

A STUDY OF THE ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL INSERTION IN THE CODE SWITCHING OF IGBO-ENGLISH BILINGUALS IN AWKA

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Abstract

Code-switching (CS) is known to be a universal phenomenon among bilinguals. It has been observed that code-switching is more predominant among Igbo-English bilinguals compared to any other linguistic group in Nigeria. This paper examines the analysis of lexical insertion in the code-switching of Igbo-English bilinguals in Awka, Anambra state. Data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Nevertheless, note taking and audio recording of oral interview was the major instrument of data collection. The data were later analyzed using Myer-scotton matrix language frame model (MLF) to code-switching. A simple percentage analysis was carried out to determine the frequency and percentage of lexical items from the EL inserted into the ML frame. The analysis and interpretation of the data led to some of the following research findings: in the code-switching utterance of Igbo-English bilinguals, Igbo is the matrix language (ML) while English is the embedded language (EL), content morphemes would normally come from both the matrix language and the embedded language, system morphemes such as inflectional and aspectual affixes bound to elements from the EL come from the ML, content morphemes such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives will be the most frequently used lexical category in Igbo-English bilingual CS. Based on the findings we conclude that, it is clearly conspicuous that code-switching of Igbo-English bilinguals could be explained from the structural perspective. This study will go a long way to explore more fully the phenomenon of code-switching in Igbo-English bilinguals.

Introduction

The study of code switching has become a flourishing branch of research in linguistics, receiving attention from such diverse fields as Sociolinguistics, Anthropological linguistics, Language contact, Formal linguistics and Psycholinguistics, as well as from specialists in the various languages involved. It is an intriguing sociolinguistics phenomenon which is a by-product of bilingualism. It is a common phenomenon all over the world, especially in situations where the participants in discourse share the same bilingual background (Obiamalu, 2013).

Several concepts have been proposed for this linguistic behavior. Agheyisi (1977), for example, calls it “language interlarding”, while Scotton & Ury (1977) terms it “code switching”. Bokamba (1988) prefers to call it “code mixing” and Haugen (1953) calls it “integration”.

Nevertheless, “code switching” is no doubt, the most preferred term in current sociolinguistic study (Wardhaugh, 2010), hence the term used in this study.

In many situations, a speaker may shift from one code to another, intentionally or unintentionally. This shift may be from one language to another, from one dialect to another, or from one style to another for many different reasons. Linguistics scholars refer to this shift as “code switching”. Simply put, code switching is an alternation or switching between two or more languages, dialects, or registers in discourse between people who have more than one language in common. Typically, one of the two languages is the dominant language; the dominant language is often called the “Matrix Language” while the less dominant language is called the “Embedded Language” (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Research on code switching has been carried out from three different perspectives: the sociolinguistics, the structural, and more recently, the psycholinguistics perspective. Studies on the sociolinguistics perspective have concentrated on the socio motivations, factors, attitudes, and socio correlates of code switching. In the structural approach, linguists concern themselves only with the grammatical aspect of code switching based on some theoretical models try to formulate constraints upon it. The psycholinguistics approach investigates how bilinguals’ linguistic systems are stored and organized in the cognitive system and how they are accessed in language production and perception.

Objectives of The Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the phenomenon of code switching among Igbo-English bilingual in Awka, with particular attention on the analysis of lexical insertion in their code switching expressions.

Other specific objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the matrix and embedded language in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals.
2. To apply Myer-Scotton morpheme order principle and to find out if the system and content morphemes are from the embedded language, matrix language or both.
3. To identify the lexical categories of the embedded elements and the most frequently used in the frame of Igbo-English bilingual code switching.

The Concept of Code

Code is a relatively neutral conceptualization of linguistics variety which may be either a language or a dialect. It is a term used to denote any system of signals, such as numbers, words, which carries concrete meaning and that can be employed by two or more people for communication (Ronald, 2006:104).

Code refers to distinct languages (Nwoye, 1993). In some other places, for example, Romaine (1989:111), code is used to refer “not only to different languages, but also to different variety of the same language as well as style within a language.” Remarkably, there are different factors that govern the choice of a particular code on a particular occasion. In everyday interaction, people usually choose different codes on different situations. They may choose to use one code rather than another, shift from one code to another, and occasionally prefer to use a code formed from two other codes by switching back and forth between the two or even mixing both (Halliday, 1978:65). One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that people are faced with the problem of choosing an appropriate code when they speak.

The Concept of Code Switching

The phenomenon of shifting or alternating from one code to another in an instance of conversation is what is termed 'code switching' (CS). It can occur intra-sentential or inter-sentential. This phenomenon can be approached from several angles and have been defined in various ways by numerous researchers.

As posits by Swann and Sinka (2007), the definitions of code switching vary from one linguist to another. Myers-Scotton (1993) for example, defines code switching as "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn." Crystal (1995) suggests that, "code or language switching occurs when an individual, who is bilingual, alternates between two languages during his or her speech with another bilingual person."

Bokamba (1988, 1989:278) considers code switching as "the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same sentence or speech event." Poplack (1980:583) agrees with the above scholarly definitions. He explains code switching as "the act of alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent."

As pointed earlier, code switching can occur inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Inter-sentential switching involves alternation between sentences from two languages in an instance of conversation (Poplack, 1980; Kachru, 1978). Intra-sentential switching on the other hand involves mixing or transfer of linguistics elements such as affixes, morphemes, words, and phrases from one grammatical system into another within a sentence (Bokamba, 1989:278; Poplack, 1980; Krachu, 1978).

Following Poplack (1980), we adopt the later type of code switching, intra-sentential code switching which is the type that is more amenable to grammatical description.

Code Switching or Code Mixing

The Sociolinguistics terms "code switching" (CS) and "code mixing" (CM) are most important features and well-studied speech process in bilingual communities. Both terms are used by different researchers in their own different context of languages and cultures, despite the fact that both terms are oftentimes used interchangeably to refer to utterances that draw from elements of two or more grammatical systems.

There are two different views about maintaining the distinction between code switching and code mixing. Some scholars like Kachru (1983), Annamalai (1989), Bokamba (1988), Harmers and Blanc (2000), Poplack (1980), etc. treat these phenomenon as distinct manifestation. Some other scholars like Eastman (1992), Scotton (1993), Clyne (1991), however, consider that there is no distinction between them.

In Favour of Maintaining Distinction

Kachru (1983:193) for example observes, "There is a distinction between code mixing and code switching, though they have been treated as a language contact phenomenon. The code switching entails the ability to switch from code A to code B. The alternation of codes is determined by the function, the situation, and the participants. It refers to categorization of one's

verbal repertoire in terms of functions and roles. The code mixing, on the other hand, entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another.”

Annamalai (1989:48) posits that, “switching is normally done for the duration of a unit of discourse, but mixing is not normally done with full sentences from another language with its grammar.”

For Bokamba (1988), code switching is “the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event, while code mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes) word (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.”

Some other linguists in differentiating between code switching and code mixing use “Inter-sentential switching” to refer to code switching, i.e., alternation involving sentences from two distinct languages and “Intra-sentential Switching” to refer to code mixing i.e., alternation involving lexical or phrasal constituents from two distinct languages within a sentence (Gumperz, 1976; Fasold, 1984).

Against Maintaining Distinction

On the contrary, scholars like Myers-Scotton, Eastman and Clyne observe that there is no distinction between code switching and code mixing. According to Scotton (1993), “the borrowed and code switched forms behave in the same way morpho-syntactically in the matrix language, hence should not be seen as distinct processes.” Eastman (1992:1) notes that “the urban language contact phenomena do not distinguish Code switching and Code mixing. The urban settings where people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds regularly interact make it abundantly clear that in normal everyday conversation, material from many languages may be embedded in a matrix language regularly and unremarkably.” Clyne (1991:161) argues that “code switching and code mixing refers to the same phenomena in which the speaker stops using language A and employs language B.”

Code Switching and Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a concept often associated with code switching as a speaker must be able to perform in more than a language in order to code switch. Numerous attempts have been made by linguists to describe and fully understand the concept. Some researchers adopt a very strict definition in which the speaker should have native-like control over both languages (Bloomfield, 1933; MacSwan, 1997). Other researchers take a wider perspective of the phenomenon and are satisfied with speakers who are able to produce complete meaningful utterances in both languages (Haugen, 1953; Myers-Scotton, 2002).

One of the earliest studies carried out by Bloomfield (1933) broadly defined bilingualism as “the native-like control of two or more languages.” The definition raised some questions on the degree of mastery or competency of a speaker in the languages in order to be considered to have native like control. Haugen (1953) further explained that “bilingualism only exists when a speaker of one language has the ability to produce complete meaningful utterances in another language.”

Since the early seventies, several studies (e.g., Gumperz and Hernandez Chavez, 1970; Pfaff, 1979; Kachru, 1978; Poplack, 1980; Sanchez, 1983; Scotton and Ury, 1977) have shown

that code switching is a very common phenomenon in communication among bilinguals. Many communities around the globe are constituted of individuals who speak two or more shared languages on any occasion of speaking.

In Nigeria, for instance, Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, etc. are all local and national languages while English is the international language. Language users can therefore alternate from one code to another within a conversation. For example, two people conducting business in English in South-Eastern Nigeria, where Igbo is the native language, might suddenly switch to Igbo or, if they are fellow members of the same ethnic and linguistics sub-group, might switch to a local vernacular (e.g., Ohafia dialect), when the topic of the conversation changes from business proper to more personal matters. This kind of code switching has been observed in many bilingual communities such as Tanzania, New York etc. Moreover, code switching seems to be the norm rather than the exception in the bilingual speech mode (Grosjean, 1982).

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Code Switching

The study of Code switching can be approached from three different perspectives. They include:

The Sociolinguistic Approach

In the sociolinguistic approach, the attempt is to investigate and understand the social motivations and intentions underlying code switching as well as to see the effect of social factors such as age, gender, attitude, education, etc. on code switching patterns.

The Psycholinguistic Approach

The psycholinguistic approach studies code switching that is prompted not by the intentions of the speaker but by the specific conditions of language production. It examines those aspects of language capacity that enable speakers to alternate languages.

The Structural or Grammatical Approach

A third approach to code switching, and the one mainly guiding this study is the structural/grammatical approach. It is believed that there are general rules for switching or syntactic constraints which apply to all switching behavior irrespective of the codes involved. Researchers in this field posit that it is possible to offer interesting indications about the underlying structure of language systems by analyzing code switching constraints, that is, the points within a sentence at which the transition from one language to the other is possible.

Naseh (2002:36) categorizes all the existing structural approaches to code switching into six groups:

1. Linear order approach
2. Sub-categorization model
3. Theory-based models
4. Matrix language approaches
5. No specific model or constraints (the idea that no specific rules or principles that lie outside the grammars of the languages involved constraints)
6. A minimalist approach

In this study, one out of the six groups will be briefly, for the purpose of this study discussed below:

The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF)

The Matrix Language Frame Model was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993). The basic generalization that the model offers is that code switching is characterized by a basic asymmetry between the participating languages so that only one language accounts for the uniform structure that prevails in the bilingual clause (Myers-Scotton 1993). One language dominates the other. The dominant language is called the matrix language (ML) and the other one is called the embedded language (EL). The ML provides the framework in which the elements of the other language, that is, the EL are inserted.

Working with this principle, Myer scotton (1993 [1997]: 83) proposed two principles to test the basis of unequal participation of the two languages: the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principle.

- **The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)**

According to Myer-Scotton (1993:83), this principle states that “in the ML+EL, constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML.”

- **The System Morpheme Principle (SMP)**

The second principle of Myer-Scotton (1993:83), the “system morpheme principle” states that, “in ML+EL constituents, all systems morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents (i.e. which participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the ML.”

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, The Matrix Language Frame model of Myer-Scotton (1993) was adopted. This decision is based on the fact that the study seeks to investigate the analysis of lexical insertion in the code switching of Igbo-English bilingual in Awka. Thus, the MLF model will provide a better theoretical framework to achieve the objective of the study.

The MLF model identifies the matrix language in a code switching expression and contains the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principle.

Methodology

The data for this study were collected directly from the field by the researcher, through “note-taking” and “audio recording” of structured and unstructured oral interviews. Pen and paper was used for the note taking, to write down any observed code switched utterance from Igbo-English bilinguals at different locations in Awka. The instrument used for the audio recording is Infinix Hot note2 Smartphone.

Qualitative and quantitative method where employed in the analysis of data. A total of over 48 code switched utterances were elicited from Igbo-English bilinguals in Awka. Since the thrust of this study is on code switching (intra-sentential CS), 20 code switched utterances were carefully selected at random, analyzed and interpreted using Myer-Scotton Matrix Language Frame model to code switching to provide the findings for the study. A simple percentage analysis was also carried out to determine the frequency and percentage of lexical items from the EL inserted into the ML frame. All the data collected were carefully glossed using the grammatical category label rule.

Data Presentation

Below is a sample of the 20 randomly selected Igbo-English bilingual code switched utterances from our large corpus of data used for this analysis. English is written in plain, while Igbo is written in bold and italicized. The gloss in English is written below each utterance. Each utterance is numbered for easy reference in the discussion.

The 20 randomly selected code switched utterance of Igbo-English bilinguals in Awka.

1. *Ofe* *a* *dị* delicious
 soup-N this-DET is-V ADJ
 “This soup is delicious”
2. *Taa* *me-re* *ya* one year
 today-ADV make-V-PST it-PRO ADJ N
 “Today made it one year”
3. *M* *ga-aga* wedding-*ny* *Ngọzi*
 1SG AUX-go-V-FUT ADJ-INFL N
 “I will attend/go to Ngozi’s wedding”
4. *M* *na-ahụ* *ha* everyday *na* school
 1SG AUX-see-V 3PL ADV in-PREP N
 “I see them every day in school”
5. *Nye* *m* *akwa* *ahụ* now
 give-V 1SG cloth-N that-DEM ADV
 “Give me that cloth now”
6. *Ego* Nigeria *enwe-ghi* value
 money-ADJ N have-V-NEG V
 “Nigerian currency does not have value”
7. *Onye* cut-*uru* rope *a?*
 who-PRO V-PST-INFL N the-DET
 “Who cut the rope?”
8. I think *na* *ọ* *ga-abia* today
 1SG V CONJ 3SG AUX-come-V-FUT ADV
 “I think that he/she will come today”

9. **Ọ** *gwa-ra* *m* the answer *n'* *oge*
 3SG tell-V-IND-PST 1SG DET N on-PREP time-N
 “He/she told me the answer on time”
10. **Ọ** meet-*iri* *m* on the way
 3SG V-PST-INFL 1SG PREP DET N
 “He/she met me on the way”
11. **ị** watch-*ị-ala* things fall apart?
 2SG V-PST-INFL-ASP N
 “Have you watched things fall apart?”
12. Exam *a* *di* tough
 N this-DET is-V ADJ
 “This exam is tough”
13. **Biko** light-*ia-ra* *m* candle *a*
 please-ADV V-INFL-ASP 1SG-NOM N this-DET
 “Please light this candle for me”
14. **A** pass-*ị-ala* *m* final exam-*ụ m*
 1SG V-INFL-ASP 1SG-NOM ADJ N-INFL 1SG-GEN
 “I have passed my final exam”
15. **ị** *huru nika* red-*ị* *m* *ahụ*
 2SG see-V short-N ADJ-INFL 1SG-GEN that-DEM
 “Did u see that my red short?”
16. Daddy *zuta-ra* phone *ohuru*
 N buy-V-IND-PST N new-ADJ
 “Daddy bought a new phone”
17. **Ọ** *si-ri* *m* that *ọ* *na-abia*
 3SG say-V-IND-PST 1SG CONJ 3SG AUX-come-PROG
 “He/She told me that he/she is coming”
18. **Nwoke** *a* *di* bad
 man-N this-DET is-V ADJ
 “This man is bad”

19.	<i>Chioma</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>e-take-i</i>	risk
	N	is-AUX	INFL-V-INFL	N

“Chioma is taking risk”

20.	<i>Nneka</i>	fail- <i>uru</i>	GSS 101
	N	V-PST-INFL	N

“Nneka failed GSS101”

Data Analysis

This section deals with the Analysis and discussion of the Igbo-English CS data generated from the investigation carried out by the researcher.

Myer-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF)

This model was applied to our large corpus of Igbo-English bilingual CS data above. It was observed that Igbo is the matrix language and English is the embedded language. This observation is based on the fact that Igbo is the first language, the language that has a more dominant role and hence, provides the morpho-syntactic framework in which the elements of the EL are inserted, while the language that plays a lesser role in the CS data above is the English language. Therefore, Igbo is the ML in the code switching data of Igbo-English bilinguals presented above, while English is the EL.

The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)

From our data it was observed that the sequential order of morphemes such as; nouns, verbs, adjectives etc. in the Igbo-English bilingual CS data above follows the order of the ML. However, this hypothesis does not extend to all the cases of CS by Igbo-English bilinguals. There are cases in Igbo-English CS where the surface order of morpheme will be that of the EL and ML. For example,

1.	<i>Ø</i>	<i>si-ri</i>	<i>m</i>	that	<i>Ø</i>	<i>na-abia</i>
	3SG	say-V-IND-PST	1SG	CONJ	3SG	AUX-come-PROG

“He/She told me that he/she is coming”

It was also observed that the content morphemes come from both the EL and ML, though there are more ML morphemes than EL morphemes. The content words from the EL inserted into the Igbo morpho-syntactic frame is written in plain, while that of the ML is written in bold and italicized. Since the Igbo language provides the syntactic structure for elements in the EL to be inserted, it is assumed that majority of the content morphemes stems from the ML. Hence, in ML+EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting syntactic relations) will be that of both the ML and EL. This finding violates Myer-scotton morpheme order principle which requires that the surface order of morpheme will be that of the ML.

The System Morpheme Principle (SMP)

From the Igbo-English CS data presented above, it was observed that inflectional affixes such as; ***-nu, -uru, -iri, -i-ala, -ia-ra, -i, e-*** written in bold and italicized are all elements in the ML. In addition, they are bound to the elements inserted by the EL. It is important to note that none of the inflectional affixes observed in the corpus of Igbo-English CS data presented above come from the EL.

Percentage and Frequency Analysis of Lexical Categories of the Embedded Elements

The formula for the analysis is stated below:

$$\text{Percentage of occurrence} = \frac{\text{Frequency of lexical item from EL}}{\text{Total Number of Lexical Items}} \times 100$$

Table Showing Frequency and Percentage of Lexical Insertion from the EL

Categories	Igbo-English bilinguals	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Noun	Yes	27	38.5
Verb	Yes	16	22.8
Adjective	Yes	9	12.8
Adverb	Yes	7	10
Pronoun	Yes	3	4.3
Preposition	Yes	1	1.4
Conjunction	Yes	1	1.4
Determiner	Yes	6	8.6
Total		70	100

Table Analysis:

The table above shows that the lexical categories of the embedded elements are *nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and determiners*. Some content morphemes like *nouns, verbs, and adjectives* are more frequent in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals than system morphemes. Nouns in the CS frame of Igbo-English bilinguals

form the majority of embedded lexical elements found in the corporal. 38.5% out of the 70 English embedded lexical elements from the Igbo-English CS data presented above are nouns.

The next most frequent content morphemes observed from the Igbo-English bilingual CS data in the table above is Verbs. 22.8% out of the 70 English lexical elements from the Igbo-English CS data above are verbs.

Adjectives are another most frequent content morpheme after the Verbs, observed from our large corpus of data. Out of the 70 lexical elements inserted in the Igbo frame of Igbo-English bilingual CS data, 12.8% are Adjectives.

10% out of the 70 embedded elements from the EL inserted into the ML frame of Igbo-English bilingual CS data above are Adverbs.

Determiners and Pronouns are another frequent content morpheme identified in the corpus of Igbo-English bilingual CS data exemplified above. Determiners have 8.6% of occurrence of embedded elements inserted into the ML frame. Pronouns have only 4.3% of embedded elements, out of the total number of lexical code switched elements inserted into the Igbo-English bilingual CS data above.

Prepositions and Conjunctions in the Igbo-English bilingual corpus each has just 1.4% of occurrence of the total number of embedded elements in the Igbo-English CS data presented above. There was only one instance in which the preposition (*on*) and the conjunction (*that*) was inserted in the Igbo-English bilingual CS data above.

In all, the analysis of the data in the above table shows that, in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals, content morphemes such as *nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns* and system morphemes such as *determiners, conjunctions and prepositions* from English, the EL, may be inserted into the Igbo frame of Igbo-English bilingual CS. However, we see that embedded elements from English, inserted into the Igbo frame of Igbo-English bilingual code switching will mostly come from content morphemes like, *noun, verbs, and adjectives*.

Summary of Findings

This study made a critical evaluation of the analysis of lexical insertion in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals in awka. Myer-Scotton (1993) matrix language frame model, as well as her morpheme order and system morpheme principle was applied to provide the findings for the study. From the result of the analysis it was discovered that:

1. Igbo is the ML while English is the EL in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals.
2. Igbo-English bilinguals use content morphemes from both the EL and ML when code switching, but the system morphemes only come from the ML. This finding is not compatible with Myer-Scotton (1993) morpheme order principle where she points that in ML+EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morphemes order will be that of the ML.
3. Grammatical words such as determiners, preposition, conjunction, and pronouns from the EL were inserted in the Igbo frame. However, inflectional and aspectual affixes such as – *nu, -uru, -iri, -ia-ra, -i-ala, e-, -i* bound to elements from the EL come from Igbo, the ML.
4. Content morphemes such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives will be the most frequently used lexical category in the code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals.
5. While it is possible to have English verbs taking Igbo inflections, Igbo verbs do not take English inflections.

Conclusion

Based on the findings of this research, it is clearly conspicuous that code switching of Igbo-English bilinguals could be explained from the structural/grammatical perspective. Hence, it is suggested that more studies on this perspective of code switching should be explored more fully by linguistic scholars and students using data from Igbo-English code switching. For instance, during the course of this work the researcher found out that content word occurred more frequently in the data than grammatical words. It is therefore recommended that more studies should be carried out to make this finding reliable

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