vsyo ravno.

and Katya not in condition   was 3PR SG F PAST   all   equal ADV

and Katya wasn't in the right condition anyway.

22. Yan: A   kak zhalko!

and   how pitiful ADV

Ah, what a pity!

23. Yasha: Rasskazh-i   im   chto dalshe bilo!

Tell 2PR SG COM   them   what further was NU PAST

Tell them what happened after that!

ELC   **CMN 16 (name)**

24. Vova: **OK**, tak mi prieh-ali   obratno k restoran-u   na **Brighton-**e,

OK, so we arrive 1PR PL PAST back at restaurant LOC on Brighton LOC

OK, so we returned back to the restaurant on Brighton

CMV 14

25.   Za-**park-**ovalis'   i   sto-im   na uliz-e,.

Over-parked 1PR PL PAST HT and stand 1PR PL PRES   on street LOC

We parked and were standing on the street,

104

CMV 15

26.   **chill-**aem,   sme-yom-sya   ot   pyanstv-a

             Chill-1PR PL PRES   laugh 1PR PL PRES REFL   from drunkenness BEN

             Chilling and *laughing* *from being very drunk.*

27. Yan: Nu,   nu   k del-u!

             Well, well   to business LOC

             Common, get to it!

         ELI

28. Vova: **Patience, my friend**, nado   zhe   vam   vsyo

             Patience,   my friend,   necessary ADV CLITIC   you ACC   all

             Patience, my friend, I need to tell you everything

29.   krasivo   opisa-t'   chto   bi

             beautifully AVD   describe INF   that   CLITIC

             and *describe* *it beautifully so that*

         ELI

30.   po-chuvstvov-at' **the mood of the whole event**!

             PUNC-feel-INF   the mood of the whole event!

             you can *feel* *the mood of the whole event!*

31. Misha: Ladno, ne pisd-i.

             OK,   not talk 2PR SG COM

             OK, don't *BS* *(slang)*

         ELC

32. Vova: **OK, OK**, sto-im,   pro-ezzh-aet   mashina

             OK, OK, stand 1PR PL PRES   by-go 3PR SG PRES   car

OK, OK, so we are standing, and a car goes by

33.   s   tre-mya   parn-yami   i   smotr-yat   na nas   tak,

         with three INST dude PL INST and look 3PR PL PRES on us DAT so

         with three dudes inside, and they are looking at us in such a way

                                                   ELI

34.   glaze-yut   na nas,   **just staring for no reason**,

         stare-3PR PL PRES on us DAT,   just staring for no reason,

         staring at us, just staring for no reason,

35.   nu   ya tozhe kin-ul   im   par-u   tak-ih

         well I also   throw 1PR SG PAST them DAT pair ACC these ACC

         well I also threw them a pair of these

         ELI

36.   **dirty looks and maybe a couple of gestures as well.**

37. Anya: Ya v eto-m   ne   sobniva-yus'!

         I   in that LOC not   doubt 1PR SG PRES REFL

         I don't doubt that

38. Vova: Da, nu vi   znaete   kakim ya stanov-lyus'

         Yes, well you PL know 2PR PL PRES what   I become 1PR SG REFL

         Yes, well you know how I get

                                                   ELC

39.   s   pomosh-yu vodk-i,   **invincible**! Vseh   otmoch-u!

         with help INST vodka GEN invincible! All ACC defeat 1PR SG PRES

         with the help of vodka – invincible! I'll defeat everybody!

CMV 16   **ELC**

40.   Oni **pass-**ayut   **red light** i   vdrug   ostanav-liva-yutsya

They pass 3PR PL PRES red light and suddenly stop 3PR PL PRES REFL

They pass the red light and then suddenly stop

ELC

41.   i   **back up** k nam Larisa takaya za   menya   hvatat-etsya

and back up to us Larisa such A over me ACC grab 3PR SG PRES REFL

and they back up to us. Larisa grabs me strongly,

ELC

42.   i   govorit   'nu   nam   chas' **drive through**

and say 3PR SG PRES well us DAT now   drive through

and she says, well they'll do a drive through to us right now!

43.   s-del-ayut!   Ya takoi   sobr-al

INST-do-3PR PL FUT. I   such A gather 1PR SG PAST

I gathered

44.   ot-kudato   hrabrosti

from-somewhere courage ACC

courage from somewhere

45.   i   govor-yu   yei,   'ne volnuy-sya

and say 1PR SG PRES her ACC not worry 2PR SG PRES REFL

and I say to her: 'Don't worry

46.   oni   nas   bi   uzhe   kok-nuli

They us ACC CLITIC COND already kill 3PR PL PAST

They would kill (slang) us already

47.   esli   bi   hot-eli.'

if   CLITIC COND want 3PR PL PAST.

If they wanted to!

48. Yan: Blyat'!   Oni   ostanov-ilis'!?

[curse word] They   stop 3PR PL PAST REFL

Damn!   They stopped!?

   ELC

49. Vova: **Listen**, slushai   vsyu   istoriyu.

Listen, listen 2PR SG COM all ACC story ACC

Listen, listen to the whole story.

50.   Oni ostanav-liva-yutsya   i   nachina-yut

They stop 3PR PL PRES REFL and begin 3PR PL PRES

They stop and begin

51.   is   moshini vi-hodi-t' s   takim-i   uzhash-nimi

from car BEN out-go INF with such A INST   scary INST

to come out of the car with such scary

                                           ELC (name)

52.   serditimi   glasami, tri   parnya kakie-to   **Hispanic**

mean INST eyes INST three dudes PL some kind of Hispanic

mean eyes, three some kind of Hispanic dudes

53.   nu ya vsyo 'nam konetz!' no ya ne   raster-yal-sya

well I   all   us DAT end! But I not lose 1PR SG PAST REFL

Well, I'm like: 'We are screwed!' But I didn't lose it

54.   i   tak ruk-u   nazad po-tyan-ul   kak bud-to
        and so hand ACC back PUNC put 1PR SG PAST as be CLITIC
        and so I put my hand back [as if to] (slang)

55.   ya za chem   to   v zad-i   shtan-ah   lez-u,
        I for something CLITIC in back LOC pants GEN reach 1PR SG PRES
        Like I'm reaching for something in the back of my pants

56.   i   s   mesta   mi ne dvig-aem-sya,
        and from place BEN we not move 1PR PL PRES REFL
        and we are not moving from this place

                                                    ELI
57.   im   nelsya   pokasiva-t' kak mi **scared shitless**!
        Them DAT not possible show INF   how we **scared shitless**!
        We can't show them, that we are scared shitless!

                    ELI   **ELC**
58.   Nu   ya **about to pull it out** i   tam konechno **nothing**,
        Well I   about to pull it out   and there of course nothing.
        Well, I'm about to pull it out and there is of course nothing there,

                                            CMV 17
59.   voobshem ya pita-yus'   ih   **bluff-**at', i   govor-yu ,
        So   I   try 1PR SG REFL them ACC bluff INF and say 1PR SG PRES
        So I try to bluff them and I say:

                ELI
60.   **'so you wanna do this**!' **in a crazy Russian accent**

61.　　　　i　s　tak-oi　rozh-oi　strashn-oi, nu　vot kak chas'

and with such INST face INST scary INST well like how now

and with such a scary face, well like I have right now,

62.　　　　i　oni　na drug drug-a　smotr-yat

and they　on friend friend GEN　look 3PR PL PRES

and they look at each other

63.　　　　i　sazha-yut-sya　v mashin-u i　u-ezzha-yut,

and sit 3PR PL PRES REFL in car LOC and COMPL-go 3PR PL PRES

and they get back in the car and drive away

CMV 18

64.　　　　predstav-lya-ete?!　Ot-**bluff-**al,

imagine 2PR PL PRES INT　from-bluff 1PR SG PAST

Can you imagine!? I outbluffed them

65.　　　　chut'　ne　obosr-al-sya　zato.

almost not　shit 1PR SG PAST REFL instead

Almost shit my pants though!

66. Anya:　Nu　vam　po-vez-lo,

Well you PL DAT　PUNC luck 3PR SG

Well, you guys are lucky,

67.　　　　mog-lo　bi　proizoi-ti

could 3PR SG PAST CLITIC COND　happen INF

it could have happened

68.   sovsem   po-drugo-mu,   ti   voobshe   **crazy**!!!

Totally ADV by-different-ACC you   completely ADV crazy!!!

Totally differently, you are completely crazy!

69. Vova: A kak ti postup-ila   bi,   nuzhno   bilo bit'

and how you behave 2PR SG PAST CLITIC COND necessary was be INF

And how would you behave, it was necessary to be

70.   **mean and sure of yourself**. Mne   legko   puga-t'   vsyak-ih,

Mean and sure of yourself.   Me DAT easy ADV scare INF all kinds ACC

Mean and sure of yourself.   It's easy for me to scare all kinds of dudes

71.   esli u menya bil   bi   pistolet po-nastoyash-emu,

if   by me GEN was CLITIC COND gun   for real ACC

if I had a gun for real

72.   ya   bi   tochno ego   vi-tash-il

I   CLITIC COND definitely him (it) ACC out-take 1PR SG PAST

I would definitely take it out

73.   i   pryamo v rozhu   odno-mu is nih   bi

and straight in face LOC one GEN from them BEN CLITIC COND

and put it straight in the face of one of the guys

74.   v-stav-il   i   sverepo   bi   skas-al

in-put 1PR SG PAST and roughly ADV CLITIC COND say 1PR SG PAST

and would roughly say

75.   chto shas' vseh ub-yu   k chortu

that now all ACC kill 1PR SG FUT to devil ACC

that I will kill them all now (to devil – idiomatic)

CMV 19

76.   i   dazhe ne-**blink**-nul   bi   ne raz-u,

and even not-blink 1PR SG PAST CLITIC COND not once ACC

and I wouldn't even blink once

77.   ispug-al   bi   ih   do mamochki.

scare 1PR SG PAST CLITIC COND them ACC till Mama BEN DIM

I would scare them all the way to the Mama's house (idiom)

78. Anya: Nu   ti tak-oi, ne str-oi   is   sebya,.

Well, you such A, not build 2PR SG COM from yourself BEN

Wow, you are so…! (sarcastically) Don't make yourself look that way!

79.   ne krasivo!

Not attractive ADV

It's not attractive!

ELC

80. Vova: Da ya prosto   **playing**,

Yes I   just ADV   playing

Hey, I'm only playing

ELC

81.   ti   zna-esh   kak ya lyubl-u   **exaggerate!**

You know 2PR SG PRES how I   love 1PR SG PRES exaggerate!

You know how I love to exaggerate!

82. Anya: Da, ti u nas   korol **fairy tales**!

                Yes, you by us GEN   king fairy tales!

                Yes, you are our king of fairy tales!

83. Vova: No et-a   skaska   po-pravde   proisosh-la!

                But this F fairy tale in-truth LOC happen 3PR SG PAST

                But this fairy tale actually happened!

84. Yasha: Da, Larisa nam   raskaziv-ala   taku-yu   zhe   istori-yu.

                Yes, Larisa us DAT told 3PR SG PAST such ACC CLITIC story ACC

                Yes, Larisa told us the same kind of story.

85. Anya: Nu   togda ti moi geroi!

                Well, then   you my hero

                Well, then you are my hero!

VERBS OF THE SECOND SEGMENT

VERBS IN THE SECOND SEGMENT			
Total Number of Verbs	*English not code-mixed verbs (ELI or ELC)* [line of the text in the parentheses]	*English code-mixed verbs (CMV 12-19)* [line of the text in the parentheses, non-CVC verbs are in bold]	*Total number of Russian verbs*
92	**8** *happened* (20) *staring* (34) *back up* (41) *listen* (49) *pull out* (58) *wanna* (60) *playing* (80) *exaggerate* (81) all of these verbs appear in **code-switched** contexts as ELIs or ELCs.	**8** ***drink* [CCVC] (5)** *puke* [CVC] (17) ***park* [CVCC] (25)** *chill* [CVC] (26) *pass* [CVC] (16) ***bluff x 2* [CCVC] (59, 64)** ***blink* [CCVCC] (76)**	**76**

APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIPTIONS: THIRD SEGMENT

1. Sasha: Nu   chto mi sevodnya del-aem?

            Well what we today   do 1PR PL FUT

            Well, what are we doing tonight?

2. Natasha: Ya nade-yala-s'   chto

          I   hope 1PR SG PAST REFL   that

          I hoped that

                       ELC   ELC (name)

3.   po-id-yom   **out** v **Level**!

         PUNC-go-1PR PL FUT   out in Level!

         We would go out to Level!

4. Lyopa: Tam   vsyo tak odinakovo,

          There all   so   same A PRED

          Everything is so similar there

             ELI

5.   **same thing every night**, na-do-elo!

         Same thing every night, HT/COMPL-feed-3PR SG PAST

Same thing every night, I'm fed up! (idiom)

6. Ura: A   kuda   ti   predlaga-esh?   Chto nam   esho dela-t'?

and where you suggest 2PR SG PRES what us DAT else do INF

and where do you suggest? What else should we do?

ELC

7. Lyopa: Sevodnya **boxing** bud-et.   Klichko protiv Moore,

Today   boxing be 3PR SG FUT Klichko versus Moore,

Tonight there will be boxing.   Klichko versus Moore.

8.   Ukraina protiv America, mozhno   po-smotre-t'.

Ukraine versus America, possible ADV PUNC-look INF

Ukraine versus America, we can watch it.

ELC

9. Sveta: Eto   takoi   **bloody sport**. Ya ne zna-yu

That such ADJ bloody sport. I   not know 1PR SG PRES

That is such a bloody sport, I don't know

10.   esli ya s-mog-u   eto smotre-t'.

If   I   INST-can 1PR SG FUT this look INF

If I can watch it.

CMV 20

11. Lyopa: Nu   slushai,   mi s-nachala   po-**hit-**aem,

Well, listen 2PR SG COM we from-beginning PUNC-hit-1PR PL FUT

Well, listen, at first we'll hit a 'little' (slang for smoking)

CMV 21   **ELC**

12.　　　po-**chill-**aem,　　　　　　a　potom　po-smotrim　　　　　　**box**

　　　　　PUNC-chill-1PR PL FUT　and then　PUNC-look-1PR PL FUT　box

　　　　　We'll chill, and then we'll watch some box

ELC

13.　　　i　　bud-et　　　　　　　ne　tak **bloody**, ya tebe　　　　obesh-ayu.

　　　　　And be-3PR SG FUT　not so　bloody, I　you DAT　promise 1PR SG PRES

　　　　　And it won't be so bloody, I promise you.

14. Sveta:　　Nu　esli bolshe po televizor-u nichevo ne　id-yot,

　　　　　Well, if　more　on TV LOC　nothing　not go-3PR SG PRES

　　　　　Well, if there is nothing else on TV, (lit. nothing goes on TV)

ELC

15.　　　　togda mozhno　　　i　**boxing**, esli　uzh　Ukraina.

　　　　　Then　possible ADV and boxing, if　CLITIC　Ukraine.

　　　　　Then maybe we can watch even boxing, especially if it's Ukraine.

16. Ura:　　Vot　molodetz,　　　za Ukrainu!!!

　　　　　Such 'great person' N　for Ukraine!!!

　　　　　Such a 'great person' (slang)! To the Ukraine!

CMV 22

17. Oleg:　　A　kto　tut　**puff-**aet?　　　　Potom nado　　　reshit'

　　　　　And who　here　puff-3PR SG PRES　then　necessary　decide INF

　　　　　Who puffs (slang for smoking)　here? We need to decide

18.   esli nam   nado   esho **buy something**, **you know**!?

        If   us DAT necessary more buy something, you know!?

        If we need to buy more of something, you know!?

CMV 23   **ELI**

19. Lyopa: Vse **puff-**ayut!   U men-ya   est'   **Don't worry, be happy**!

        All   puff-3PR PL PRES! at me GEN have INF Don't worry, be happy!

        Everyone puffs!   *I have!*   *Don't worry, be happy!*

ELC

20. Oleg: Ya vsegda **happy!**

        I   always happy!

        I'm always happy!

CMV 24

21. Sveta: Tak poka vipy-em?   Ya **mix-**nu-la   tut   tzelii

        So now   drink 1PR PL FUT I   mix PERF 1PR SG F PAST here full ADJ

        So for now, let's drink, I mixed here a whole

ELC

22.   **blender of stuff**, dav-aite   pomog-ite

        Blender of stuff, give 2PR PL COM help 2PR PL COM

        Blender of stuff, common help me

ELI

23**.**   **finish it before we go**.

24. Sasha: Bez   problem,   vot s   et-im   ya razber-us'
              Without problem BEN,   so   with this INST I deal 1PR SG FUT REFL
              No problem, I'll take care of this.

         ELC
25. Lyopa: **Match** nachena-yet-sya   cherez   pol-chas-a,
             Match   begin 3PR SG FUT REFL in   half-hour GEN
             Match will begin in a half of an hour

                              ELI
26.   est'   vremya **to get fucked up**!
            Have INF time   to get fucked up!
            We have all the time to get fucked up.

                                        ELC
27. Sveta: Nado   vsyo ravno   po-iti   **out** potom, horosho!?
             Necessary ADV all   equal ADV PUNC-go INF out then,   good!?
             We need to go out later either way, right!?

         ELC
28. Oleg: **Definitely**, mne   nado   po-zvoni-'   u-znat'
            Definitely, me DAT necessary ADV PUNC-call INF COMPL-know INF
            Definitely, I need to call and find out

29.   kuda   po-iti.
            Where PUNC-go INF
            Where to go out to!

30. Ura: Musik-u   vkluchi-t'?
            Music ACC turn on INF?

119

Should I turn on the music

ELI

31. Lyonya: Dav-ai,   ya po-stav-lyu   **something on your**

Give 2PR SG COM I PUNC-put-1PR SG FUT something on your

Let me put something on your computer

ELI

32.   **Computer**, u teb-ya   tzel-aya   **collection of good stuff**.

At you GEN whole F ADJ collection of good stuff.

You have a whole collection of good stuff.

CMA 3

33. Lyopa: Dav-ai,   tolko chto-to   **modern-**oye.

Give 2PR SG COM only something modern ADJ NUETER

OK, but only something modern!

[on the phone]

ELI

34. Oleg: **They are telling me** nam   nado   v **Paparazzi**!

They are telling me us DAT necessary ADV in Paparazzi!

They are telling me, that we need to go to Paparazi!

CMV 25

35. Ura: Kak et-o   **spell-**ayet-sya?

How that NUETER spell- 3PR SG REFL

How do you spell that?

120

36. Oleg: Ti   cho **fuck**-nul-sya,   **P-a-p-a-r-a-z-z-i.**

             You what fuck PERF 2PR SG REFL P-a-p-a-r-a-z-z-i.

             Are you fucked up, P-a-p-a-r-a-z-z-i!

37. Ura: Mne   prosto nuzhno   pere-dat'!   **OK**?!

            Me DAT just   necessary ADV over-give INF OK?!

            I just need to pass it on! OK?!

38. Sveta: Po-zvon-i   Maksim-u!

             PUNC-call-2PR SG COM Maksim ACC!

             Call Max!

39. Sasha: A   on **mov**-aet-sya   v etot **weekend**, v **New York**.

             But he move-3PR SG PRES REFL in this weekend,   in New York

             But he is moving this weekend, to New York.

40. Natasha: **For real**, cho tam rabot-u   nashol?

             For real, what there job ACC find 3PR SG PAST?

             For real, did he find a job there?

41. Sasha: Da, prikoln-uyu   govorit.   .

             Yes, cool ACC ADJ F say 3PR SG PRES

             Yes, he says a very cool one (slang)

42.   Plat-yat   horosho,   on dovolen

             Pay 3PR PL PRES good ADV he satisfied ADJ PRED

             They pay well, he is satisfied!

43. Ura: A   cho on tam del-ayet?

And what he there do 3PR SG PRES

And what is he doing there?

CMV 28   **CMN 17**

44. Sasha: **Teach-**ayet   pro **computer-**i   chto-to,

Teach 3PR SG PRES about computer PL something

He teaches something about computers

45.   emu   nravit-sya!

him DAT like 3PR SG REFL PRES DAT

he likes it! (lit. It's liking to him)

ELC

46. Lyopa: Vot **box** nachal-sya   uzhe,

So box begin 3PR SG PAST REFL already

So, the box has begun already

CMV 29

47.   smotri   kak Klichko s-raz-u   **jab-**ayet,

Look 2PR SG COM how Klichko from-once BEN   jab 3PR SG PRES

Look how Klichko jabs 'right off the bat' (slang – from the very beginning)

48.   vot molodetz.

Such 'great person'

Such a 'great person' (slang – 'good job!')

49. Sveta: Ti   mne   po-obesh-al

You me DAT PUNC-promise 2PR SG PAST

You promised me

50.   s-raz-u   posle **match-**a   v **Club**!?

From-once-BEN after match LOC in Club!?

That right after the match, we are off to the Club!?

ELI

51. Lyopa: Da, da, da, **let me watch this in peace**, doroga-ya.

Yes, yes, yes, let me watch this in peace,   dear F ADJ

Yes, yes, yes, let me watch this in peace, dear!

[to Natasha]

52. Sveta: Ti   predstavl-yaesh,   ya tut   hodi-la

You   imagine 2PR SG PRES   I here go 1PR SG PAST

Can you imagine, I went recently

CMV 30

53.   **vot-**at'! Pervii raz!

Vote INF First time!

to vote for the first time!?

54. Natasha: Seriosno,   zachem   i   za kovo!?

Seriously ADV what for and for whom!?

Seriously, why and for whom!?

CMN 19   CMN 20 (name)

55. Sveta: Tut za **representativ-**a   **Dan Frankel-**ya,

Here for representative BEN Dan Frankel BEN

Here for state representative Dan Frankel

CMV 31

56. vsyo taki nado **support-**at' svoi-h!

All so necessary support INF our ACC

All things being equal, we need to support our own.

CMV 32

57. Natasha: i ti evo **choos-**ala, i zachem?

And you him ACC choose-2PR SG PAST and what for?

And you chose him, why?

58. Lyopa: Po-smotri kak on evo byot!

PUNC-Look 2PR SG COM how he him ACC hit 3PR SG PRES

Look, how he is hitting him!

59. Davai, davai, Ukraina!

Give 2PR SG COM, Give 2PR SG COM, Ukraine!

Go, Ukraine, Go!

60. Sasha: On shas evo u-b-yot, molodetz!

He now him ACC COMPL-kill 3PR SG FUT, 'good person' (slang)

He'll kill him right now, good job!

CMN 21

61. Lyopa: Vot tak nado vo vtor-om **round-**e,

Such so necessary ADV in second LOC round LOC

It needs to be like this, in the second round

62. chto bi bolshe ne-vst-al!

That CLITIC COND more not-get up-3PR SG PAST

So that he wouldn't get up anymore!

63.   Teper' mi i   mozh-em   po-iti   **out**, Svetochka!

            Now   we and can 1PR PL PRES PUNC-go INF out, Svetochka!

            Now we can go out, Svetochka! (name DIM)

ELC

64. Sveta: **Ya totally ready**! Kto s   nam-i? Vse?

             I totally ready!   Who with us INST All?

             I'm totally ready! Who is with us? Everybody?

65. Ura: Nu   za Ukrain-u,   prid-yot-sya

             Well for Ukraime BEN must 3PR SG PRES DAT

             Well, for Ukraine, I must

CMV 33

66.   po-**chill-**at'   s   vam-i!

            PUNC-chill INF with you PL INST

            Chill with you, guys!

67. Oleg: Ya potom s   vami   vstrechus'

            I later   with you PL INST meet 1PR SG REFL FUT

            I'll meet up with you later

68.   do-smotr-yu   i   pried-u.

            Till-look-1PR SG FUT COMPL and come 1PR SG FUT

            I'll finish watching and come over.

69. Ura: Ladno, see you there.

            OK,   see you there.

            OK (slang), see you there.

[people are hugging and saying goodbye]

CMV 34

70. Lyopa: Vsyo na-**hug**-alis'   parn-i?

            All   HT/COMPL-hug-2PR PL PAST REFL   dude PL?

            So have you hugged enough, guys?

71.   Posh-li,   nam   esho do   Club-a.

            Go-2PR PL COM us DAT   yet   until Club-COMPL

            Let's go,   we still need to go to the Club

72.   do-eha-t'   v   tak-om   sostoyani-e

            Till-go INF COMPL   in   this LOC   condition LOC

                   In this condition.

73. Sasha: Po mashin-am!   Vperyod!!!

            By car PL DAT   Forward!!!

            To our cars, Let's go!

VERBS OF THE THIRD SEGMENT

VERBS IN THE THIRD SEGMENT			
Total Number of Verbs	*English not code-mixed verbs (ELI or ELC)* [line of the text in the parentheses]	*English code-mixed verbs (CMV 20-34)* [line of the text in the parentheses, non-CVC verbs are in bold]*	*Total number of Russian verbs*
82	**10** *buy* (18) *know* (18) *worry* (19) *be* (19) *finish* (23) *get* (26) *fucked up* (26) *telling* (34) *let* (51) *watch* (51) all of these verbs appear in **code-switched** contexts as ELIs or ELCs.	**15** *hit* (11) [CVC]) *chill x2* (13, 66) [CVC] *puff x2* (17, 19) [CVC] ***mix* (21) [CVCC]** ***spell* (35) [CCVC]** *fuck* (36) [CVC] *move* (39) [CVC] *teach* (44) [CVC] *jab* (47) [CVC] *vote* (53) [CVC] ***support* (56) [CVCVCC]** *choose* (57) [CVC] *hug* (70) [CVC]	**57**

APPENDIX K

TOTAL NUMBERS OF VERBS IN ALL SEGMENTS

TOTAL NUMBERS OF VERBS IN ALL SEGMENTS

Segment	Total Number of Verbs	EL verbs	CM verbs	Total Number of ML Verbs
1	71	5	11	55
2	92	8	8	76
3	82	10	15	57
Total	245	23	34	188
% from Total	100%	9%	14%	77%
		23%		

COMPLETE CODEMIXED VERB CHART

Segment	Codemixed Verbs		Line	Syllable Structure
1	CMV 1	click-ni	11	CCVC
1	CMV 2	ne-heat-aesh	13	CVC
1	CMV 3	pod-heat-aem	16	CVC
1	CMV 4	s-download-at'	17	CVVCCVVC
1	CMV 5	download-at'	19	CVVCCVVC
1	CMV 6	chill-aem	22	CVC
1	CMV 7	drink-aem	22	CCVCC
1	CMV 8	s-cook-anul	23	CVC
1	CMV 9	drive-aet	26	CCVC
1	CMV 10	roll-nyom	70	CVC
1	CMV 11	s-roll-nyom	73	CVC
2	CMV 12	drink-ali	5	CCVCC

2	**CMV 13**	po-**puk-**ala	17	CVC
2	**CMV 14**	za-**park-**ovalis'	25	**CVCC**
2	**CMV 15**	**chill-**aem	26	CVC
2	**CMV 16**	**pass-**ayut	40	CVC
2	**CMV 17**	**bluff-**at'	59	**CCVC**
2	**CMV 18**	ot-**bluff-**al	64	**CCVC**
2	**CMV 19**	ne-**blink-**nul	76	**CCVCC**
3	**CMV 20**	po-**hit-**aem	11	CVC
3	**CMV 21**	po-**chill-**aem	12	CVC
3	**CMV 22**	**puff-**aet	17	CVC
3	**CMV 23**	**puff-**ayut	19	CVC
3	**CMV 24**	**mix-**nu-la	21	**CVCC**
3	**CMV 25**	**spell-**ayet-sya	35	**CCVC**
3	**CMV 26**	**fuck-**nul-sya	36	CVC
3	**CMV 27**	**mov-**aet-sya	39	CVC
3	**CMV 28**	**teach-**ayet	44	CVC
3	**CMV 29**	**jab-**ayet	47	CVC
3	**CMV 30**	**vot-**at'	53	CVC
3	**CMV 31**	**support-**at'	56	**CVCVCC**
3	**CMV 32**	**choos-**ala	57	CVC
3	**CMV 33**	po-**chill-**at'	66	CVC
3	**CMV 34**	na-**hug-**alis'	70	CVC

CODEMIXED NOUN AND ADJECTIVE CHART

Segment	Code-mixed nouns		Line
1	**CMN 1**	**Steelers**-i	1
1	**CMN 2**	**offseason-e**	4
1	**CMN 3**	**season-**e	6
1	**CMN 4**	**draft-**e	12
1	**CMN 5**	**sit-**i	20
1	**CMN 6**	**Waterfront-**e.	35
1	**CMN 7**	**Steelers-**ov	43
1	**CMN 8**	**Steelers-**ov	44
1	**CMN 9**	**box-**e	58
1	**CMN 10**	**box-**e	64
1	**CMN 11**	**season-**e	65
1	**CMN 12**	**blount-**ik	71

2	**CMN 13**	**cousin**-i	9
2	**CMN 14**	**program**-e	11
2	**CMN 15**	**Brooklyn**-u	16
2	**CMN 16**	**Brighton**-e	24
3	**CMN 17**	**computer**-i	44
3	**CMN 18**	**match**-a	50
3	**CMN 19**	**representative**-a	55
3	**CMN 20**	**Frankel**-ya	55
3	**CMN 21**	**round**-e	61

Segment	**Code-mixed adjectives**		**Line**
1	**CMA 1**	**comfortab*el***-niye	32
1	**CMA 2**	**super**-naya	33
3	**CMA 3**	**modern**-oye	33

ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL CODEMIXED VERBS

Form of the verb (*as it appears in the mixed code data*)	SG	CMV #	Line	GLOSS	Analysis
[clik-n^{j}i] [click-2PR SG COM]	1	1	11	'click on it' (command – informal you)	From the English verb **'to click'** (*a computer term, that is borrowed into various languages from English – a very necessary term*) inflected by the undetermined verb class suffix marker **[nut^j]** phonologically simplified as **[n^j]** (**[n]** is palatalized by

					the following [+high] vowel **[i]**) + suffix **[i]** – 2nd person informal singular command marker – *__imperfective (possibly directive) aspect__*.

					the following [+high] vowel **[i]**) + suffix **[i]** – 2nd person informal singular command marker – *__imperfective (possibly directive) aspect__*.
[ne-**heat**-aesh] [not-**heat-2PR SG PRES**]	1	2	13	'you are not heating' (your apartment)	From the English – *__'to heat (up)'__* (*to turn on the heat in the apartment, there is no exact Russian equivalent for this verb*) CVC, inflected with the Russian negative marker **[ne]** and the marker **[aesh]** for 2nd person, singular, present tense. The suffix represents all three features. *__imperfective aspect__*
[pod-**heat**-aem] [under-**heat-1PR PL PRES**]	1	3	16	'we will heat it up'	From the English verb *__'to heat'__* again. The prefix has meaning of specific type of 'heating' will occur, a

					quick action, done by the speaker. Inflected with the prefix **[pod]** – under, however in this case it serves as an aspectual marker, and a suffix **[aem]** – for 1st person, plural, present tense - ***completive/hyper-terminative aspect***
[s-**download**-at^j] **[INST-download-INF]**	**1**	**4**	**17**	**'to download'** (with emphasis)	From the English verb **'to download'** (*A technical computer term, the Russian language has created a word that is almost equivalent just recently, most speakers still borrow this verb*) Inflected by the INSTrumental aspectual marker **[s]** – with, and the infinitive suffix marker **[at^j]** – indicative mood, ***imperfective/instrumental***

					aspect
[**download**-atʲ] [**download-INF**]	**1**	**5**	**19**	'**to download**'	From English verb '**to download**' with INFinitive suffix marker [**atʲ**] – *imperfective (directive) aspect*.
[**chill**-aem] [**chill-1PR PL PRES**]	**1**	**6**	**22**	'**we are chilling**'	From the American slang verb '**to chill**' – to hang out with friends, (*the most popular borrowed verb that appears in the mixed code, because of its wide semantic quality)* inflected with a Russian suffix, which designates 1st person plural, *imperfective aspect* marker – [**aem**].
[**drink-aem**] [**drink-1PR PL PRES**]	**1**	**7**	**22**	'**we are drinking**'	From the English verb 'to drink' (*The indexicality in the mixed code is 'to drink alcohol*') Inflected by [**aem**] – 1st person, plural, present tense suffix –

					imperfective aspect
[s-cook-anul] [INST-cook-1PR SG PAST]	1	8	23	'he/I cooked (something) up'	From the English verb 'to cook,' inflected by the INSTrumental marker **[s]** – with and with the undetermined verb class suffix marker **[nut^j]** simplified to **[nu]** with an epenthetic vowel **[a]** between [k] and [n], and the simplified marker **[l]** for 1st person, singular, past tense – *perfective/instrumental aspect.*
[driv-ayet] [drive-3PR SG PRES]	1	9	26	'he is driving'	From the verb **'to drive'** (*Has a meaning of driving a car specifically, Russian has a two word saying for driving a car, but speakers utilize this verb to mean 'to drive a car'*) Inflected by **[ayet]** – 3rd person,

					singular, present tense – ***imperfective aspect***
[roll-nʲom] [roll-1PR PL FUT]	1	10	70	'let's roll – we will roll' (something)	From the American verb **'to roll'** (*cigarette – only used in this meaning in the mixed code – a necessary verb for the mixed code, since an exact translation that indexes the specific action does not appear in Russian*) inflected with a verb class marker **[nutʲ]** – this marker illustrates what Kalinina (1983) calls the undetermined class of verbs (undetermined for time - how long the action lasted or will last) – phonologically simplified as **[nʲ]** + suffix – **[ʲom]** - 1st person plural – future tense – this marker designate the tense and thereby the

					previous marker only designates indeterminacy of the action – _**imperfective.**_
[s-roll-nyom] [INST-roll-1PR PL FUT]	1	11	73	'Let's roll' (something) (more emphasis)	From the verb **'to roll'** (_same meaning as above_) same inflection as above, plus INSTrumental marker [s] – with – _**imperfective/instrumental aspect**_
[drink-ali] [drink-1PR PL PAST]	2	12	5	'We were drinking'	From the verb **'to drink'** (_same meaning as CMV 7_) plus inflected by [ali] – 1st person, plural, past tense – _**perfective aspect**_
[po-puk-al-a]	2	13	17	'she puked'	From the English verb **'to**

[PUNC-puke-3PR SG PAST-F]				**(a bit)**	<u>**puke'**</u> (*throw up everywhere, intense emphatic meaning*) plus inflected by PUNCtual prefix marker **[po]** and the suffix combination **[al-a]** – 3rd person, singular, past tense, feminine – <u>***punctual aspect***</u>
[za-park-ovalis'] [behind-**park-1PR PL PAST REFL]**	**2**	**14**	**25**	**'we parked' (over there)**	From the English verb <u>**'to park'**</u> (*There is no exact Russian equivalent, verb is utilized often in the mixed code*) Inflected with a prefix **[za],** meaning behind – completive nature, and **[ovalis']** – 1st person, plural, past tense, reflexive suffix – <u>***completive/HT aspect***</u>
[chill-aem] **[chill-1PR PL**	**2**	**15**	**26**	**'we are chilling'**	From the American slang verb <u>**'to chill'**</u> – to hang out with friends, (*the most*

PRES]					*popular borrowed verb that appears in the mixed code, because of its wide semantic quality)* inflected with a Russian suffix, which designates 1st person plural, ***imperfective aspect*** marker – **[aem].**
[pass-ayut] **[pass-3PR PL PRES]**	**2**	**16**	**40**	'they are passing' (us by)	From the English verb **'to pass'** (*with the indexicality – to pass someone on the street*) inflected by **[ayut]** – 3rd person, plural, present tense suffix – ***imperfective aspect.***
[bluff-atʲ**]** **[bluff – INF]**	**2**	**17**	**59**	'to bluff'	From the English verb **'to bluff'** – {*No equivalent in Russian*) – inflected by the INFintival marker **[at**ʲ**]** – base form, ***imperfective aspect***
[ot-bluff-atʲ**]**	**2**	**18**	**64**	'to out bluff (them	From the same verb as above, plus prefix **[ot]** –

[from-**bluff** INF]				away)'	from – completive nature, plus INFinitial marker – ***imperfective/completive aspect***
[ne-**blink**-nul]	2	19	76	'I didn't blinked'	From the English verb **'to blink'** (*Enters here from the English phrase – 'didn't blink an eye*) inflected by the negative marker **[ne],** and the undetermined verb class suffix marker **[nut^j]** simplified to **[nu]**, plus the simplified **[l]** for 1st person, singular, past tense – ***perfective aspect***
[po-**hit**-aem] [**PUNC-hit** 1PR PL PRES]	3	20	11	'we are 'hitting' (slang for smoking) (for a specific period of	From the English slang verb **'to hit'** – (*The meaning comes from smoking a cigarette just once – punctual*) inflected by **[po]** – PUNCtual aspect marker, plus **[aem]** – 1st

142

				time)	person, plural, present tense – *punctual/imperfective aspect*
[po-**chill-**aem] [**PUNC-chill 1PR PL PRES**]	3	21	12	**'we are chilling'** (for a specific period of time)	From the same meaning as CMV 15, plus PUNCtual marker **[po]** is affixed, making the action more specific and timed – *punctual/imperfective aspect*
[**puff-**aet] [**puff- 3PR SG PRES**]	3	22	17	**'He/she puffs'** (slang for smoking)	From the English slang verb **'to puff'** (*to smoke*) inflected by **[aet]** – 3rd person, singular, present – *imperfective aspect.*
[**puff-**ayut] [**puff- 3PR PL PRES**]	3	23	19	**'they puff'**	Same meaning as above, plus suffix **[ayut]** – 3rd person, plural, present – *imperfective aspect*

143

[mix-nu-l-a] [mix-3PR SG PAST F}	3	24	21	'she mixed it'	From the American verb **'to mix'** (*again the Russian translation is not as simple and salient as this verb*) inflected by the undetermined verb class suffix marker **[nut^j]** phonologically simplified as **[nu]** + suffix **[l-a]** – 3rd person, singular, feminine past tense marker – **_perfective aspect._**
[spell-aet-sya] [spell- 3PR SG PRES REFL]	3	25	35	'it spells'	From the English verb 'to spell' (*There is no Russian exact equivalent, a semantically necessary codemixed verb*) inflected by **[aet]** – 3rd person, singular, present tense, and **[sya]** REFLective marker – **_imperfective aspect_**
[fuck-nu-l-sya]	3	26	36	'you fucked up'	From the vulgar English verb **'to fuck'** (*There are*

[fuck-3PR SG PAST M REFL]					*definitely Russian equivalents, but used here with the indexicality of the English meaning – 'are you fucked up'*) inflected by undetermined verb class suffix marker **[nut^j]** phonologically simplified as **[nu],** plus simplified **[l]** – 3rd person, singular, past tense and the **[sya]** REFLective marker – *__perfective aspect__*
[mov-ayet-sya] **[move-3PR SG PRES REFL]**	3	27	39	**'he is moving'**	From the English verb **'to move'** (*Only used in the meaning 'to move away from one place to another*) inflected by **[ayet]** – 3rd person, singular, present, plus REFLective marker **[sya]** – *__imperfective aspect__*
[teach-aet]	3	28	44	**'he is teaching'**	From the English verb **'to teach'** – (*there is a Russian*

[teach-3PR SG PRES]					*equivalent but 'teach' is much easier to pronounce*) plus **[aet]** – 3rd person, singular, present – ***imperfective aspect***.
[jab-aet] [jab-3PR SG PRES]	3	29	47	'he jabs' (he is jabbing)	From the English verb **'to jab'** – (*there is no exact equivalent in Russian, so it transfers into the mixed code even though it violates the phonemic inventory constraint*) plus **[aet]** – 3rd person, singular, present tense – ***imperfective aspect.***
[vot-at^j] [vote- INF]	3	30	53	'to vote'	From the English verb **'to vote'** (*There IS a Russian equivalent, however this verb is used in the context of other political terms and belongs to the discourse topic*) plus the INFinitival marker –**[at^j]** –

					imperfective aspect
[support-atʲ] [support- INF]	3	31	56	'to support'	From the English verb **'to support'** (*Even though it is multi-syllabic, it transfers into the mixed code, because it belongs to the discourse topic of politics*) plus the INFinitival marker –[atʲ] – *imperfective aspect*
[choos-al-a] [choose-3PR SG PAST -F]	3	32	57	'you chose' (feminine)	From the English verb **'to choose'** – again appears in the same discourse topic, plus **[al]** 3rd person, singular, past tense and **[a]** – feminine – *perfective aspect.*
[po-chill-atʲ] [PUNC-chill-INF]	3	33	66	'to chill' (for a specific period of time)	From the same meaning as CMV 15, plus **[po]** – PUNCtual aspect marker and the INFinitival marker **[atʲ]** – *punctual/imperfective aspect*

| [na-**hag**-alʲ-isʲ]

[onCOMPL/HT-
hug-2PR   PL
PAST – REFL] | 3 | 34 | 70 | 'you

(plural)

hugged

(enough)

(reflexive) | From the American verb **'to hug'** (*the Russian translation is cumbersome and bulky and sound marked, therefore I predict that the speakers choose this verb instead to make their speech more salient*) inflected with the prefix **[na]** – Yannis Kakridis (1999) describes this suffix as another completive action with a totally finished action + suffix **[alʲi]** – plural past tense marker + **[isʲ]** – reflexive plural marker (Either the plural past tense marker or the reflexive marker are phonologically simplified and one of the [+high] vowels **[i]** is deleted due to the OCP constraints) – |

					completive/hyper-terminative (reflexive) aspect.

APPENDIX O

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TRANSCRIPTION NAME TO THE NUMBER

OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN QUESTIONNAIRES

* All names are fictitious and any likeness to actual equivalent individuals with those exact names is accidental.

NAMES	NUMBERS
Maksim	1
Misha	2
Ura	3
Tanya	4
Yana	5
Yan	6
Yasha	7
Ilya	8
Vitalii	9
Sanya	10

Vova	11
Anya	12
Sasha	13
Natasha	14
Sveta	15
Lyopa	16
Oleg	17
Dilyara	18
Lana	19
Roma	20
Tanya 2	21
Lena	22
Zhenya	23
Kostya	24
Liza	25

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA (PARTICIPANTS 1-12)

ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENTS

Questionnaire Data (Participants 1-12)

Acceptability Judgments

Participants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Current Age	24	25	31	23	22	26	27	29	24	26	26	23
Age at arrival to the United States	15	14	18	10	11	16	16	15	11	13	17	16
Years in the United States	9	11	13	13	11	10	11	14	13	13	9	7
a	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
b	2	3	1	3	4	1	2	2	3	2	1	1
c	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	4	4
d	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	3	4
e	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
f	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5
g	2	4	3	5	5	3	4	5	5	4	2	3

h	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	5	4	3
i	3	3	3	5	3	2	3	4	3	4	2	3
j	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	5	3	2
k	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
l	3	5	4	5	5	3	4	5	5	5	5	4
m	3	4	4	4	5	3	3	4	4	4	2	3
n	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	4
o	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	4
p	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	3
r	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
s	1	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	3	3	1	1
t	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA (PARTICIPANTS 13-25)

ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENTS

Questionnaire Data (Participants 13-25)

Acceptability Judgments

Partici-pants	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Current Age	23	21	24	29	29	32	24	21	26	21	22	28	22
Age at arrival to the United States	16	10	11	17	11	16	16	15	17	13	11	11	12
Years in the United	7	11	13	12	18	16	8	6	9	8	11	17	10

States													
a	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5
b	3	3	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	4	4
c	5	5	4	5	5	3	4	5	4	5	5	5	4
d	5	5	4	5	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	5	4
e	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
f	5	5	3	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5
g	4	5	3	5	4	2	4	5	3	4	5	5	4
h	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5
i	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	2	2	3	4	5	4
j	4	4	2	4	4	3	3	2	2	3	3	4	4
k	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1
l	5	5	3	5	4	4	4	4	3	5	5	5	5
m	4	4	2	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	5	4
n	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	5	3	3	3	4	3
o	5	5	3	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	4
p	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	4
r	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
s	3	3	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	4
t	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA (PARTICIPANTS 1-12)

AGGREGATE ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENTS

Questionnaire Data (Participants 1-12)

Aggregate Acceptability Judgments

Participants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Current Age	24	25	31	23	22	26	27	29	24	26	26	23
Age at arrival to the United States	15	14	18	10	11	16	16	15	11	13	17	16
Years in the United States	9	11	13	13	11	10	11	14	13	13	9	7
CVC preference	4.5	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.5	4.2	4.5	4.7	4.7	4	3.7	4
Multi-syllable constraint	1.3	2.7	1.3	2.7	2.7	1	1.3	1.3	2.3	2	1	1
Consonant Cluster	3.3	3.8	3.7	4.5	4.3	3	3.3	4	3.8	4.3	2.7	2.8

dispreference												
Coda Constraint	1	2	1	2.5	2	1	1	1	1.5	2	1	1
Semantic Differentiation	2.5	4.5	3.5	5	5	3	4	5	5	4.5	3.5	3.5

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA (PARTICIPANTS 13-25)

AGGREGATE ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENTS

Questionnaire Data (Participants 13-25)

Aggregate Acceptability Judgments

Partici-pants	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Current Age	23	21	24	29	29	32	24	21	26	21	22	28	22
Age at arrival to the United States	16	10	11	17	11	16	16	15	17	13	11	11	12
Years in the United States	7	11	13	12	18	16	8	6	9	8	11	17	10

CVC pre-ference	4.8	4.7	3.7	4.7	4	3.7	3.8	4.7	3.5	4.3	4.5	4.8	4
Multi-syllable con-straint	2.3	3	1	2.3	1.3	1.3	1	1	1	2	2.3	2.7	2.3
Con-sonant Cluster dispre-ference	4	3.8	2.3	4.2	3.7	3.7	3.2	3	2.7	3.8	3.8	4.5	4.3
Coda Con-straint	2	2	1	1.5	1	1	1	1	1	1.5	2	1.5	1.5
Se-mantic Differenti ation	4.5	5	3	5	4	4	4	4.5	3	4.5	5	5	4.5

APPENDIX T

SPSS CORRELATION GRAPHS AND CHARTS

AGE OF ARRIVAL vs. MULTI-SYLLABLE CONSTRAINT RESPONSES

Reliable negative correlation

Correlations

		AGE	MS
AGE	Pearson Correlation	1	-.620(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	25	25
MS	Pearson Correlation	-.620(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	25	25

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Dot/Lines show Means

MS

○ Observed
— Linear

AGE OF ARRIVAL vs. CONSONANT CLUSTER CONSTRAINT RESPONSES

*Reliable negative correlation

Correlations

		AGE	CC
AGE	Pearson Correlation	1	-.418(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.037
	N	25	25
CC	Pearson Correlation	-.418(*)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.037	
	N	25	25

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Dot/Lines show Means

CC

163

AGE OF ARRIVAL vs. CODA NECESSITY CONSTRAINT RESPONSES

*Reliable negative correlation

Correlations

		AGE	CODA
AGE	Pearson Correlation	1	-.577(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.003
	N	25	25
CODA	Pearson Correlation	-.577(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	
	N	25	25

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Dot/Lines show Means

CODA

AGE OF ARRIVAL vs. SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION RESPONSES

*Reliable negative correlation

Correlations

		AGE	SD
AGE	Pearson Correlation	1	-.497(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011
	N	25	25
SD	Pearson Correlation	-.497(*)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	
	N	25	25

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Dot/Lines show Means

SD

TIME IN COUNTRY vs. CONSONANT CLUSTER CONSTRAINT RESPONSES

Reliable positive correlation

Correlations

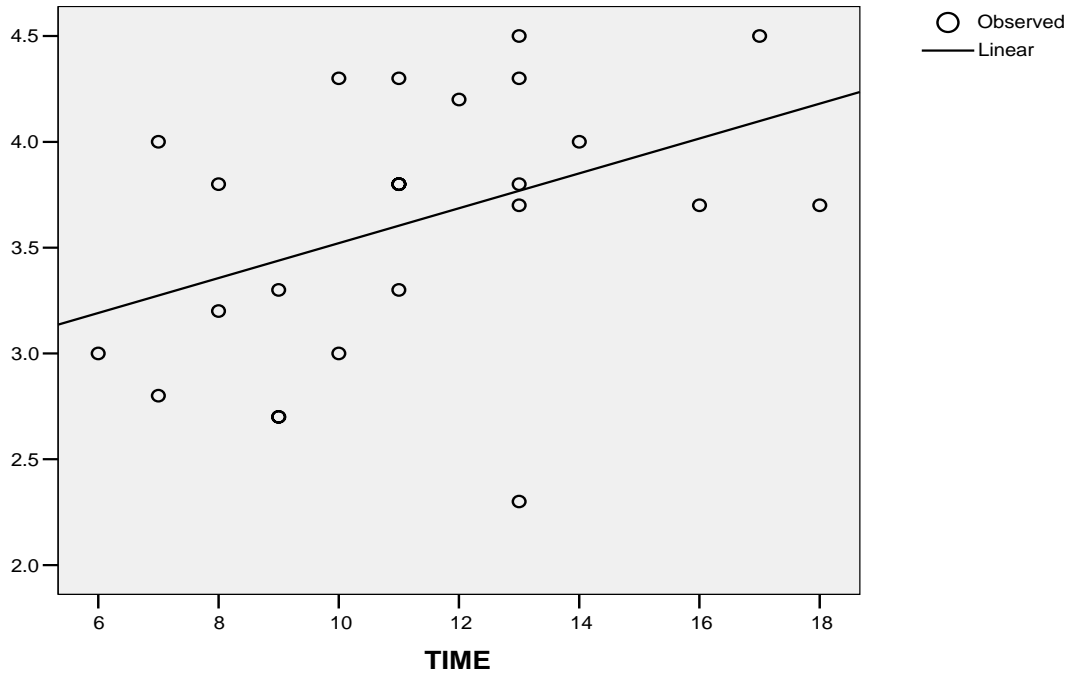|		TIME	CC
	Pearson Correlation	1	.415(*)
TIME	Sig. (2-tailed)		.039
	N	25	25
	Pearson Correlation	.415(*)	1
CC	Sig. (2-tailed)	.039	
	N	25	25

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Dot/Lines show Means

CC

APPENDIX U

IRB APPROVAL

University of Pittsburgh
Institutional Review Board

Exempt and Expedited Reviews

3500 Fifth Avenue
Suite 100
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
Phone: 412.383.1480
Fax: 412.383.1508

TO: Mr. IIya Bratman

FROM: Sue R. Beers, Ph.D., Vice Chair

DATE: June 15, 2006

PROTOCOL: Codemixing of Russian and English in a Speech Community of Pittsburgh

IRB Number: 0605133

The above-referenced protocol has been reviewed by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board. Based on the information provided in the IRB protocol, this project meets all the necessary criteria for an exemption, and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2).

- If any modifications are made to this project, please submit an 'exempt modification' form to the IRB.

- Please advise the IRB when your project has been completed so that it may be officially terminated in the IRB database.

- This research study may be audited by the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office.

Approval Date: June 14, 2006

SRB:kh

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