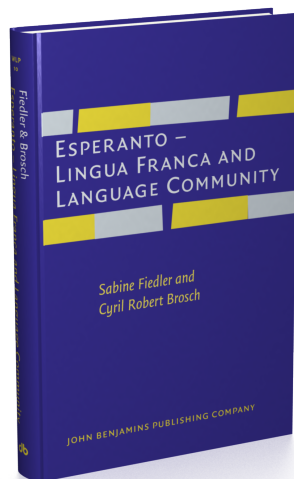


Code-switching in Esperanto communication

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Esperanto – Lingua Franca and Language Community

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Code-switching in Esperanto communication

22.1 Introduction

Language alternation has been intensively investigated in different fields in recent decades,¹³⁸ and research has led to the dissemination of a number of terms, including code-switching, code-mixing, or code-crossing. *Code-switching* will be used here as a general term to refer to all types of systematic alternation between two or more languages in oral or written communication. In our dataset, two basic types of code-switches can be distinguished which correspond to the conversational typology proposed by Auer (1999) (see also Stell, 2015). Auer (1999) distinguishes between alternational code-switching (language alternation) and insertional code-switching (code-mixing). In the case of the former type, the switch is often participant-related. This is illustrated in Example (320), where the tour guide, during an excursion, interrupts her commentary in Esperanto to thank the bus driver, who does not speak Esperanto:

- (320) *Ni dankas nian ŝoforon por la klarigo. Merci, Philippe. Mi volas [...]*
 [We thank our driver for the explanation. **Merci, Philippe**. I would like to (...)]
 [118 (fra; tour; Lille) 83:13]

- (321) *Ni povas demandi nian popolon enmetante en la en la sakon de la dokumentoj unu folion. Kiel bone vi trovis tiun kaj tiun aranĝon, kiun entutan impreson, ĉu bona aŭ malbona, **smiley** aŭ io simila. Per tio oni povas iom pli vaste ekkoni la impreson kiun havas la ordinara publiko.*

[We can ask our people by putting a piece of paper into the into the (conference) bag with documents. How good did you find this and this event, what is your general impression, good or bad, a **smiley** or something similar. In this way one can gauge the overall impression that the ordinary audience has.]

[144 (deu; disc; Lille) 86:35]

In insertional code-switching (code-mixing), “a content word (noun, verb, rarely adjective/adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other languages” (Auer, 1999, p. 314). Such insertion can be seen in Example (321), where a speaker

138. For overviews of the research topic see, for example, Gross (2006), Mahootian (2006) and Gardner-Chloros (2013).

resorts to an expression that he would use in his native German, because he probably doesn't know it, or can't recall it, in Esperanto at that moment. The two types of code-switching are not only different in structure, but also with regard to their pragmatic function, as the examples show and as will be discussed in more detail later.

In addition to these two main types, our dataset includes a small number of occurrences of code-switching in which speakers unintentionally fall back into their L1. Example (322) presents one such slip of the tongue. The French host of a cultural programme of the *Internacia Arta Vespero* (IAV) (International Art Evening) uses a French word (*dernière*) instead of the Esperanto one and corrects her mistake immediately. Examples of this kind were dealt with in Chapter 19 on repairs.

- (322) *Dankon al ĉiuj artistoj, dankon al ĉiuj teknikistoj por tiu unua parto de la vespero. Nia jubila IAVo estas finita. Sed nun estas la koncerto de de Eruda Li. Do mi salutas vin tutkore dernière (.) lastfoje.*

[Thank you to all artists, thank you to all technicians for this first part of the evening. Our jubilee IAV is closed. But now it's time for the concert of of Eruda Li. So, I am greeting you cordially dernière (.) for the last time.]

[166 (fra; tour; Lille) 102:20–39]

Another type of contact phenomena that we do not include in our discussion in this chapter is quotations, as in Example (323), as quotations are not part of a speaker's utterance or text. Quotations are “mentioned, not used” in de Brabanter's (2004, p. 2) words. The same is true for words or phrases in another language that are given as object-language examples or explanations in texts on linguistic topics, as shown in Example (324):

- (323) *Strange, ke ni ne trovis unu la alian. Mi precipe atendis ĉe tiu ŝtuparo, ĉar mi pensis durch diese hohle Gasse muss sie kommen.*

[Strange that we didn't find each other. I was waiting specifically by this staircase, because I thought *durch diese hohle Gasse muss sie kommen* (lit. ‘she must come along this hollow alley’ – an adapted quotation from Schiller's “Wilhelm Tell”)]

[(deu; infl; Lille 26 July 2015), memory notes]

- (324) *Sed nun devas atenti. Estas multaj vortoj, kies reduplikado, se oni uzas dufoje, ne signifas la pluralon, ekzemple mata estas 'okulo', mata mata 'spiono'*

[But now [you] have to pay attention. There are many words whose reduplication, if one uses [them] twice, does not mean the plural, for example, **mata** is ‘eye’, and **mata mata** ‘spy’.] [42 (hun; pres; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 44:31–47]

Because of their particular nature, we will not focus on quotations and object-language uses here. It is worth mentioning, however, that language alternations of these two types play an important role in Esperanto texts, something which can

be explained by the fact that Esperanto speakers are bilingual (if not plurilingual) speakers and that there is a strong interest in language-related topics within the speech community.

The phenomenon of code-switching has not been analysed in Esperanto communication so far, to the best of our knowledge. Concerning lingua francas, much research has been carried out on code-switching in English as a lingua franca (ELF). Meierkord (2002, p. 124) discusses language alternation phenomena as an expression of ‘communicative hybridity’ in lingua franca communication. Pölzl (2003) describes the use of other-language material in ELF as “signalling cultural identity”. Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) point out that switching to another language in lingua franca interactions has to be seen in relation to speakers’ ‘habitat’. According to Klimpfinger (2009), ELF speakers use code-switching for specifying addressees, signalling culture, appealing for assistance, and introducing ideas. Motschenbacher (2013, pp. 62ff.) describes three types of “micro-switching in ELF talk” in his study on language use during the Eurovision Song Contest: asking for assistance, creating the Eurovision experience, and greetings. Altogether, ELF researchers attach special significance to code-switching. Jenkins (2007, p. 35) points out that “in many countries of the expanding circle (...) code-switching and code-mixing have become the norm among their English-knowing bilinguals”.

Recent studies (e.g. Hülmbauer, 2011; Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer, 2013; Jenkins, 2015, 2017) have described communication by means of English as a lingua franca as a “multilingual mode” per se or a “multilingual franca” because – as the argument goes – it always includes different languages in addition to English (see Chapter 2). Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013, p. 390) point out:

ELF is used as a shared resource which becomes activated in linguistically diverse settings. (...) No matter how much of the plurilingual influence is directly observable on the surface structure of ELF talk – the important thing is that there is, in principle, room for integration of plurilingual elements. ELF thus clearly has to be viewed as a multilingual mode.

To the authors of this book this seems an unjustified exaggeration. Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer’s examples, including wrong word formations such as *financiate* (for *finance*), the use of *information* as a countable noun, and the use of false friends (e.g. *studied grossly*) are not very convincing. True, uses like these can be frequently heard in ELF talk and do not hamper understanding. However, ELF users should not be credited too much for such allegedly creative forms, as these might simply turn out to be instances of poorly learned English ... a conclusion that might be proven by the fact that most of them would be corrected immediately if the passages were transferred into written communication.

As code-switching is a technique that occurs more frequently in informal speech styles (Poplack, 1981, pp. 179–180; Jones, 2005, p. 4), our dataset (see Chapter 5) provides a suitable basis for investigating this phenomenon. The aim of the analysis is to describe code-switching in Esperanto speech events with regard to their forms (from single words to complete microtexts) and the main functions that they serve. It will also include a quantitative study. We have seen in previous chapters (on metacommunication, repair work and phraseology) that speakers' practices are closely related to their attitudes toward Esperanto communication. This seems to be particularly true for the topic addressed in this chapter. It would therefore first be useful to shed some more light on a specific feature that characterises the Esperanto speech community – a speaker's position relative to the use of other-language material.

22.2 “Ne krokodilu” – language loyalty as a main characteristic of the Esperanto speech community

‘Krokodili’ (lit. ‘to crocodile/behave like a crocodile’) is one of the few fully idiomatic lexemes that exist in Esperanto. It means ‘to use one’s mother tongue in an Esperanto context’.¹³⁹ To do so is considered inappropriate in Esperanto circles. The admonition “Ne krokodilu!” (the ending *-u* marks the imperative of a verb) is sometimes heard at Esperanto meetings. Its use is an expression of the linguistic loyalty that characterises the speech community. For the majority of its speakers, Esperanto not only implies a means of communication but also a vehicle of culture which must be preserved and disseminated. So the planned language should be used whenever possible, even among speakers of the same language.

The following excerpts from conversations illustrate speakers’ attitudes towards the phenomenon of *krokodili*. In (325), a Hungarian speaker insistently refuses to use her native language. In (326), speaker A seems to feel caught out or even criticised for not having spoken Esperanto and defends herself, although this was obviously not B’s intention.

(325) *Mi ne komprenas ĉi tie la hungaran.*

[I do not understand Hungarian here.]

[36 (hun; infl; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 26:53;

(reaction of a Hungarian speaker when addressed in her native language by a Hungarian speaker at an Esperanto meeting)]

139. See Chapter 21.3 (especially footnote 128) for a more detailed description.

- (326) A: *Sed vi ne estas el Svisio?*
 B: *Ne, mi estas hungarino.*
 A: *Ah jes, mi aŭdis ion, vi parolas la hungaran, parolis la hungaran kun li, ĉu ne? Via telefono antaŭ kelkaj minutoj, ĉu ne?*
 B: *Jes, sed poste mi mem faris al mi la rimarkon, mi preferus paroli en Esperanto, ĉar ni estas en Esperanto-medio.*
 A: *Jes jes jes, mi nur rimarkis.*
 [A: But you are not from Switzerland?
 B: No, I'm Hungarian.
 A: Ah yes, I heard something, you speak Hungarian, you spoke to him in Hungarian, didn't you? (in) your phone call a few minutes ago?
 B: Yes, but afterwards I made a note to myself, I'd prefer to speak Esperanto, as we are in an Esperanto environment here.
 A: Yes yes yes, I was just pointing it out.]

[37 (deu-hun; infl; La Chaux-de-Fonds) 18:00–24]

In addition to the aim of politeness (by not excluding anybody by using a language that they do not understand), speakers have still other motivations for consistently using Esperanto. One is the fact that Esperanto speakers are geographically dispersed. Their opportunities to use the language not only in writing but also in oral interaction are restricted to brief meetings and conferences, which in their eyes have to be exploited as much as possible to practise the language. Furthermore, in view of the limited recognition that the planned language enjoys in the eyes of the general public, its speakers persistently strive to prove that it really is a fully fledged means of communication able to express every subtlety, so any switch to another language or their mother tongue, and the failure to retrieve a word in Esperanto, might be misinterpreted as a sign of Esperanto's shortcomings.

Peppering one's speech with English words and phrases for reasons of prestige and because English stands indexically for symbolic meanings, such as education, modernity, globalisation, youth, 'coolness' and informality, as has been explored by a number of researchers for various languages (Andersen et al. 2017; Androutsopoulos, 2007, 2013; Onysko, 2007; Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011), has traditionally been stigmatised in Esperanto. This attitude is often reflected in linguocritical contributions in Esperanto journals. For example, in an article with the telling title "Angla malsano fuŝas nian Esperanton" ('English disease messing up our Esperanto') a Finnish Esperanto speaker offers the following opinion on borrowing English words:¹⁴⁰

140. It seems to be difficult to find clear-cut differences between borrowing and code-switching. A number of authors have discussed the relationship between these two types of contact form, using criteria such as frequency, degrees of assimilation and existence of an equivalent in the receiving language (Gardner-Chloras, 2013; Jones, 2005; Matras, 2009, pp. 110–114; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Onysko, 2007; Romaine, 1995).

Estas tute nature, ke Esperanto enkondukas el la angla modernajn vortojn kiel ekz. ĵazo, ĵipo, ĵinzo k.a. kun ioma ortografia ŝanĝo konforme laŭ la postuloj de la strukturo de Esperanto. Kiam oni neglektas la principojn de Esperanto kiel “kunmeta” lingvo /aglutineco/, aŭ kiam oni volas anstataŭi jam kutimajn vortojn per pli “fajnaj” angladevenaj vortoj, oni misvojas ĝisrande de pereco. Ni analizu kelkajn kazojn:

1/Fuelo /fuel/ = brulaĵo estas nura kodo, nenion diranta pri sia funkcio, dum “brulaĵo” estas regule formita, sufiĉe mallonga kaj bela vorto, diranta esencon pri sia funkcio, tute sendepende ĉu temas pri ligno, karbo, benzino, nafto, uranio, kvankam en la lasta kazo okazas ne vera “brulado”, sed ĉenreakcio, tamen la sama vorto pro analogio estas uzenda, ankaŭ pro lingva ekonomio./

(...)

Ni ne dorlotu Esperanton per falsaj, malpropraj elementoj, ĉar tio estas “ursa” servo por nia lingvo kaj la tuta afero de internacia lingvo. Esperanto vivu per si mem! J. Jänntti, Finnlando

[It is completely natural for Esperanto to introduce modern words from English, e.g. ĵazo (jazz), ĵipo (jeep), ĵinzo (jeans), etc. with some orthographic changes in accordance with the structural requirements of Esperanto. When one neglects the principles of Esperanto as a “composing” language (agglutination) or when one wants to substitute words that have already become habitual with “fine” words of English origin, one goes the wrong way to the brink of destruction. Let us analyse some cases:

1 /Fuelo/fuel = brulaĵo [brul- ‘burn’ + -aĵ ‘concrete thing’, i.e. something that is burnt] is a mere code saying nothing about its function, whereas “brulaĵo” is a regularly formed, sufficiently short and nice word that expresses the essence of its function completely independent of the fact of whether it concerns wood, coal, petrol, oil, uranium, although, in the latter case, there is no real burning, but a chain reaction, but for reasons of analogy the same word must be used, also for reasons of language economy.

(...)

We should not pepper Esperanto with false, foreign elements, as then we do our language, and the whole cause of an international language, a disservice. Esperanto can stand alone!]

[Starto 4/1980, p. 13–14]

In a similar way, the author of the following article criticises code-switching as snobbishness:

Unu el miaj korespondantoj estas samideano el Budapeŝto, kiu skribas longajn leterojn en ne malbona Esperanto, sed li havas la kutimon spici siajn epistolojn ne nur per abundo da neologismoj, sed ankaŭ per anglaj vortoj kaj esprimoj. Jen kelkaj ekzemploj.

“La unua espero estas, ke la registaroj/ the Governments:/ ... fine rekonos kaj ekfavoros Esperanto.”

“Se paroli pri la ‘koloritaj ĝentlemanoj’/ : coloured gentlemen:/ ...

« ... kiel la bona olda / : the good old:/ Majstro Zamenhof ... »

“We are in the same shoes!”

“Se vi estas tiome ‘punctilious’ pri la interpretado (...)”(...)

Kial, do, la budapeŝta leterskribanto kaj tuta aro de aliaj esperantistoj havas la emon trudi anglaĵon al siaj samideanoj ? Mi povas proponi kialon, kiu estas tre memevident-a : la snobeco. Homo, kiu lernas fremdan lingvon volas uzi ĝin por parade montri sian ofte nur supraĵan lingvoscion. Ŝajnas, ke hodiaŭ la angla lingvo, estante ĉe la apogeo de sia sukceso, nutras la kulturan kaj edukon superecon de tiuj snoboj. (...)

[One of my pen pals is a fellow thinker [= Esperanto supporter] from Budapest who writes long letters in an Esperanto that is not bad, but he has the habit of spicing his epistles not only with lots of neologisms, but also with English words and expressions. Here are some examples:

“The first hope is that governments (...) finally recognise and favour Esperanto.”

“When speaking about the ‘coloured gentlemen’ (...)”

“as the good old Master Zamenhof (...)”

“We are in the same shoes!”

“If you are that punctilious about the interpretation (...)” (...)

So why are the pen pal from Budapest and a whole group of other Esperantists so inclined to impose English stuff on their fellow thinkers? I can propose a reason which is self-evident: snobbishness. Someone who learns a foreign language wants to use it to show off his/her often only superficial language knowledge. It seems that today the English language, standing at the height of its success, nourishes the cultural and educational superiority of these snobs.]

[La Brita Esperantisto majo-aŭgusto 1980]

The opinions expressed in these two articles might explain the relatively low number of code-switches that we found in our dataset – a topic to which we will return.

As already mentioned, the Esperanto speech community is heterogeneous. Speakers learn and use Esperanto for very different reasons and stick to traditional values of the community to different degrees. It is therefore not surprising to find different attitudes towards the use of national languages at Esperanto meetings. See, for example, the following passage from a panel discussion at a World Esperanto Congress with a representative of the Universal Esperanto Association UEA (speaker C) reacting to a speaker who reproached some participants for not having continuously spoken Esperanto during the event.

- (327) A: *Ĉiuj parolas (.)*
 B: *... la saman lingvon!*
[...]
 B: *Kelkaj krokodilas.*
 C: *Nu, ni provas zorgi, ke homoj sentu sin komfortaj ankaŭ uzi kiam necese la propran lingvon, ĉar ĉiuj estas multlingvaj almenaŭ dulingvaj.*
 [A: Everyone speaks (.)
 B: ...the same language!
[...]
 B: Some speak their national language in the Esperanto environment.
 C: Well, we try to make sure that people also feel comfortable using, if necessary, their own language, because all are multilingual, at least bilingual.]
 [79 (fra-pol-eng; disc; Lille) 10:57–11:27]

The recent trend within the speech community towards multilingual strategies at conferences (see Pietiläinen, 2010; Fiedler, 2018b) – an example will follow below – takes account of the insight that linguistic diversity could contribute to a growing recognition of Esperanto. Tonkin (2006, p. 24) argues,

(...) pro nia insisto paroli inter ni en Esperanto, ni foje forŝlosas la komencantojn aŭ entute aperas antaŭ la publiko kiel nepretaj akomodigi al la eksterstarantoj. Pro lingvaj baroj ĉe la virtualaj landlimoj de Esperantujo, ni fermiĝas en ni mem, kaj montras malsimpation al komencantoj, al saĝaj kritikoj el ekstere, kaj eĉ al homoj, kiuj pretas nin helpi se ni nur pretas dediĉi al ili atenton. „La plej granda lingva barilo estas tiuj, kiujn ni mem konstruis, ĉirkaŭ nia insuleca kulturo,“ mi diris, foje iom frustre.

[...] because of our insistence on speaking among ourselves in Esperanto, we sometimes exclude beginners or altogether appear to the public as unprepared to accommodate to outsiders. Due to language barriers at the virtual borders of Esperantoland, we close ourselves off and show a dislike for beginners, for constructive criticism from outside and even for people who are ready to help us if only we are ready to devote attention to them. “The biggest language barriers are those that we construct ourselves around our island-like culture,” I said, sometimes a bit frustrated.]

From the above we can conclude that code-switching in Esperanto communication involves the competing aspects of, on the one hand, speakers’ attitudes of language loyalty and group identity (which are possibly changing and have different degrees of relevance for individual speakers), which entail the stigmatisation of the phenomenon, and, on the other hand, the speakers’ plurilingual competences and their communicative experiences and behaviour in their native languages, where they are familiar with the ubiquity of bilingual practices in the media and on the Internet, especially as a consequence of the growing role of English (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Fiedler, 2014; Zenner et al., 2014). This situation makes an analysis of language alternation phenomena in Esperanto particularly intriguing.

22.3 Types, functions and extent of code-switching

22.3.1 Code-switching and setting

Esperanto meetings and conferences often present themselves as multilingual gatherings. They are embedded in academic, cultural, touristic or other events. Let us analyse two recent occasions in our dataset in which Esperanto presents the default language (or the unmarked choice according to Myers-Scotton 1998) from this viewpoint. The first is the Tria Interlingvistika Simpozio (Third Interlinguistic Symposium) at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland (24th–25th September 2014). As a regular fixture in the university's calendar, it included talks in Esperanto (21), English (5) and Polish (13), with multilingual PowerPoint slides and discussions. Esperanto dominated as the language of informal talks during conference breaks. At the opening and during a dinner, several university representatives delivered speeches in Polish which were translated into Esperanto. For reasons of politeness, some of the speakers started their addresses with some introductory words or phrases in the host's language or in Esperanto.

The second example is the 100th World Esperanto Congress (100-a Universala Kongreso de Esperanto) (in the French town of Lille, July 25–August 1, 2015) which brought together 2,698 Esperanto speakers from eighty countries. The annual international congresses are highlights in the life of the speech community and are often regarded as the embodiment of its culture, and certainly the most evident demonstration of people's Esperanto identity (Edwards, 2010, p. 188). In principle, Esperanto is spoken at these congresses at all times, including excursions, concerts and theatre performances. Depending on the specific communicative situation (characterised above all by the interlocutors and their relationships to each other, the formality of the setting and the role of the language), other languages could also be heard in Lille, of course. Not only did congress participants occasionally choose to use their native tongue when talking to their compatriots to highlight their national identity, which means that they decided to *krokodili*, but French and English were also necessary for communicating with the congress service staff. Furthermore, parts of the cultural programme were pitched at the local population. When, for instance, the bands played their music for the congress participants, they introduced their Esperanto songs in Esperanto only; when they gave their concerts to citizens from Lille in another location, they spoke Esperanto and French or Esperanto and English. During the congress opening and closing ceremonies and at the mayor of Lille's reception, town representatives gave their speeches in French, which were interpreted into Esperanto, and congress representatives spoke Esperanto and were interpreted into French.

In settings like the meetings described above, Esperanto represents the pragmatically dominant language and can serve as a basis for code-switching when

speakers communicate in their native language, as in Examples (328) and (329), which include conversations among congress participants waiting for their buses on the excursion day in front of the congress building. Frequently used words such as *kongresejo* ('congress building') and *Akademio* (= *Akademio de Esperanto* 'Esperanto Academy') have the status of realia that can be best expressed in Esperanto:

- (328) *Des kongresejo, macht des schon um 8 auf? [...] Na, heit net, [...] aber sonst.*
 [The **kongresejo**, does it open at 8? [...] Well, not today, but usually]
 [118 (deu; tour; Lille) 3:23–38]
Heute wär an schöner Tag zum Fotografieren, heut sam er net da, vorm kongresejo mit den Fahnen. I mein bloß.
 [Today would be a nice day to take photos, today we aren't there, with the **kongresejo** and the flags. It just occurred to me.] [117 (deu; tour; Lille) 7:24]
- (329) *Das ist wirklich nicht so gut organisiert. Guck mal, selbst der Chef von der Akademio sucht noch seinen Bus.*
 [This isn't really organised that well. Look, even the boss of the **Akademio** is still looking for his bus.] [118 (deu; infl; Lille) 3:10]

Code-switching is also constrained by the formality of a situation (Poplack, 1981, pp. 179–180). Examples (330) and (331) represent comparable functions: a speaker counts the number of people in a group, a linguistic performance that is generally difficult to deliver in a foreign language:

- (330) *Vi estas kun mi? [...] Do bone unu, du, en français, un, deux, trois, quatre [...]*
 [Are you with me (in our group)? [...] Well then unu, du, in French, un, deux, trois, quatre ...] [122 (fra; tour; Lille) 12:26–40]
- (331) *Mi petas vin voĉdoni por la amendo [...] Kiu estas POR tia amendo? Bonvolu levi la manon. Do mi devas nombri (.) unu du, tri kvar [...] dudek du. Dudek du bone. Kaj kiu estas KONTRAŬ?*
 [I ask you to vote for the amendment (...) Who is FOR the amendment? Please raise your hand. Well, I have to count (.) one two three four (...) twenty-two. Twenty-two good. And who is AGAINST it?]
 [157 (eng; disc; Lille) 59:57–60:47]

The two speakers are similarly fluent and competent speakers of the planned language, who used only Esperanto in the passages before and after. Whereas the tour guide, who performs the speech act more or less for herself without addressing the tourists, falls back into her native language, French, the chair of a meeting of the UEA committee sticks to Esperanto during the vote count. Using another language would be unacceptable in an official meeting like this.

22.3.2 Functions of code-switching in Esperanto

As Matras (2009, p. 115) points out, speakers' motivations to choose one language over another are multiple and complex. They depend on attitudes among members of the speech community, communicative situations (see Chapter 22.2), but also an individual speaker's personality. It is the aim of this section to describe the most important motivations that can be identified in Esperanto communication, or rather our dataset of communication. These include the wish to express politeness in interactions with people from outside the community (Section A), to solve lexical problems (Section B), to enhance the degree of lexical precision (C) and to evoke humour (Section D).

A. Expressing politeness

By this function we mean the switch to an interlocutor's native language to acknowledge their national identity. Switches of this kind are frequently implemented in greetings and serve to save the positive face of interactants (Motschenbacher, 2013, p. 75). As described in relation to Example (320), including complete utterances, they represent alternational code-switches in Auer's (1999) classification. Blom and Gumperz (1972) call instances motivated by variables such as changes with regard to topics or interlocutors transactional or situational code-switches. This distinguishes them from metaphorical code-switches by which speakers express their momentary intentions, attitudes and emotions.

The following examples occurred in official situations, such as greetings and opening speeches during congresses and receptions. In (332), during the opening ceremony of the World Esperanto Congress, the representative of the International League of Esperanto-Speaking Teachers *ILEI* uses a bilingual mode to express her esteem for the French hosts. In (333), the mayor of the French town of Boulogne-sur-Mer addresses the participants of the same congress with a greeting in Esperanto:

- (332) *Mesdames et Messieurs, les représentants de la ville de Lille et de la région.*
Altestimataj reprezentantoj de la urbo Lille kaj de la regiono.

[Ladies and gentlemen, representatives of the city of Lille and of the region.

(Esperanto:) Highly esteemed representatives of the city of Lille and of the region] [69 (fra; cerem; Lille) 91:41]

- (333) *Bonvenon en Francio! [...]*

[Welcome to France (continuing in French:) My Esperanto isn't too good, which is why I will continue in French] [69 (fra; cerem; Lille) 11:23–41]

In both these speech sequences, the use of the other language is symbolic and strictly speaking communicatively superfluous. As Kimura (2015) describes in his investigation of language strategies in a German-Polish border region, a few words

in the addressee's language are already sufficient to achieve the desired effect of promoting cooperativeness and solidarity, and the mode is especially appreciated in the case of asymmetrical relationships, i.e. with a "small" language such as Polish (in Kimura's study) or Esperanto in our case.

B. Word search

Discussing repairs in Chapter 19 (especially in Section 19.3.3), we found that, in the case of lexical problems, Esperanto speakers often create expressions using the resources of Esperanto word formation, as described in Chapter 11. Another strategy is that speakers draw on their multilingual repertoire and present the word in their mother tongue or another language, on the assumption that the interlocutor will be able to offer the equivalent in Esperanto. Gafaranga (2012) describes the close relationship between code-switching and repair sequences. In our dataset, code-switching is implemented in about 40% of all word-search sequences. In Example (334), during an excursion, a guide reports on the Courrières mine disaster in France in 1906. She uses French, her mother tongue, for some of the words she cannot remember easily in Esperanto and asks the French participants for confirmation:

- (334) A: (about trapped miners) *Ili suĉis, ĉu estas suĉis? Sucer?*
 B: *Jes.*
 A: *Su- Suĉis le- le cuir? En Esperanto mi ne plu kapablas, ledon.*
 [(about trapped miners) They sucked, is suĉi the right word, **sucer**?]
 B: *Yes.*
 A: *Su- sucked le- le cuir? I can't continue in Esperanto, leather.]*
 [127 (fra-?; tour; Boulogne-sur-Mer) 17:52–18:16]

In (335), a Cuban speaker lacking the Esperanto word to express 'lazy' provides the Spanish equivalent, *vago*, while in Example (336) another speaker of Spanish experiencing a lexical gap finds it more useful to offer an English word (*reluctant*):

- (335) A: (on communication among youths) *La homoj hodiaŭ estas eh kiel oni povas esprimi vago?*
 B: *pigra*
 A: *pida, ili*
 B: *PIGRA*
 A: *Ili estas pigra pigraj kaj ne volas skribi kaj skribi al la estraro, sed simple faras kaj sendas.*
 [A: (on communication among youths) People today are uh how can we express **vago**?]
 B: *pigra*

A: pida, they

B: PIGRA

A: They are pigra (= lazy) and don't want to write and write to the board, but simply do and send (accompanied by the gesture of pressing a computer key)] [192 (spa-spa; disc; Havana) 11:32]

(336) A: [...] *niaj fakaj asocioj, [...] multaj el ili montriĝas tre, mi ne povas uzi unu alian vorton ol la anglan, **reluctant***

B: *malvolontaj*

A: *malvolontaj aŭ aŭ*

B: *malentuziasmaj*

A: *malentuziasmaj aŭ iel indiferentaj al la evoluo de [...], al lingvopolitikaj temoj.*

[A: (...) our specialist associations, many of them show themselves to be very, I cannot use another word but the English one, **reluctant**

B: *malvolontaj* (unwilling)

A: *malvolontaj* or or

B: *malentuziamaj* (unenthusiastic) or in a way indifferent to the development of (...), to linguopolitical topics.] [144 (spa-eng; disc; Lille) 8:35–9:03]

Code-switching that serves this function can be considered a sign of cooperation and solidarity in the speech community, based on the fact that Esperanto is a means of equitable communication as its speakers have had to learn it as a foreign language and therefore experienced for themselves how it feels to be a beginner. They are therefore generally eager to support other users in their endeavours to learn the language and to communicate successfully.

C. *Enhancing precision*

Occasionally, code-switches in our dataset are motivated by the intention to provide the most appropriate term for a notion. This is sometimes the case with administrative vocabulary that cannot be readily expressed in Esperanto. In (337), a talk between two German speakers, it would not have been difficult for A to find an Esperanto equivalent for *Sprachenzentrum*, but this would not have been as specific as the German term.¹⁴¹ Referring to Poplack (1980), Gardner-Chloros (2013, p. 196) calls this *mot juste switching*:

141. *Sprachenzentrum* ('language centre') is the term that is generally used at German universities to designate the departments that are responsible for teaching foreign languages to students of non-philological subjects.

- (337) A: *Mi instruas Esperanton ĉe la universitato. [...] La Universitato de <name of the town> havas kurson de Esperanto por komencantoj [...]*
 B: *En kiu kadro, en kiu fakultato?*
 A: *Estas tiu **Sprachenzentrum**. [...] Do estis amuza historio [...]*
 [A: I teach Esperanto at the university. (...) The University of <name of the town> has an Esperanto course for beginners (...)]
 B: In which framework, in which faculty?
 A: It's this **Sprachenzentrum**. (...) So, there was a funny story (...)]
 [63 (deu; int; -) 9:27–57]

Code-switching that serves this function can be found, above all, in specialist contexts. Example (338) is taken from an Esperanto teachers' symposium. For reasons of clarity (and professionalism), a Swiss-French author prefers the internationally well-known term *curriculum* over a possible Esperanto equivalent. In Example (339), from a lecture in astronomy, a speaker introduces an Esperanto term and adds the English expression for reasons of clarity:

- (338) *Jam ĉe edukado.net estas **curriculum** pri edukado al kulturo de paco, kio estas ia vasta priskribo.*
 [On edukado.net there is already a curriculum about education for a culture of peace, which is a rather general description.] [103 (fra; pres; Lille) 55:47]
 (339) (...) *estas multaj galaksioj en grupo. Tiu grupo kiu nomiĝas eh grapolo de galaksioj, **cluster** en la angla, povas kurbigi sunradiojn en tre interesaj manieroj.*
 [(...) many galaxies in a group. This group, which is called uh cluster of galaxies, **cluster** in English, can bend solar rays in very interesting ways.]
 [82 (heb; pres; Lille) 2:00]

Repetitions of this kind for reasons of precision are typical of academic contexts. In these examples, speakers and audience members using Esperanto in their fields of expertise are familiar with the terminology in ethnic languages, while the Esperanto equivalents might not have gained the status of technical terms.

D. *Language play*

The playful use of language is a typical feature of Esperanto communication and can be based on a multitude of strategies and techniques, as we have seen in Chapter 20. Although code-switching is not one of the most frequent of these, examples are easily found. In Example (340), a discussion on culinary terminology during a group meal leads to the creative combination of a German word (*Rübe*) with the Esperanto ending for plural nouns (*-oj*), much to the group's amusement.

- (340) A: *Bongustas, sed mi ne scias kio estas (1) napo*
 B: *estas napo*
 C: *ah, napo, tion mi konas, estas "Rübe" en la germana*
 A: *Ne, napo estas eh la flava*
 C: *estas diversaj*
 B: *diversaj Rüboj*
 A/B/C & others: @@@@
 B: *nova pluralo – Rüboj*
 A/B/C & others: @@@
 [A: Tastes good, but I don't know what it is (..) a turnip
 B: it's a turnip
 C: oh, I know turnip, it's "Rübe" in German
 A: No, turnips are uh the yellow ones
 C: there are various kinds
 B: various Rüboj
 A/B/C & others: @@@@
 B: a new plural – Rüboj
 A/B/C & others: @@@] [124 (deu; tour; Lille) 72:36–73:12]

In Example (341), humour is evoked by drawing on knowledge from various languages. The French placename *La Chaux-de-Fonds*, the location of a well-known Esperanto centre, is pronounced in its Esperantised form by speaker A and deliberately misunderstood by speaker B to mean "good-bye" (cf. Italian *ciao*), with the aim of expressing some ironical distance from the place and a particular group of Esperanto speakers associated with it (see also Example (192)). In a similar way, in Example (342) the code-switch serves as an effective means to express sarcasm. In a debate on the language policy pursued by the Rotterdam-based Central Office of the UEA, a speaker makes use of Latin to emphasise his disapproval. To be fully appreciated, both examples rely on the interlocutors' extralinguistic knowledge within the Esperanto community.

- (341) A: *Ĉu estas iuj interrilatoj kun Ĉaŭdefono? [...]*
 B: *Kio estas Ĉaŭdefono?*
 C: (helpful interruption) *Li parolas pri La Chaux-de-Fonds.*
 B: *Ah, se vi celas La Chaux-de-Fonds [...] Mi pensis, ke vi volas diri « ĝis revido de fono » [...]*
 [A: Are there any relationships to Ĉaŭdefono? (...)
 B: What is Ĉaŭdefono?
 C: (helpful interruption) He is talking about La Chaux-de-Fonds.
 B: Ah, if you refer to La Chaux-de-Fonds (...) I thought that you wanted to say "bye bye from the background" (...)]
 [(?-eng-?; disc ; Vienna) World Esperanto Congress, 31 July 1992]

(342) *UEA diras [...] se vi ne estas almenaŭ tri- aŭ kvar-lingvulo, vi ne estas bona homo. Sed kiuj devas esti la lingvoj [...] Homo roterdamicus kia estus?*

[UEA says (...) if you do not speak at least three or four languages, you are not a good human being. But which languages should be learned (...) What would *Homo roterdamicus* look like?] [39 (ita; pres; La Chaux-des-Fonds)

23:48–24:23; UEA, the Universal Esperanto Association, is headquartered in Rotterdam]

Concluding this section on the reasons why Esperanto speakers code-switch, it is worth mentioning that in some code-switching situations it is difficult to clearly identify one particular function. Several motivations can overlap. For example, in (336) and (342), it cannot be ruled out that speakers, in addition to their main desire to close a lexical gap and create humour through irony and ridicule, want to show off their knowledge of foreign languages, a function that has not been found salient in the corpus and has therefore not been described.

22.3.3 The extent of code-switching in Esperanto

To gain more insight into the general role of language alternation in the Esperanto speech community, we conducted a quantitative study, based on a part of our dataset that amounts to forty hours of spoken data obtained in a variety of communicative settings and a comparison with data obtained in analyses of code-switching in other lingua francas.¹⁴² The analysis suggests that code-switching is not widespread in the Esperanto community. In our dataset of forty hours, eighty-one occurrences of code-switching were found. This is a low number compared to data from other analyses (see Table 14). Klimpfinger (2009, p. 353), investigating code-switching in English as a lingua franca, identified a total of 104 code-switches in eight speech events (twelve hours). A study by Reershemius and Lange (2014) used the German data of the *GeWiss* project (2009–2013) and found 305 potential language alternation phenomena in eighty hours of recorded speech.¹⁴³

The relative infrequency of code-switching in Esperanto indicates some differences in language practices between Esperanto and other languages. Studies of code-switching in English as a lingua franca focus on how interlocutors use

142. A word of caution may be necessary here, as the data obtained from different code-switching studies are not directly comparable because of differences in design, participants and genres.

143. *GeWiss* is a research project on spoken academic language. It provides a corpus of audio recordings and transcriptions of academic communications (lectures and examinations) in German, Polish, Italian and English as an empirical foundation for comparative research. See <http://gewiss.uni-leipzig.de>.

Table 14. Number of code-switches in various datasets

	Language	Hours	Code-switches	Code-switches per hour
<i>GeWiss</i> (Reershemius & Lange, 2014)	German	80	305	3.8
Klimpfinger (2009)	ELF	12	104	8.67
This study (see also Fiedler, 2016)	Esperanto	40	81	2.0

particular expressions from their mother tongues with the intention of highlighting their national identity and signalling their culture (see Klimpfinger, 2009; Pözl, 2003). Pözl (2003) points out:

A very straightforward way of making their cultural identity (with focus on primary culture) salient in discourse is the use of lingua franca speakers' 'original voice', i.e. their L1. (p. 4)

One way to achieve this [= to signal their individual cultural identity – S.F./C.R.B.] is by the use of their L1 within ELF. This code option is profoundly linked to ELF users' basic need to identify with what they consider their language, and this is in most cases – as with the individual speakers in this data – their primary language. (p. 20)

Examples of occurrences of code-switching that can be explained by this specific pragmatic function have not been found in the data for Esperanto. Such behaviour would be considered counterproductive in speech events occurring in Esperanto, where interlocutors highlight their Esperanto identity above any other.

A second difference is the stigmatisation of loans from other languages, especially from English, as described in Chapter 22.2. Esperanto speakers are motivated to show that their language is a fully fledged means of communication that allows them to communicate without recourse to material in other languages. Against this backdrop, the relatively low level of code-switching sequences is unsurprising. The correlation between speakers' attitudes and code-switching that our findings suggest is consistent with a number of studies (Myers-Scotton, 2005). Above all, parallels can be drawn to small or endangered languages. For example, Jones (2005, p. 19) found that speakers who had a positive attitude towards their language – in her investigation, this was the obsolescent Jersey Norman French (Jérriais) – and use it every day were least likely to code-switch. Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 104) mentions several cases where members of a Turkish-speaking community in Greece avoided code-switching "owing to the high level of awareness of the need to protect their language and culture from Greek influence".

22.4 Some concluding remarks on code-switching in Esperanto

Our analysis has revealed the influence of sociolinguistically relevant criteria on processes of language alternation in the planned language community. Language alternation depends on extralinguistic factors such as topic, setting and participants, and such variables as whether a speech event occurs entirely in Esperanto, which would be the default language choice among its speakers, or whether other languages are used for short or long stretches of speech in the particular language event.

As regards the forms and functions of language alternation, the study has shown both similarities and differences with investigations on code-switching in other languages. Insertional code-switching (code-mixing) dominates, with single words (above all nouns) being the most frequently code-switched items. Esperanto speakers employ code-switching to bridge lexical gaps by giving equivalents in their native languages and other lingua francas and asking for assistance. In this way, code-switching reflects the varying bilingual competences of individual speakers. In addition, code-switching is motivated by the desire for precision of linguistic expression, but also by courtesy: code-switching serves as a supportive strategy that facilitates comprehension, improves communicative efficiency and strengthens in-group solidarity.

Our quantitative study shows that code-switching is not a major characteristic of Esperanto communication. The number of code-switching sequences is considerably lower in our corpus than in those for other languages, and also in comparison to English when used as a lingua franca. The findings confirm the correlation between code-switching and social identity that has been found in studies on small or endangered languages. Speakers' attitudes towards their language have a bearing on the extent to which they code-switch.