Linguistic and Extralinguistic Factors of Code-Switching as a Process of Contacting Languages

Maral Nurtazina  
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics  
L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University  
Astana, Kazakhstan  
0000-0003-0128-698X

Nikolay Alefirenko  
Department of Russian Language and Literature  
University of Hradec Králové  
Hradec Králové, Czech Republic  
0000-0002-4083-4486

Jindřich Kesner  
Department of Russian Language and Literature  
University of Hradec Králové  
Hradec Králové, Czech Republic  
0000-0002-2309-4754

Zukhra Shakhputova  
Foreign Languages Department  
L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University  
Astana, Kazakhstan

Abstract—The article is devoted to the consideration of linguistic and extralinguistic issues for the implementation of code-switching Kazakh bilinguals in the structure of speech communication. Special attention is paid to the question of the reasons for code-switching in the process of conversation. The relevance of the study is due to the increased interest in the socio-psychological factors of code-switching in the context of speech-generation models. The results of the data obtained by conducting a partially-structured narrative interview allowing assembling a corpus of metatext discourses, are presented. Statistical calculation, contextual analysis and cognitive modeling techniques as well as a part of the materials of the field sociolinguistic research — transcripts of audio recordings of natural dialogues of bilingual Kazakhs in conjunction with the data of the included observation were used.

Keywords—sociolinguistics, code-switching, contact linguistics, bilingualism, borrowing

I. INTRODUCTION. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In the modern globalized world, the integration processes of expanding cultural ties have led to the growth of language contacts and multilingualism, in which intensive migration and interaction of state languages and languages of international communication play an important role. For the Republic of Kazakhstan (further - RK), Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is of particular relevance as the main feature of the language situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan. One of the consequences of the constant coexistence of ethnic groups various in culture and language in a sociocultural context of Eurasianism has been the intermingling and interpenetration of cultures and languages. It should be noted that in the cultural and linguistic landscape of Kazakhstan, the result of the contact process is the situation of parallel stable possession of two / three heterogeneous (Kazakh, Russian and English) language systems.

In this context, code switching (code-switching – CS) according to P.Gardner-Chloros [5, p. 176] is “the most creative aspect of bilingualism”. Many researchers consider CS as alternation of two or more languages in bilingual speech, which occurs naturally and taking into account certain patterns [1, p. 13; 5; 7]. Other scientists believe that the mechanism of such language functioning often occurs subconsciously, the bilingual is not aware of why he used a particular language [17; 18] and which code he used in the communication process in connection with a particular situation [2, p. 13; 8]. Switching codes is also considered as a purposeful activity, where certain behavioral functions and intentions are implemented, that depend on various extralinguistic factors - situations, themes, intentions, relations between communicants, their social role, etc. [3, p. 224]. At the same time, as C. Myers-Scotton [9; 10] as well as S. Poplack [11] pointed out that CS is one of the forms of language variation, without which the process of normal verbal communication is impossible.

First of all, it is necessary to answer two basic questions:

1) Who is code switching an integral part of a full-fledged communicative act for? 2) Why do people switch between language codes?

In this paper, cases of code-switching and mixing codes in Kazakh spontaneous speech at the level of vocabulary and grammar are considered, as well as cases of CS connected with extralinguistic factors are defined. The main task of the research is to find out whether such language codes as Kazakh and Russian are in the relations of functional complementarity with each other concerning the age and gender of the speakers of these languages.

The purpose of the study is to identify the structural (linguistic) and extralinguistic factors that cause CS in natural spontaneous speech of Kazakh bilinguals who are fluent in both native and Russian, as well as the nature of the structural constraints governing CS. A partially-structured narrative interview with ENU students and residents of Karaotkel village was conducted, that made it possible to assemble a corpus of 496 metatext discourses. When processing the actual material statistical calculation,
contextual analysis and cognitive modeling techniques were used. The authors also used a part of the materials of the field sociolinguistic research conducted in 2016-2017 on the territory of the city of Astana (Kazakhstan), namely transcripts of audio recordings of natural dialogues (36 hours) of bilingual Kazakhs in conjunction with the data of included observation.

II. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

One of the essential questions of scientific research in this area is at which segment of a statement the code switching is carried out. Many researchers [1; 4; 8; 12; 13] believe that depending on the switching point, the actual switching and mixing of codes are differentiated. As J. Daller claims [14], switching is a process of alternate use of units of the Kazakh and Russian languages on natural boundaries of utterance (alternation of whole sentences). By mixing codes, we mean the usage of units from the guest (Russian) language in spontaneous speech in the Kazakh language (the so-called internal sentence switching) within a simple sentence. The matrix language determining the morpho-syntactic structure of the utterance is Kazakh.

A. Bilingualism and Code-Switching

First, it should be highlighted that in modern linguistics the concepts of “code switching” and “bilingualism” are closely related. For example, R. Appel writes that “code switching is not an isolated phenomenon, but a key component of bilingual speech communication” [1, p. 117]; S. Poplak [11, p. 2062] gives the following definition: “Switching codes is the mixing of two or more languages in the speech of bilinguals (or multilinguals), which does not necessarily change the interlocutor or the topic of conversation”.

The concept of “bilingual” has undergone significant changes over time. Initially, bilinguals were called people who were equally good at using two languages. However, due to the globalization of the economy and the growing intensity of contacts between countries, the concept of bilingualism has been considered much wider. Modern authors define bilinguals as individuals or groups of people who in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in the community acquire necessary communication skills at various levels of proficiency in oral and / or written form [4, p. 115]. Accordingly, bilingualism can be defined as the psychological and social state of individuals and groups of people, being result of language interaction with use of two or more codes regardless of their level of proficiency [11; 5; 6; 8].

B. Approaches to the Study of Code-Switching

Approximately since 1970, the CS phenomenon has been studied from three different positions, which caused by linguistic (intra structural) and extralinguistic (external) factors:

1) the sociolinguistic view of CS answers the question of why people switch from one code to another in a conversation, for example, scientists P. Meuysken [8] and K. Woolard [16]. In addition, the sociolinguistic approach to CS is represented by the classification of J.-P. Blom [4] and A.G. Ramat [12], according to which they distinguish situational and metaphorical or conversational CS (situational and metaphorical / conversational switching) are distinguished. With situational CS, the speaker chooses the code that seems the most appropriate to him. At the same time, the communicative situation seems to be re-thought by including into speech units with different standards of control and compatibility. The metaphorical CS, according to authors, “enriches” the communicative situation, demonstrating that the speaker's attitude is constructed from several social positions;

2) the psychosocial linguistic approach proceeds from which aspects of bilingual language ability allows them to switch codes. It will be appropriate to mention the theory of K. Myers-Scotton and her model of marking [9; 10];

3) the linguistic approach to the CS is concerned with the problem of differentiating between valid CS and inclusion in speech of individual units from another language - lexical borrowings. Interesting is the classification of P. Auer [2], which is based on the difference between languages alternation and inclusion or transfer of individual lexical elements from one language to another: alternating CS, alternating mixing, including CS, including mixing, mixed language variants (international code switching, international mixing, internal system code switching, insertional mixing, fused lects). E.V. Tutova calls it a foreign language blotch or borrowing [15].

By the way, in contrast to CS cases, borrowing is integrated into the system of the receiving language, at least in one of the aspects: phonological, morphological, semantic, or graphic. Strictly speaking, the use of monolingual foreign language syntactic models cannot be counted as borrowing. As E.V. Tutova emphasizes [15], the most suitable term for foreign language inclusions at the syntax level is “code mixing.”

The next important issues are morpho-syntactic switching and the opposition of “marked” and “unmarked choice” in CS. In accordance with the widespread classification, CS is subdivided into intrasentential and intersentential [10; 3; 5]. An intra-CS occurs within the framework of one sentence, and an inter-CS is within two or more sentences. Another theory describing CS limitations was formulated in the paper by J. Muysken [8]. According to this theory, non-dependent words units, such as tags, exclamations, interjections and most adverbs, are easily exposed to CS.

The second important point vital for understanding the essence of different types of CS is the K. Meyers-Scotton's view [9; 10] that “unmarked code switching occurs when it switches in accordance with the listener's expectations; marked switching happens if the speaker ... deliberately
switches in such a way that the interlocutor sees this as a deviation’ [9, p. 422-424]. In sum it could be stated that code switching is always choice, but it is not always realized by the speaker that doesn’t exclude consistency in the selection process, i.e. in the process of switching from one code to another.

III. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

A. Data, Structure and Hypotheses

128 students of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University aged 18-25, natives of urban and rural areas spoke as informants. Kazakh language is the first language for the informants, and this gives us grounds to consider it as the matrix language, defining the morphosyntactic structure of the utterance, represented by a large number of morphemes and establishing agreement and such grammatical categories as time, type and others. The research material was 36 hours of audio recording of everyday speech of bilinguals, their natural (everyday) dialogues (which amounted to 496 dialogues and polylogs with various communicants). Spontaneous speech was recorded during interviews and observation. Everyday speech, spontaneous communication of native speakers in its most natural form in contrast to its more formalized forms represents the main form of language existence (especially a minority language), which allows to evaluate actual processes occurring in it [4, p. 160].

We were faced with a task to determine in which cases there are inclusions in the Kazakh language from the Russian language, and whether the data obtained indicate changes in the structure of the receiving language. To solve this problem, a survey was conducted among 51 residents of the Karaotkel village. The questionnaire items were standard and represented the typical list of questions accepted in the sociolinguistic studies when analyzing the language situation in regions of one country with multinational composition of the population. Considering the linguistic situation in the region, where for centuries Russian native speakers have lived in close neighbourhood with other nations, linguists in accordance with the methodology of sociolinguistic research find out the specifics of using (functioning) Russian and native languages.

The proposed hypothesis is tested, and according to it these specifics are in many respects caused by the differences in age, gender, social status, level of culture and education, professional activity. An important role in the current linguistic situation is played by the place of residence: city, village.

B. Linguistic and Structural Characteristics of the Code-Switching

In this work, audio transcripts of natural dialogues of bilingual Kazakhs in conjunction with the data of the included observation were used. It should be said that there are not many actual linguistic reasons for preferences in the speech of the Russian language (L2) to the Kazakh language (L1); most of them lie outside of "pure" linguistics. Among the linguistic factors of transition from L1 to L2, the following were identified: the lack of an appropriate concept in the cognitive base of the language-receptor, inter-discourse and the topic of conversation, insufficient language competence in L1 along with high linguistic competence in L2 and frequency of L2, as well as reporting of someone else’s speech.

The structural (linguistic) factors that determine the motivated and unmotivated cases of code switching in the natural speech of Kazakh bilinguals, fluent in both native and Russian, as well as the nature of structural restrictions governing the phenomenon of code switching are identified. Switching codes is an interaction of the matrix language (in our case, Kazakh) and the guest language (Russian). As C. Myers-Scotton states [10, p. 160], the matrix language establishes the morpho-syntactic frame of statements with code switching, that determines the order of morphemes in the sentence, and is also the source of functional morphemes. The guest language is the source of foreign language units in the statement [13].

It turned out that with respect to the volume of the segment being switched, code-switches can be words, phrases, or sentences. The most frequent are blotches. The blotch consists of a single token of the guest language, which obeys the grammatical rules of the matrix language.

As a result of the analysis of the data materials, it can be noted that the speech of Kazakh bilinguals is characterized by great freedom in the use of Russian lexemes in a variety of situations (university, books, mobile phones, café, academic subjects, translation from Kazakh to English, meets with friends, etc. In these examples, the main shares of inserts are nouns. Since all the mentioned lexical units have Kazakh equivalents (shop, village, translation, theater and meeting, café, mobile, telephone), it can be noted that in these cases there are unconscious mechanisms of CS, when the speaker uses the words that first come to his mind, lie in the surface structure of the memory and therefore they are easier to remember. Common to the speech of Kazakh bilinguals is the use of L2 words in unadapted form, and in a modified, “transformed” form, as in the above examples, when the Kazakh grammatical form is given to L2 words, and the L2 grammatical form is given to L1 words.

In other words, for the spontaneous speech of Kazakh-bilinguals, the use of inclusions decorated with case indicators of both Kazakh and Russian is characteristic, that is, inclusions either do not adapt or only partially mastered. In the speech of Kazakh-bilinguals, almost all the lexical-grammatical groups of words of the L2 are presented. Inclusions from the L2 reach 40-50%. The bulk of inclusions are nouns (more than 30%), verbs (15%), adjectives (12%), adverbs (10%), as well as prepositions, particles, numerals, pronouns and conjunctions (total 496 dialogues).
In the case of mixing codes, some types of complex sentences are built on the models of the L2, either using only the conjunctions of the L2, or additionally duplicating them in the L1. Among them there are subordinate clauses with the conjunctions: after, as, as long as, as soon as, before, when, since, till/until, while, as, because, if, provided that, that, etc. So, in spontaneous speech the conjunction “because” was used by 51.6% of students, the conjunction “if” - 24.2%, the conjunction “when”- 24.2%.

The next important question is in what places of the speech chain do the speakers switch codes?

It depends on the influence of the factors discussed before. If the speaker can foresee and even plan the influence of one or another factor, then switching occurs at the natural boundaries of the speech flow: at the end of a phrase, a syntactic period, with the most relaxed mode of communication at the end of discussing a topic. However, if the intervention of the factor causing code switching is unexpected for the speaker, he can switch from code to code in the middle of a phrase, sometimes even without having finished the sentence. For example, speaking one language, the person can insert into his speech (especially if it is spontaneous and emotional) elements of another language - phraseological units, modal words, interjections, particles, and such neighborhood of elements of two different languages is found on rather short pieces of a speech chain.

C. Extralinguistic Characteristics of a Code-Switching

In RK, the dominant vector of language interaction, despite the historically mutual nature (in the L2 there are many borrowings from other languages), is the movement from the L2 to the L1. This is expressed in the massive transfer of Russian-speaking units from the "external" institutional spheres to Kazakh. This can be illustrated by an example in which the topic, with a certain degree of conditionality designated as “work”, is a CS factor. Due to the fact that the topic is not attributed to one sentence, but to a long segment of the text and belongs to the global structures of discourse, thematically-related CS is considered on a fairly long fragment of oral discourse (in real-time scale, its duration is 1 minute 11 seconds) related to the ability to work while studying.

Not all cases of CS in an interpreted discursive fragment are due to a global topic of conversation – part-time employment or temporary work during vocations. Nevertheless, such Russian-language words and phrases related to the level of the microstructure of the discourse, such as “in practice”, “worked in a café”, “tips”, “as in the army”, “discipline”, “work for two days, rest two days”, etc., without any doubt, have a referential connection with two institutional spheres - the service industry and the army. From a cognitive point of view, these units will explicate the “work in the service industry” scenario, representing personal knowledge of respondents. Some units belonging to the same scenario are expressed in the L1 or decorated according to grammar rules of the L1. The fact that the
construction of this scenario is carried out mainly in the form of statements in the L2 allows us to talk about thematic and inter-discursive conditionality of CS from L1 into L2 in the discourse typical for modern Kazakhs-bilinguals.

We analyzed the influence of age-related features with CS. It is obvious that native residents of a Kazakh village and their children behave differently in terms of language. As the survey results show, bilinguals usually distribute language codes depending on the conditions of communication: in official settings - one, in everyday use - the other; in the production of technical nature - one, in the production of a non-technical nature - the other (usually the same as the household one). Moreover, code switching occurs when communicating within the same family, if a carrier of another, non-Kazakh language appears in the family, and when the older generation communicates with their urban grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Thus, from a sociolinguistic point of view, the phenomenon of code variation deserves attention to the extent that language variants can be used depending on social status and age differences between native speakers and various differences in the conditions of verbal communication. The survey provided data for analyzing the characteristics of the functioning of the L2 and L1, the original population of the village of Karaotkel in the following groups: age (up to 49 years, from 50 to 69 years, from 70 and older), professional and social (skilled workers, unskilled workers, employees and rural intellectuals; retired people (data presented before retirement), gender (gender differences).

D. Code-Switching as a Component of Human Speech Behavior

There are seven pragmatically determined reasons for code switching; 1) when it comes to a certain phenomenon; 2) quoting someone; 3) as an attempt to bring a certain emotional coloring; 4) exclamation; 5) repetition used to explain the phenomenon; 6) intention to convey information to the interlocutor more clearly; 7) the expression belonging to a particular group [3, p. 231; 9, p. 421; 12, p. 52].

The question may arise: What makes the speaker change the code in the conditions of communication? Analysis of the field research and the collected material led to the conclusion that the bilinguals switch codes in the process of conversation. For this purpose we considered what extralinguistic factors promoted it.

1) CS occurs when the speaker feels a lack of language tools in one language or has certain difficulties in expressing thoughts, he switches to another language. The inability of a bilingual to maintain a conversation using only one language is called semi-lingualism [16]. This also includes all cases of the thematic CS, since certain topics are usually discussed using a specific language;

2) CS occurs in certain situations when an unwanted interlocutor can be excluded from a conversation with the help of CS or vice versa, interested third parties can be involved in the conversation;

3) expressive factor: with help of CS in this case the speakers emphasize their mixed identity using two languages within the same communicative act;

4) phatic factor: CS can indicate here a change in the tone of a conversation or a general register of speech in order to attract the interlocutor’s attention, create a comic effect, etc. This type of CS is called metaphorical switching [14];

5) metalinguistic factor: it is determined by direct or indirect comments concerning the languages involved in the conversation. Variable use of two languages in a conversation with the purpose to impress the interlocutor with the linguistic competence can be an example;

6) stylistic factor: you can talk about it in cases where, for example, such stylistic methods as pun, irony, metaphor, hyperbole, etc. are involved in the CS process.

If we return to the morpho-syntactic frame of statements with code switching (see Fig.1), we can see such type of CS which is best characterized by the term “invisible code mixing” [2, p. 158]. Switching to another code, the speaker uses its elements in full compliance with phonetic, grammatical and other norms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code switching</th>
<th>Code mixing</th>
<th>Blotch (borrowings)</th>
<th>Morpho-syntactic interference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>Monolinguals</td>
<td>Monolinguals / Bilinguals</td>
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<td>Alternation</td>
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<td>lexical and</td>
<td>syntactic</td>
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<td>syntactic units</td>
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<td>syntactic structures</td>
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<td>Total: 496 dialogues</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>44,4%</td>
<td>7,9%</td>
<td>14,9%</td>
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Fig.1 Structural-linguistics basis of code-switching

If we present all the data in the form of a field structure, then according to the frequency of actualization of the selected models of metalinguage reflection in speech, the linguistic factors will take a nuclear position in it, the extralinguistic form the near periphery, and the psychological (pragmatic) factors will occupy the distant periphery of the structure being described.

Field studies conducted by us showed that the extra-linguistic factors include the gender component. So, women use CS more actively than men. This is explained by the fact that psychologically women have a higher communicative activity than men. They more openly express their feelings regarding various life situations. It is well known that feelings are best conveyed by means of precisely spoken spontaneous speech. Therefore, it has mobility, flexibility and openness. No other language form directly expresses the emotional function of the language.
The most significant socio-demographic factors that influence the speech behavior of bilinguals are age and education. The speech behavior of bilinguals, the age factor helps to characterize whole generations based on their use of different language variants, so we can talk about the language behavior of a certain generation.

According to the interview with 128 students of ENU and 51 respondents from rural areas took part; altogether - 179 metatext discourses), there are several reasons why the use of L2 lexemes in oral discourse of L1 is addressed. First of all, the desire to express the idea more precisely (the L2 is regarded as more understandable for the majority of listeners than the L1) (38, which is 21.2%). Secondly, when it comes to a person or an object, to characterize it, thereby his belonging to a given language and culture is emphasized (19, 10.6%). Thirdly, the absence of the concept in the native L1 of Kazakh-bilinguals; for example, CS can occur when using proverbs, sayings that have no analogue in their native language, or the items are unknown to the addressee (44, 24.6%). Fourthly, the impossibility of remembering one or another word in the L1 (31, 17.3%); Fifth, for giving expressiveness (16, 8.9%); Sixthly, the desire for authenticity of statements used for greater persuasiveness (12, 6.7%); Seventh, the desire to emphasize the belonging of an object or person to a given language, culture (19, 10.6%).

IV. DISCUSSION

The linguistic material analyzed by us testifies to the fact that alternations of Kazakh and Russian units occur easily and without violating the rules of the host language. This is a fairly high level of both languages acquisition by informants. In a well-constructed bilingual speech, switching does not occur randomly, but in accordance with certain grammatical and pragmatic rules and principles. The speech of bilingual students is characterized by quite frequent unmotivated transitions to L2 and back, the predominance of communication in the L1 in the informal everyday discourse, the ease of switching from L1 to L2 and from L2 to L1.

CS in most cases is unmotivated. In the natural, everyday speech of bilingual Kazahks, there are much more transitions represented by syntactically related constructions - phrases and sentences than single inclusions, and the forms of the L2 are adapted to the grammatical norms of the L1. Permanent CS has already become the norm for bilingual Kazahks.

The next important question is in what places of the speech chain do the speakers switch codes? It depends on the influence of the factors discussed before. If the speaker can foresee and even plan the influence of one or another factor, then switching occurs at the natural boundaries of the speech flow: at the end of a phrase, a syntactic period, with the most relaxed mode of communication at the end of discussing a topic. However, if the intervention of the factor causing code switching is unexpected for the speaker, he can switch from code to code in the middle of a phrase, sometimes even without having finished the sentence. For example, speaking one language, the person can insert into his speech (especially if it is spontaneous and emotional) elements of another language - phraseological units, modal words, interjections, particles, and such neighborhood of elements of two different languages is found on rather short pieces of a speech chain.

In most cases, the mixing of codes is unmotivated, when the inclusion of elements of one language into another can occur in different places of the sentence and is not determined at all by any listener's expectations. At the vocabulary level, such a mixture leads to numerous borrowings and crowding out of the original vocabulary. To a lesser extent, mixing affects the grammar of the language, but the cases described in the article indicate a tendency towards some changes. This phenomenon is considered as a prerequisite for language shift.

In rare cases, switching and mixing codes is motivated by a communicative situation, used with a certain pragmatic function.

If we consider the extralinguistic factors of using CS, then it can be noted that some words from other languages have been used for a long time. They become familiar to the speakers, and they are not considered as foreign words. Language change shows the connection between language and social relations (with each other in conversation) or attitudes to those who have been mentioned. But to achieve this goal, all participants of the communication act should be aware of the social framework; switching will be effective and successful when everyone has the same background knowledge and interprets it equally, so that misunderstanding does not arise and the goal of the communicative act is achieved.

Nowadays, the freedom to choose a particular language is closely connected with new communication technologies. Messaging and chat rooms provide with the opportunity to communicate online and face-to-face using a minimal vocabulary range, while blogs and e-mails are contribute to transmit large messages, reaching huge audience. Such ways of disseminating information allow and even encourage the use of non-standard forms of written language, linguistic creativity and improvisation. In practice, this may mean a violation of language rules and a transition from traditional charters to the needs of a language society.

Contact linguistics and bilingualism question multilingualism as a cumulative addition to the permanent autonomous language system. Linguists are wondering whether modern society is able to cope with changing multilingual paradigms at the level of society. Globalization creates opportunities for the development of minority languages, and also contributes to increasing mobility and transposition in identity.
V. CONCLUSION

Summarizing the findings, it can be pointed out that CS phenomena are closely related to both external and internal factors. In the cases we have considered, the factors that determine motivated and unmotivated CS can be the following: automation of speech skills; saving of speech effort; insufficient language competence; frequency of use of language units in Russian that perform the function of trigger words; emphatic discharge. The data of the Kazakh-Russian switching and mixing codes described in the article confirm the thesis that the frequency of mixing codes often depends on the topic. In this case, the codes are in relation to functional additionality. Despite the presence of both negative and positive influence, the switching and mixing of codes is a very characteristic phenomenon that makes up the social and communicative system of the modern bilingual speaking L1 and L2.

So, it should be highlighted that code switching is used by bilinguals not only for convenience, but often in for emphasizing social role, status or membership in a language group. Code switching has a huge linguistic potential for creating new lexical units of a language due to the large number of social and pragmatic functions of this phenomenon, that are observed in the speech of bilinguals. Code switching is usually always labeled, i.e. it reflects the speaker's intentions - to pay attention to a specific speech element. We concluded that relatively often, code changes are used as a means of communication strategy for transmitting social and linguistic information.

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