CODE-SWITCHING AMONG LANGUAGES:
THE INSTANCE OF BASHKIR LITERARY LANGUAGE*

Diller Arası Kod Değiştirme: Başkurt Yazı Dili Örneği

Habibe YAZICI ERSOY**

Abstract: Bilingualism, which as a term is included into the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics, although being examined and classified in different forms, defines a situation in which an individual knows two languages or his using two languages in social relations. Borrowing or code-switching refers to a bilingual's using the elements of two languages alternately in daily speech. Code-switching appears in many bilingual societies. Likewise, it appears in Bashkortostan, which has two official language. The official languages of Bashkortostan, which is a federative republic in Russia Federation, are Russian and Bashkir. In daily speech, a Bashkir sometimes code-switches with Russian. However, this phenomenon is not restricted to spoken language, it also reflected to Bashkir literary language. Code-switching appears in publications in which literary language is used such as novels, short stories, newspapers and magazines. In the present paper, the samples of code-switching in Bashkir literary language is analyzed according to code-switching theory.

Keywords: Code-switching, Bashkir Turkish, bilingualism, language interaction, linguistics

Öz: Daha çok dilbilim ve toplumbilimin çalışma sahasına giren *iki dillilik* farklı şekillerde incelenip sınıflandırılmakla birlikte genel olarak bir bireyin iki dil bilmesi ya da toplumda iki dili kullanması durumuna verilen ad olarak tanımlanmaktadır. İki dilli bir bireyin genel dil kullanımı esnasında aynı konuşma içerisinde sahip olduğu iki dilin unsurlarını dönüşümlü olarak kullanması ise ödünçleme ve *kod değiştirme* gibi terimlerle ifade edilmiştir. Söz konusu kod değiştirme iki dile sahip birçok toplumlarda karşımıza çıktığı gibi iki resmi dile sahip olan Başkurdistan'da da rastlanmaktadır. Bugün Rusya Federasyonuna bağlı Federe bir Cumhuriyet olan Başkurdistan'ın resmî dili Rusça ve Başkurtçadır. Günlük konuşma içerisinde bir Başkurt, Başkurtça konuşurken zaman zaman Rusça ile kod değiştirmektedir. Ancak bu durum sadece günlük konuşma dilinde kalmayıp Başkurt edebi diline de yansımış; roman, hikâye, gazete, dergi vb. gibi edebi dilin kullanıldığı yayınlarda kod değiştirme durumu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu makalede Başkurt yazı dilindeki kod değiştirme örnekleri kod değiştirme teorisine göre ele alınıp incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kod değiştirme, Başkurt Türkçesi, iki dillilik, dil etkileşimi, dil bilimi

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** *Doç. Dr., Gazi Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, Ankara/TÜRKİYE, habibeersoyy@gmail.com. Gönderim Tarihi: 25.07.2017 / Kabul Tarihi: 28.10.2017*

Introduction

All existing languages on earth, from past to present, have been in an interaction with one another on different aspects in social, cultural, economic, computational and similar terms by means of whether geographical or political contacts such as migrations, wars, and commercial affairs. These interactions between languages might differently appear as phonetics, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. All these interactions are possible through the contact of different languages with each other in several ways, and at the same time, languages can influence one another even without common grounds in geographical, political and similar terms when certain technological facilities brought by in this age are considered. Consequently, language contact appears as an outcome of individuals speaking different languages living together in a society, and language mixing when facing with different languages (Crystal 1991: 193-194).

Certain elements acquired from another language as a result of several incidents are encountered in each language spoken on earth. In this regard, it can be asserted that none of the languages are pure languages completely isolated or non-inclusive of any elements from other languages. For Turkish, the process and examples of language interaction can also be observed from the first texts whose dates are known to the present ones. Particularly in the period of Uyghur Turkish of Old Turkish, several words and elements entered into Turkish from languages such as Chinese, Sogdian, and Tocharian etc. Among the reasons of this language interactios in the era of Old Uyghur, particularly changing alphabet and religion as well as commercial and political affairs can be regarded. Later on, new trends were seen in language along with the rechanging alphabet and religion in the era of the Karakhanids when Turks adopted Islam. This time, new words and elements from Arabic and Persian languages have started to settle in Turkish as of the era of Karakhanid Turkish. Also in the eras of Chagatai, Old Oghuz, and Ottoman Turkish, settlement of several elements from Arabic and Persian in Turkish continued. While Turkish acquired borrowings as an outcome of the contact with these two languages, it also encountered Russian when Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556) in the geography of Central Asia, Idel-Ural, and Siberia fell under the domination of Tsarist Russia. Russian borrowings are seen in the languages of Turkic tribes living in this geography as a result of both political and commercial contacts. Political situation within the region is shaped as a consequence of firstly the domination of Tsarist Russia, and then the policies of the Union of Socialist Republics, and it takes the shape of several federated and autonomous republics of Turkic tribes. In the Autonomous Republics established after all these political situations, Russian and the language of the established autonomous republic have continued to exist together. While Russian has been used as educational and official language, written Turkic tribal languages such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tatar, Bashkir, Yakut, Khakas, Chuvas, etc have been used in literary fields. Consequently, bilingual individuals have appeared in a bilingual society.

Bilingualism, which is generally included in the field of linguistics or sociolinguistics, is usually defined as the knowledge of two languages or the use of two languages by an individual in a society while it can also be differently examined and classified. The situation here is the use of the two languages at the same effective

level in the daily life of an individual (Bloomfield 1935: 55; Weinreich [1953] 1968: 1; Mackey 1970: 554; Vardar 2002: 118; İmer vd. 2011: 153). Bilingualism has been an attractive field of interest for researchers, particularly in recent years. The rise in bilingual societies and individuals might be the reason behind this attraction. Second language differs from the concept of foreign language. Foreign language learning is a conscious act in accordance with wishes and goals of an individual. The concept of bilingualism has been differently classified in researches depending on distinct viewpoints. Baker divides bilingualism into two types in regard to the conditions of second language acquisition. These types are defined as *simultaneous bilingualism* and *sequential bilingualism*. Simultaneous bilingualism is regarded as the situation where the speaker encounters two languages since the first phases of his/her childhood. Sequential bilingualism, on the other hand, is the situation where the second language is acquired afterwards by formal education. In this sense, the first type of bilingualism is real bilingualism (2001: 87). Weinreich, on the other hand, has examined bilingualism under three titles in accordance with linguistic criteria. They are listed as;

1.   Coordinate bilingualism,
2.   *Compound bilingualism,*
3.   *Subordinate bilingualism*

In coordinate bilingualism, linguistic elements such as word and sentence separately exist in the mind of speaker. Such bilingualism usually belongs to distinct cultural societies. In compound bilingualism, linguistic elements reflect the same concept even when they are separately displayed. Subordinate bilingualism, on the other hand, means bilingualism as in learning another language with individual's own existing language ([1953] 1968: 9-10).

Language experience, several aspects of culture and education, and some cognitive and linguistic symptoms may affect some people more than expected. For some, factors such as viewpoint and motivation are more influential in their bilingual or educational performances. Existence of a potential relation between bilingualism on the one hand, and personal development, cognitive or educational accumulations on the other is out of question (Molali 2005: 21). Some linguistic features that do not exist in monolinguals appear during the conversations of bilinguals. This situation occurs as a different pronunciation, sometimes as a word from the second language or the use of idioms, and sometimes as transitions from one code of language to the code of second language (Molali 2005: 47).

The alternative use of elements of the two languages by a bilingual individual in the same speech during the general use of language or such a situation occurring as a result of the contact between two languages is defined by the terms of *loan word* (Bloomfield 1935: 55), *code-copying* (Johanson 2007: 28), and *code-switching* (Weinreich [1953] 1968: 1; Poplack 1980: 583; Thomason 2001: 131; Wardhaugh 2010: 98; Killi 2014: 209). Haugen, on the other hand, prefers the term *reproduction*. According to him, the product in such a situation does not express a mechanical imitation, on the contrary, the nature of reproduction is to differentiate from the original to a great extent ([1950] 2010: 134). McClure states that the speaker refers to code-switching in the cases that he/she cannot find an equivalence for the concept he/she has used or will use, that he/

she feels insufficiency of the equivalent form or cannot fully explain during the speech (1981: 86).

Johanson, who criticizes the term loan word to confuse minds and forms his own code-copying model, names the copying the code elements of a language within another language code as *code-copying*, and forms a theory (2007: 28-30). Copying occurs in three forms according to the theory of Johanson:

1. *General copying*
2. *Selective copying*
3. *Mixed copying*

In general copying, the whole structural features in language B such as a sample sound, agglutination, meaning and frequency are copied over an appropriate framework in language A. In selective copying, one or a couple of structural features of language B such as sound, agglutination, meaning and frequency are copied over language A. Mixed copying is general copying which includes selective copying within languages (2007: 31-37).

Poplack classifies code-switching in three groups in his point of view. These groups are;

1. *Intersentential switching*
2. *Tag switching/ Extrasentential switching*
3. *Intrasentential switching* (1980: 615-616; İmer 1997: 276; Killi 2014: 210).

Extrasentential switching includes conjunctions, exclamations, tags, fillers, quotations and some idiomatic narrations in a language (Poplack 1980: 604-605; İmer 1997: 276; Killi 2014: 210).

The aforementioned situation of code-switching is encountered in most societies holding two languages, and it is also seen in Bashkortostan which has two official languages. Code-switching occurs during the use of these two languages which are typologically different from one another. Bashkortostan is located in the basin formed by Idel and Ufa River, which is a branch of Idel, on the western side of northern Ural and middle Ural Mountains between Europe and Asia, and Tatarstan and Udmurt Republics are situated on its Northwest, Perm and Sverdlovsk regions on its North, Chelyabinsk on its East, and Orenburg region on its South and Southeast (Demir 2002: 73; Yiğit 2002: 88). The population of Bashkir Turks is 1.172.287 according to the census of 2010. In regard to the census of 1998, Bashkirs constituted only 23% of total population. While Tatars, who dispersedly settled within the Republic of Bashkortostan, constituted 24% of total population in the census of 1998, Russians were the leading population by 43% (Demir 2002: 75; Yiğit 2002: 91; Demir 2004: 41). In the census of 2010, while the total population of Bashkortostan equalled 4.072.292, Russians had a population density of 1.432.906 (36,1%), Bashkirs 1.172.287 (29,5%), and Tatars 1.009.295 (25,4%). In both censuses, it is observed that the ethnic groups constituting the linguistic situation in Bashkortostan are not demographically equal. It is seen that the population density of Russians has decreased, and that of Bashkirs has risen.

Today, official languages of Bashkortostan, which is a Federative Republic dependent on Russian Federation, are Russian and Bashkir. However, as it is visible

in the demographic distribution, particularly the rate of Tatars is reasonably high apart from Russians and Bashkirs. Moreover, the population density of Tatars is higher than that of Bashkirs in the census of 1998. This situation paved the way for Tatars to demand that Tatar language shall be an official language as well, by adducing that Tatars constitute the majority of the Republic and the public welfare depends on them (Garipova 2009: 68). Having a religious, political, social and economic unity with each other for approximately a thousand years, Bashkirs and Tatars have constantly been in an interaction in the common geography they share. As a consequence of this interaction, a widespread interaction between these two branches of Turkic languages has occurred especially geographically in the regions where they live together, and it is confirmed that there is a use of features of Tatar in some Bashkir dialects, and Bashkir in some Tatar dialects as a result of language contact (Gökçe 2014: 62).

Because of the fact that Russian is the official language of correspondence and education, for the Bashkirs, Bashkir takes the backseat especially in cities. For the reasons like that the Russian population is higher than the Bashkir in cities and that people's using Russian in their private and official acts, the effect of Russian is obviously felt in city life. For the Bashkir who live in villages and towns Bashkir is preferred more. Although they know Russian since it is thought at schools, they use Bashkir in their own community. Even though the above mentioned population distribution has changed in favor of the Bashkir, Russian is still more preferred to Bashkir. To illustrate, compared to the school year 2005-2006, the number of students who are not Bashkir and still preferred to learn Bashkir as the official language approximately doubled (99,7 %) in the school year 2009-2010. In the same vein, the number of students who are not Russian and learning their mother tongue is steadily increasing (73, 3 %). At 1099 educational institution the medium of instruction is mother tongue and at 630 institutions Bashkir, at 390 institutions Tatar, at 37 institution Chuvash, at 312 institutions Mari and at 11 institutions Udmurt is taught. At professional private first and secondary education institutions Bashkir is taught as official language (Garipova 2014: 43).

Code switching that comes with bilingualism and multilingualism occurs also in relation to various variables such as participants, topics and context. Code switching is resorted when the speaker feels it easier to express him/herself better, when the speaker thinks that the listener would understand him/her better or when the speaker is unable to find a correspondent in the native language at time of speaking for a source concept, or even if s/he finds one when s/he is uncertain with its exact equivalence (Killi 2004:172). At the time of code switching, the language the speaker uses or into which loan items embedded is matrix language and the language borrowed from may be seen as embedded language (Joshi 1982: 145-146; Killi 2014: 213). For various reasons, Russians having the dominant position forces the Bashkirt sometimes to code switch from Russian in their daily language use. Russian and Bashkir are typologically different. Code switching not only occurs between different languages but may also occur between the members of the same language family. For bilinguals, code switching first appears in discourse but later on it appears in writing as well. For the case of Bashkir, too, code switching had gone beyond the daily language use and

appeared in time in literary Bashkir, i.e. in novels, stories, newspapers, magazines, etc. In this paper, the examples of code switching in Bashkir will be analyzed in the light of Poplack's (1980) classification. In this paper Bashkir is taken as the matrix language and Russian as the embedded one.

1. Inter-sentential Switching

It is the case of sudden interference of Russian sentences into the conversation in Bashkir. In the following sample sentences Russian sentences come after Bashkir sentences in context. At times, these are dialogues through which one of the speakers switches into Russian to express the state or the instance s/he wants to describe.

1) Рәмзиә. Улайһа тыңла: «Лишь тот достоин жизни и свободы, кто каждый день за них идет в бой!» Кем әйткән? (Y, 345)
   Rämziä. Ulayha tıŋla: «__Liş tot dostoin jizni i svo- bodı, kto kajdıy den za nix idet v boy__!» Kǐm äytkän?
   "Remzie. So listen: - <u>Those who go to war everyday is also worth single life and freedom, Who said that?</u>"

2) — Пап, тебе тоже не спится? Миңнулланың уйҙары бүленде. — Юк шул, улым. (KR, 28)
   — __Pap, tebe toje ne spitsya__? Miŋnullanıŋ uyẕarı bülǐndǐ. — Yuq şul, ulım.
   "<u>- Dad, can't you sleep, either?</u> The thoughts of Minnula fell apart. – No, that one, my son."

3) Динаров. Ну-ка, ултыр әле! Нимә, тилебәрән орлоғо ашағандай ҡыланаһың? Илдар. Я же на минуту зашел, һеҙ борсолмаһын, тип... (НТ, 173)
   Dinarov. __Nu-ka__, ultır älǐ! Nimä, tilǐbärän ǔrlǔğǔ aşağanday qılanahıŋ? İldar. __Ya je na minutu zaşel__, hǐẕ bǔrsǔlmahın, tip...
   "Dinarov. <u>Come on, sit here!</u> Why do you act like you are eating hyoscyamus albus? İldar. <u>I stopped for a moment</u> by saying not to worry…"

4) — Закирчик, сначала ты заходи, а то миңә как-то не удобно... (KR, 22)
   — Zakirçik, __snaçala tı zaxodi, a to__ miŋä __kak-to ne udobno__...
   "Zakirçik, <u>you come first, or he is not suitable for whatever reason.</u>"

5) Илдар. Ҡотлайым! А что, если и я поеду? (НТ, 150)
   İldar. Qǔtlayım! __A çto, yesli i ya poyedu?__
   "İldar. Congratulations! <u>What happens if I go?</u>"

Along with mixing the two languages they know in the course of dialogue, the bilingual Bashkir may also change the form of Russian words, expressions or signifiers with reference to Bashkir discourse. In the extracts 6, 7, 8 below, this case is exemplified. Though, first and foremost, this is a feature of speech dialogues it can also

be true for literary works too. As a reason for this case, the appropriation of the codes borrowed from Russian can be pointed.

6) Григорий бабай. Яки ви красиви люды!.. Вот зрадие внучка-то... Ну-ка, пиду, подывлюсь! Марьяна. Дид, ятоже! (DHK, 64)
*Grigoriy babay. Yaki **vi krasivi lyudı**!.. [ВЫ КРАСИВЫ ЛЮДИ] Vot zradie vnuçka-tй... [ВОТ ЗДАНИЕ ВНУЧКА-ТО] Nu-ka, pidu, podıvlyus! [ПОДИВЛЮСЬ!] Maryana. **Did, yatoje!** [Дид, я тоже!]*
"Grandpa Gregoriy. Or there are good people! The grandson of this building… Come on… Surprise! Maryana. Grandpa, me, too!"

7) Котош. Есть, товарищ бриhадир! (Сыға.) (DHK, 74)
*Kŭtŭş. **Yest, tovarişç brihadir! [БРИГАДИР]** (Sıġa.)*
"Kutuş. Yes, fellow foreman."

8) Таныған кешеләр Исламға сәләм бирҙе, бер үк hүҙҙе ҡабатланы: — Опоздал, знакум. Пить нету, закусить нету. Сами пили, сами закусили, да покойникам пооставили. (Y, 76)
*Tanıġan kĭşĭlär İslamġa säläm birzĭ, bĭr ük hüzzĭ qabatlanı: — **Opozdal, znakum. [ЗНАКОМ] Pit netu, zakusit netu**. Sami pili, sami zakusili, da pokoynikam poostavili.*
"Those who knew said hi to İslam, repeated a couple of the statements:- Pass, the signal. Drink something, eat something. They drank on their own, they ate on their own, yes they had a funeral."

In the extract 11 below, we witness a dialogue between a father and a daughter. In this dialogue, father's using Bashkir but daughter's rather Russian may be given as an example for already mentioned case of youth's preference of Russian. In this dialogue, the father and the daughter continues their conversation in two different languages.

9) — Пап, а где живет бабушка? — өйҙәр күренмәгәнлек- тәнме, ун ете йәшлек Зоя үзенең ҡызыҡhыныуын йәшермәне. — Вот там, видишь, дочка, одинокая изба стоит. Там и живет ваша бабуся. — Закир ҡызының hорауҙарына яуап та биреп өлгөрмәне, Волгаhы шул өйҙөң ҡырына килеп тә туктаны. — Закирчик, сначала ты заходи, а то миңә как-то не удобно... — Ничего, ничего... Она поймет, беҙ бит рабочий кешеләр. Минең әсәй — умница! Барыhын да аңлай, все простит. (KR, 22)
*— **Pap, a gde jivyet babuşka?** — ŭyzär kürĭnmägänlĭktänmĭ, un yĭtĭ yäşlĭk Zŭya üzĭnĭŋ qızıqhınıwın yäşĭrmänĭ. — **Vot tam, vidiş, doçka, odinokaya izba stoit. Tam i jivyet vaşa babusya**. — Zakir qızınıŋ hŭrawzarına yawap ta birĭp ŭlgŭrmänĭ, Volgahı şul ŭyzŭŋ qırına kilĭp tä tuqtanı. — Zakirçik, **snaçala tı zaxodi, a to miŋä kak-to ne udobno**... — **Niçego, niçego**... **Ŭna poymet**, bĭz bit **raboçiy** kĭşĭlär. Minĭŋ äsäy — **umnitsa!** Barıhın da aŋlay, **vse prostit**.*
"Dad, where is grandmother living? Maybe because of the invisibility of his thoughts, seventeen-year-old Ziya did not hide his interest. – There you see,

daughter, the single booths. There the grandmother lives. Zakir could not answer the questions of his daughter, either, his Volga came near the house and stopped there. – Zakir was weird firstly inside and then towards me.. – Nothing, nothing. You will understand, we are, of course, working people. My mother is the brain. She gets it all. Forgive all."

2. Tag Switching/ Extra-Sentential Switching

Since they can freely be interspersed in speech, they necessitate less information regarding the grammar of the languages spoken (Poplack 1980: 615). Rather than directly affecting the meaning of the sentence, they reinforce the meaning.

2.1 Fillers

Since they can freely be interspersed in speech and necessitate less information regarding the grammar of the two languages, we can say that extra-sentential switching is preferred more compared to other types of code switching (Poplack 1980:603). The same is also true for Bashkir written language. Fillers are among the most used types of code switching.

1) — Так, так. Молодец! — тип hөйләнә ине. (ВА, 18)
   — ***Tak, tak***. ***Molodets***! — *tip hŭylänä inĭ.*
   "Here, here. Good job! He murmured."

2) — Что же, көзгә саҡлы ғына көтөргә була. (ТАТ, 248)
   — ***Cto je***, *kŭzgä saqlı ġına kŭtŭrgä bula.*
   "What comes out of this, we only need to wait till the autumn."

3) Котош (Григорий бабайға ҡомған биреп). Мә, бабай, вот так, бит йыуырға... (DHK, 67)
   *Kŭtŭş (Grigoriy babayġa qŭmġan birĭp). Mä, babay, **vot tak**, bit yıwırġa...*
   "Kutuş (by giving a bucket to the grandpa Gregoriy). Me, grandpa, there you go, to bathing…"

4) Марьяна. О, ул — ысынлап та, уҫал кеше. Бер һуғыуҙа фашисты ергә һендерҙе лә ҡуйҙы, Вот таҡ — и нема его! (DHK, 78)
   *Maryana. Ŭ, ul — ısınlap ta, uṣal kĭşĭ. Bĭr huġıwẕa faşistı yĭrgä hĭŋdĭrẕĭ lä quyẕı, **Vot taq** — i nema yigo!*
   "Maryana. Yes, he is really a cruel person. He put a fascist down in a war, and here many of them are his own!"

5) Эдик (һыйпай). Мин сразу мухабят булдым… (Сайырбикәнең беләген тота.) Вот это беләк! (DHK, 92)
   *İdik (hıypay). Min srazu muxabyat buldım... (Sayırbikänĭŋ bĭlägĭn tŭta.) **Vot eto** bĭläk!*

"Edik (Caressing). I have been happy <u>once</u>… (Holding the wrist of Sayırbike) <u>This</u> is the wrist!"

Russian codes used as fillers in Bashkir may either appear as they are or be appropriated so as to fit Bashkir Turkish as is seen in the below examples. What is important here is that in Bashkir for one filler two different form can be used. For instance, for вот vot in Russian both үәт wät and вәт vät can be used in Bashkir.

6) — Үәт, үәт, маладис! — тип дәртләнеп китте Харис бабай. (АТ, 23)
— ***Wät, wät, maladis!*** *[**ВОТ МОЛОДЕЦ**]* — *tip därtlänĭp kittĭ Xaris babay.*
"There<u>, there, good job!</u>, grandpa Harris got excited."

7) — 'ә, вәт әй! — Әкиәтсе рәхәтләнеп йылмая. — Шулай уҡ тип әйтмәгәндер зә?" (ВЕВ, 40)
— *'Ä, **vät** [**BOT**] äy! — Äkiätsĭ räxätlänĭp yılmaya. — Şulay uq tip äytmägändĭr zä?"*
"<u>Here it is</u>, hey! The story teller relaxes and smiles. Say he must not have said so?"

8) — Вәт бына был, исмахам, идея! (АТ, 270)
— ***Vät** [**BOT**] bına bıl, ismaham, **ideya**!*
"<u>That is it</u>, at least, an idea!"

2.2. Interjection, Exclamation

Interjection and exclamation are among the most effective factors in language and especially in speech. The speaker expresses his/her thoughts and feelings with these kinds of linguistic factors. These tools of expression are conveyed from the embedded language to matrix language in bilingual societies by bilinguals.

1) — Һыу? Тфү, хәйерсе... Тот бизрәләреңде! (АТ, 251)
— *Hıw? **Tfü**, xäyĭrsĭ... Tŭt biẕrälärĭŋdĭ!*
"Water, <u>pish</u>, beggar…hold the bucket!"

2) Динаров. Ну-ка, ултыр әле! Нимә, тилебәрән орлоғо ашағандай ҡыланаһың? Илдар. Я же на минуту зашел, һеҙ борсолмаһын, тип... (НТ, 173)
*Dinarov. **Nu-ka**, ultır älĭ! Nimä, tilĭbärän ŭrlŭġŭ aşaġanday qılanahıŋ? İldar. **Ya je na minutu zaşel**, hĭẕ bŭrsŭlmahın, tip...*
"Dinarov. <u>Come on, sit here!</u> Why do you act like you are eating hyoscyamus albus? İldar. <u>I stopped for a moment</u> by saying not to worry…"

2.3. Modal Words

Modal words that enable the speaker to reflect his/her attitude and behavior in a special way through sentences are among the types of code switching observed in Bashkir-Russian bilingualism.

1) Иң яҡшы ир-аттар ҡырыла. **Вот же беда**, ирҙәрҙең иң уҙамандары беренсе булып һәләк була... **Да-а-а**... (DHK, 74)
   *İŋ yaqşı ir-attar qırıla. **Vot je beda**, irẕärẕĭŋ iŋ uẕamandarı bĭrĭnsĭ bulıp häläk bula... **Da-a-a**...*
   "Bests are dying. <u>The same problem</u>, the most distinguished men pass away first…<u>Yee-s-s</u>…"

2) Мин, **конечно**, ял итә алманым. (BA, 107)
   *Min, **koneçno**, yal itä almanım.*
   "Me, <u>of course</u> I am tired."

3) Был уже уйын түгел, һеҙ уйынды ысынға өйләндерергә тырышаһығыҙ, минән булмаған ғәйептәрем өсөн үс алырға теләйһегеҙ. (KA, 126)
   *Bıl **uje** uyın tügĭl, hĭẕ uyındı ısınġa ŭyländĭrĭrgä tırışahıġız, minän bulmaġan ġäyĭptärĭm ŭsŭn üs alırġa tĭläyhĭgĭẕ.*
   "This is not a game <u>of course</u>, you try to make the game real, you want to get revenge for the crimes I am not responsible"

4) Илдар. Че там нуғыш? Ике иҫерек урамда ыҙғыша ине. (HT, 173)
   *İldar. **Çe tam** huġış? İkĭ iṣĭrĭk uramda ıẕġışa inĭ.*
   "İldar, war <u>time</u>? Two drunks were fighting at the Street."

5) — Сығып та ҡайҙа бараһың, унан һуң **вообще**... — тинем мин, ни әйтергә белмәй. (BA, 44)
   *— Sığıp ta qayẕa barahıŋ, unan huŋ **voobşçe**... — tinĭm min, ni äytĭrgä bĭlmäy.*
   "Where do you go without saying anything, after that in general… I said, he doesn't know what to say."

It is again observed that some modal words used by Bashkir-Russian bilinguals are modified with reference to Bashkir speech forms.

10) — Бура Рәхмәйҙең үҙенә түгел, лесничествоға, — Вот, вот: лесничествоға! Нужели аңламайһығыҙ: ул бит һеҙҙе шулай мыҫҡыл итә. (Y, 71)
   — Bura Räxmäyẕĭŋ üẕĭnä tügĭl, lesniçestvoga, — Vot, vot: lesniçestvoga! Nujeli [НЕУЖЕЛИ] aŋlamayhıġız: ul bit hĭẕẕĭ şulay mısqıl itä.
   "The camel does not belong to Rehmey himself, but <u>to the forestry, -Here, here: forestry</u>! You <u>really</u> do not understand: he is mocking you this much."

11) — Юҡ, тартмайым мин... Күпме тора был сигарет? — Пүстәк, пачкаһы алты һум ғына. (ASA, 139)

— *Yuq, tartmayım min... Küpmĭ tŭra bıl* **sigaret?** — **_Püstäk_**, *[ПУСТЬ ТАК]*
paçkahı *altı hum ġına.*

"No, I don't smoke… How much is this <u>cigarette</u>? – <u>Let it be so,</u> one package
costs six som."

2.4. Digression

Digression is the entry that works as the explanatory intervention in the construction
process of the sentence and makes no difference when omitted. It is observed that this
type of code switching is frequently used in Bashkir-Russian bilingualism.

1) Көҙ йоморға тура килә, әлеге лә баяғы баш осонта теге бурыс тора. —
   Настоящий ҡабалаға төшәһең. (Y, 68)
   Küz ŭmŭrġa tura kilä, älĭgĭ lä bayaġı baş ŭsŭnta tĭgĭ burıs tŭra. — **_Nastoyaşçiy_**
   [настоящий] qabalaġa tŭşähĭŋ.
   "Condoning is essential, there is the other debt at the bedside from the earlier
   and present times. – You would fall quickly<u>, really</u>."

2) Ҡайҙа һеҙҙең кешелек ғорурлығы? — Бура Рәхмәйҙең үҙенә түгел,
   лесничествоға, — Вот, вот: лесничествоға! Нужели аңламайһығыҙ: ул
   бит һеҙҙе шулай мыҫҡыл итә. (Y, 71)
   Qayza hĭẕẕĭŋ kĭ<u>ş</u>ĭlĭk ġururlıġı? — Bura Räxmäyẕĭŋ üzĭnä tügĭl, **lesniçestvoġa**,
   — **_Vot, vot_**: *lesniçestvoġa!* **_Nujeli_** *[неужели] aŋlamayhıġız: ul bit hĭẕẕĭ şulay
   mıẕqıl itä.*
   "Where is your pride? – This place does not belong to the deceased, it belongs
   to the <u>forest</u>, - <u>here, here, forest</u>! You <u>really</u> do not understand: he is mocking
   you so."

3) — Что же, килештек улайһа. (BEB, 182)
   — **_Çto je_**, *kilĭştĭk ulayha.*
   "<u>What about it</u>, deal then"

3. Intra-Sentential Switching

When the bilingual speaker mixes the languages s/he uses and knows in one
sentence it means that intra-sentential code switching is active. In Bashkir-Russian
bilingualism some morphological entries such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns,
conjunctions and finite verbs may be embedded in sentence.

3.1. Nouns

1) — Юҡты һөйләмә, киттек, бассейнда бөтөнләй икенсе ул. (ASA, 135)
   — *Yuqtı hŭylämä, kittĭk,* **_basseynda_** *bŭtŭnläy ikĭnsĭ ul.*
   "Don't say No, we went, he always ranks the second in the sivimming pool."

2) Унан ҡыҫҡаса ғына класс уҡыусыларының теләген иғлан итте. Мәктәп директоры, уҡытыусылар менән дә һөйләшеү булған икән. Улар ҙа хуплаған. (ASA, 23)

*Unan qısqasa ġına **klass** uqıwsılarınıŋ tĭlägĭn iġlan ittĭ. Mäktäp **direktorı**, uqıtıwsılar mĭnän dä hüyläşĭw bulġan ikän. Ular ẕa xuplaġan.*

"A short while after that he announced the students in the <u>class</u>. The <u>principal</u> had also mentioned the matter to the teachers. They had approved, too."

3) — Море булғас, ниңә йыйманығыҙ һуң? — тип төрттөрҙө Сәбилә. (ASA,52)

*— **More** bulġas, niŋä yıymanıġıẕ huŋ? — tip tŭrttŭrẕŭ Säbilä.*

"By the way, wyh didn't you collect while <u>Sea</u> was here? Scolded Sebile."

4) — Тағы ниндәй замечаниеларығыҙ бар? — Башҡа замечание юҡ та ул... (BEB, 146)

*— Tağı nindäy **zameçaniy**ĭ*larıġıẕ bar? — Başqa **zam**ĭ*çaniy**ĭ* yuq ta ul...

"What else <u>intentions</u> do you have? - No more <u>intentions</u>, as well."

5) — Дурак, — тип аяҡ аҫтына төкөрҙө ул ошо хәбәрҙе ишеткәс. — Берәү райкомға кәңәш итә, йәнәһе. Милитсияға шылтыратырға ине, дурак. (Y, 84)

*— **Durak**, — tip ayaq aṣtına tŭkŭrẕŭ ul ŭşŭ xäbärẕĭ işĭtkäs. — Bĭräw **raykomġa** käŋäş itä, yänähĭ. **Militsiyaġa** şıltıratırġa inĭ, **durak**.*

"Upon hearing this news, 'stupid' said he and spitted down.- what is more every every <u>region</u> consults its <u>committee</u>."

6) Тәүҙәрәк ауылда уның хаҡында төрлө һүҙ йөрөнө: — Нимуй, телен йотҡан! (Y, 59)

*Täwẕäräk awılda unıŋ xaqında tŭrlŭ hüẕ yŭrŭnŭ: — **Nimuy**, [немой] tĭlĭn yŭtqan!*

"First, rumors about him overspreaded the village: -<u>Mute</u>, dumb!"

3.1. Adverb

1) Фирменный кейенһәң, сразу күрәләр. (KB, 72)

*Firmennıy kĭyĭnhäŋ, **srazu** kürälär.*

"If you wear brand, they <u>get</u> eyes on you."

2) Динаров. Туҡта, улым, случайно бер нәмә лә булмай; аңлат! (HT, 173)

*Dinarov. Tuqta, ulım, **sluçayno** bĭr nämä lä bulmay; aŋlat!*

"Dinarov. Stop, my son, <u>nothing</u> happened by accident, tell me."

3) Эдик (Сайырбикә янына килеп). Инга... Мин только һине генә тыңлайым! Ты бесподобна!" (DHK, 192)

*İdik (Sayırbikä yanına kilĭp). İnga... Min **tolko** hinĭ gĭnä tıŋlayım! **Tı bespodobna!**"*

"Edik (by coming closer to Sayırbike) İnga… I listen to you only! You are amazing!"

3.2. Pronoun

1) Эдик (Ынйы тип уйлап). Инга... Мухабят мой... (Килеп, ҡосаҡлай.) Как ты йомшаҡ... (Һыйпай.) Ты ишетәһеңме мине? Ты как приятно... Сайырбикә. Миңә лә хорошо. Эдик (һыйпай). Мин сразу мухабят булдым... (DHK, 192)

*İdik (Inyı tip uylap). İnga... Muxabyat **moy**... (Kilĭp, qŭsaqlay.) **Kak tı** yŭmşaq... (Hıypay.) **Tı** işĭtähĭŋmĭ minĭ? **Tı kak priyatno**... Sayırbikä. Miŋä lä **xoroşo**. İdik (hıypay). Min **srazu** muxabyat buldım...*

"İdik (thinking of Inyı) İnga…happiness is mine. (Comes and gives a hug) how soft you are… (Fondles) can you hear me? You look beatiful… Sayırbike. Good for me, too. İdik (fondles) I got happy again."

2) Эдик (Сайырбикә янына килеп). Инга... Мин только һине генә тыңлайым! Ты бесподобна!" (DHK, 192)

*İdik (Sayırbikä yanına kilĭp). İnga... Min **tolko** hinĭ gĭnä tıŋlayım! **Tı bespodobna!**"*

"Edik (by coming closer to Sayıbike) İnga… I listen to you only! You are amazing!"

3.3. Conjunction

1) Әбләй. Ауыҙ асып әйткән һүҙем түгел, Пал Палыч, алдашма. Мин тәнкитте үлеп яратам, то есть хөрмәт итәм, то есть ҡолаҡ һалам... ләкин был ғәйбәт! (İAE, 198)

*Äbläy. Awız asıp äytkän hüzĭm tügĭl, Pal Palıç, aldaşma. Min tänqittĭ ülĭp yaratam, **to yest** xŭrmät itäm, **to yest** qŭlaq halam... läkin bıl ġäybät!*

"Ebley. It is not the word to speak of, Pal Palıç don't defame. I like criticism alot, in other words I respect, I listen carefully… but that is a rumour!"

2) Ҡыуанысынан ниҙәр генә ҡылмай. Ҡошсоҡтары һуң, ҡошсоҡтары! (BÜY 235)

И, талпыналар, и, ашҡыналар! *Qıwanısınan nizär gĭnä qılmay. Qŭşsŭqtarı huŋ, qŭşsŭqtarı! **İ**, talpınalar, **i**, aşqınalar!*

"He would do everything thanks to happines alone. Birds then, birds! And they fly away and get excited!"

3) Ну, үҙегеҙ уйлап ҡарағыҙ: нинтәй етәксе инте мин — булыр-булмаç ете класс. Ағас атҡа — ағас ҡусырсы — и все! (Y, 27)

***Nu**, üzĭgĭz uylap qarağız: nintäy yĭtäksĭ intĭ min — bulır-bulmaş yĭtĭ **klass**. Ağas atqa — ağas qusırsı — **i vse**!*

"But think again and see: how helpful I am- seven classes in a lump."

4) — Ну... бөйөк инде, — тип тамамланы ҡыҙыу башланған телмәрен. (АТ, 16)

_Nu_... *[но] bŭyŭk indĭ, — tip tamamlanı qızıw başlanġan tĭlmärĭn.*

"He completed his oddly started words saying: But…from now on, it is high."

5) — Әтнәке, аңлашылып етмәй... — Ислам рядовойлар өҫтөнән командовать итеүҙе үҙ ҡулына алырға тейеш. Аңланыңмы? — Так точно. — Нимә «так точно»? (Y, 28)

— **_Ätnäkĭ, [однако]_** *aŋlaşılıp ĭtmäy... — İslam ryadovoylar ŭṣtŭnän komandovat itĭwẕĭ üz qulına alırġa tĭyĭş. Aŋlanıŋmı? — **Tak toçno.** — Nimä «tak toçno»?*

"But it is not understood…- İslam should command the soldiers himself. You see? I mean completely- why 'completely'?"

6) — Эҙләгәнеңде таптыңмы инде? Бәлки, асылыныуың да яҡшығалыр, а то данды бөтә донъяға таратыр инең. (KR 16)

— *İẕlägänĭŋdĭ taptıŋmı indĭ? Bälki, asılınıwıŋ da yaqşıġalır, **a to** dandı bŭtä dŭnyaġa taratır inĭŋ.*

"Have you found what you are looking for? May be it is better you get hanged, otherwise you would spread your fame all over the World."

3.4. Verb

In the course of conversation where the code switching occurs, verbs and finite verbs of the embedded language that are used by the speaker in the matrix language appears in several forms. Sometimes, the speaker uses the verb of the embedded language not in accord with the rules of the matrix language but with all the derivative rules of its original language.

1) Эдик. Хялдә-хялдә! Исян! (Күңеле тулы Ынйы.) Как ее исеме? Исеме, говорю! Ҡаҙнагөл. Юҡ, юҡ, бара алмайым әле, ваҡытым юҡ. Бер полк ҡазым бар, юҡһа Донбасҫҡа китәләр, иблестәр... һыйырҙар — тотош бер ферма... Эдик. Какой хыйыр, какой казлар? А как Донбасс китәләр? (DHK,180)

*İdik. Xyaldä-xyaldä! İsyan! (Küŋĭlĭ tulı Inyı.) **Kak ee** isĭmĭ? İsĭmĭ, **govoryu**! Qaẕnagŭl. Yuq, yuq, bara almayım älĭ, vaqıtım yuq. Bĭr **polk** qazım bar, yuqha Dŭnbassqa kitälär, iblĭstär... hıyırẕar — tŭtŭş bĭr ferma... İdik. **Kakoy xıyır, kakoy kazlar?** A kak Dŭnbass kitälär?*

"İdik. Dreaming, dreaming! Riot! (generous-hearted İnci) underline what is his name? His name I say! Kaznagül. No, no, ofcourse I can't go, I don't have time. I have many geese, or else they the demons would go Dumbas…cows. The whole farm. Which cows, which geese? How do they go Dumbas?"

2) — Слушай, братан, әйҙә уртаҡ тел табайыҡ әле, — теге ир һүҙгә ҡушылды. — Извини, конечно. Что было, того не вернешъ. Йә, ни кәрәк, әйт. (KR, 14)

— ***Sluşay, bratan**, äyẕä urtaq tǐl tabayıq älǐ, — tǐgǐ ir hüẕgä quşıldı. — **İzvini, koneçno. Çto bılo, togo ne verneş.** Yä, ni käräk, äyt.*

"Listen to me my fellow, let's find a common language, the other one began to speak. What a pity. What is going on, he will not come back. So, what is needed? You say."

3) Ул тауыш, бер ҡараһаң, Исламға үҙенең экипаждарға биргән командаһы һымаҡ ишетелде. — Танки, вперед! (Y, 48)
*Ul tawış, bǐr qarahaŋ, İslamġa üẕǐnǐŋ **ekipajdarġa** birgän **komandahı** hımaq işǐtǐldǐ. — **Tanki, vpered**!*
"That voice, have a look, sounded to İslam like the commands he himself gave to the crew. Tanks, go ahead!"

4) — Хасан, дай ему, дай, дай, вот так! — тип уны кәрәкһә лә, кәрәкмәһә лә дәртләндереп ултырҙы." (KR, 49)
*— Xasan, **day emu, day, day, vot tak**! — tip unı käräkhä lä, käräkmähä lä därtländǐrǐp ultırẕı."*
"Hasan, let him, let, let, such! he said and excited him whether it was necessary or not."

In some other cases, the speaker uses the noun taken from the embedded language with the auxiliaries of the matrix language and makes up compound verbs.

5) — Хәҙер инте мин викторина үткәрәм. Ризаһығыҙмы? — Әфицерлар һорамай, әфицерлар приказ бирә. — Молодцы, онотмағанһығыҙ... Башланыҡ, неҙҙең подразделение ҡарамағына оҙанлыраҡ ваҡытка өлкән командир килеп төшһә, неҙ нишләргә тейеш? (Y, 28)
*— Xäẕǐr intǐ min viktorina ütkäräm. Rizahıġıẕmı? — **Äfitsyǐrlar** hŭramay, **äfitsyǐrlar prikaẕ birä. — Molodtsı, [молодец]** ŭnǐtmaġanhıġıẕ... Başlanıq, hǐẕẕǐŋ **podraẕdeleniyǐ** qaramaġına ŭẕanlıraq vaqıtqa ŭlkän kŭmandir kilǐp tǐşhä, hǐẕ nişlärgä tǐyǐş?*
"Now, I am organizing a race. Do you agree? - officals do not ask, officals command. Good, you have not forgotten…we started administrating your department at a late hour when the great commander shall come, what should you do?"

6) Ул честь бирә лә Заһитовтың ҡулын ҡыҫа. — Служу Советскому Союзу! — Служи и впредь! (TAT, 379)
*Ul **çest birä** lä Zahitovtıŋ qulın qısa. — **Sluju Sovetskomu Soyuzu! — Sluji i vpred**! —*
"He honours Zahitov shaking his hand. – serve the Soviet Union – maintain the service!"

3.5. Question Word

It is observed that questions words, too, are subject to code switching.

1) — Как булмай! — Мөхәррир йоҡоло күҙҙәре менән миңә ҡараны. (BEB, 95)

— ***Kak** bulmay! — Mŭxärrir yŭqŭlŭ küẕẕärİ mĭnän miŋä qaranı.*

"<u>How</u> not! The bleary-eyed reporter looked at me."

Conclusion

As it is observed in many bilingual people and societies the residents of the Bashkortostan Federal Republic, the Bashkir-Russian bilinguals, too, resort to code switching in their daily use of language and even in literary works. All these shifts between Bashkir and Russian appear in three forms namely inter-sentential, intra-sentential and extra-sentential switching. As it is observed in Bashkir literary works, the use of code switching by bilinguals in Bashkir goes beyond speech forms and is seen in literary works. Such a prevalent use of code switching may be viewed in some cases as a reflection of the author's critical attitude. In other words, by using code switching the authors may want to draw attention to the discrepancy between the Bashkir elderlies and the youth's attitude towards native language use.

In Bashkir-Russian bilingualism the entries taken from the embedded language Russian may also be used after phonetically appropriated according to the Bashkir speech forms. These sorts of words and word clusters borrowed via code switching are transformed so as to fit the speaker's personal language use. Ease of pronunciation may be seen as one of the major causes of this usage.

The use of code switching observed at word, word cluster and sentence level in Bashkir-Russian bilingualism has recently evolved in favor of Russian. Despite all the measures taken for the benefit of Bashkir in Bashkortostan, it is observed that the level of Bashkir usage is decreasing. On the other hand, Bashkir literary language is being kept alive through newspapers, magazines, novels, stories and the like. As long as the effort for improving the awareness for Bashkir is being exerted, the literary language in question will never face the danger of extinction.

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