

Pragmatic Features of Code-switches in Gender-oriented Glossy Magazines

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Linguists all over the world have conducted various research on how gender affects language. Code-switches, as one of the forms of bilingual speech, interact with many variables, including gender. This paper provides insights on the phenomenon of code-switches in mass media discourse, specifically in modern glossy magazines Elle and Gentlemen's Quarterly. We focus our analysis mostly on pragmatic and gender aspects. The objective of the research is to illustrate how the code-switch patterns differ by gender in terms of frequency and pragmatic use. We collected the data from two gender-oriented glossy magazines. The theoretical and conceptual background of the study is the Matrix Language Frame Model by C. Myers-Scotton and the functional classification of code-switches by G. Chirsheva. Findings indicate that code-switches in glossy magazines have eight different functions: topic-related, effort-saving, quotational, self-identification, humorous, metalinguistic, addressee-oriented and emotional. One of the major research results expressed in numerical form: journalists use twice as many code-switches in Elle in comparison to Gentlemen's Quarterly (434 and 234, respectively). The contrastive analysis has also shown that code-switches perform common and specific pragmatic functions in women-oriented and in men-oriented glossy publications.

Keywords: *bilingualism in media discourse, code-switch, glossy magazine, gender in language, pragmatic features of code-switches*

Introduction

Bilingualism is the use of two or more languages (or dialects) in everyday communication (Grosjean and Byers-Heinlein 2018, p. 5). Bilinguals can shift to another language for a word, a phrase, or a sentence. In other words, they code-switch (Grosjean and Byers-Heinlein 2018, p. 109).

Nowadays, code-switch (CS) is a recognized natural product of bilingualism in most countries (Nguyen et al. 2022, p. 1). It is the central issue of bilingual studies which attract the attention of many scholars and continue to motivate them to conduct research on language contact (Bakuuro 2020, p. 216). Most scientific papers deal with CSs in oral speech, while CSs in written discourse have only recently become a subject of increased focus (Gunko 2021, p. 142). Linguistic studies on CS consider a number of aspects: sociopragmatic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic. All these different views on CS have suggested various definitions of this phenomenon. For

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example, Grosjean states that CS is “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Grosjean 1982, p. 145). Myers-Scotton defines CS as “the selection by speakers of forms from an *embedded language* (EL) in utterances of a *matrix language* (ML) during the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 4). Gumperz describes CS as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz 1982, p. 59). For Poplack CS is “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack 1980, p. 581).

Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) elaborated the *Matrix Language Frame Model* (MLF) which describes the basic grammatical structure of bilingual clauses with CSs (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016, p. 342). The key feature of this model is that it differentiates participating languages (the ML and the EL) and types of morphemes (*content* and *system morphemes*). The ML provides the grammatical frame of the bilingual clause. The EL is inserted in the form of content elements or phrases. Content morphemes convey semantic and pragmatic meaning. They generally include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. System morphemes are inflectional affixes and some functional words. They do not receive thematic roles. The MLF also contains the *morpheme order principle* and the *system morpheme principle*. They imply that only the ML provides the morphosyntactic frame of the clause and all required system morphemes (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009, p. 338). Chirsheva and Korovushkin (2020) used the major rules and principles of this theoretical framework as the basis for their research. Other scholars have also contributed greatly to the issue of CSs in bilingual speech (e.g., Poplack 1980). The studies of above-mentioned researchers are mostly concerned with grammatical perspective, trying to define morpho-syntactic constraints on CSs (Alhourani 2018, p. 11).

Sociolinguistic approach is intended to achieve a better understanding of CSs by studying them in a social context. In general, it describes the relationship between language and society and language usage in a multilingual speech community (Wibowo et al. 2017, p. 13). Sociolinguists have always been interested in the reasons that stand behind CSs. These reasons can include social status, topics and persuasion. Sociolinguistic aspect also involves the study of CSs’ policy in multilingual states, gender differences and CS strategies in various social groups. CS deals with numerous variables like age, gender and rank (Huang et al. 2020, p. 1). Different social groups (junior/senior age; men/ women; high/ low rank) use CSs in different ways and for specific purposes (Jagero and Odongo 2011, p. 1, Huang et al. 2020, p. 1). The aim of such research on CSs (e.g., Gardner-Chloros 2009, Milroy 1987) is to find out how to identify the role of each language in the community and the motivation of the speakers to switch codes. Sociolinguists describe CSs as discourse markers which have particular functions in context (Alhourani 2018, p. 11).

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced the widely used dichotomy of *situational* vs. *metaphorical CSs*. Situational CSs refer to changes in a social background (situation, participant or setting). Metaphorical CSs occur when bilinguals shift between languages to discuss a particular topic, the setting remains the same. Gumperz (1982) made a distinction between situational and conversational CSs. The linguist defined conversational CSs as the alternating use of multiple languages within a single conversation, with the same settings or participants.

The pragmatic approach focuses on the reasons behind CS in bilinguals' conversations. Some studies show that speakers use CS for a number of purposes (e.g., Grosjean 1982) that vary from linguistic need to emotional expression (Blackburn and Wicha 2022, p. 1).

Our interest in this research is to show how gender of the target audience of glossy magazines influences the pragmatic features of CSs.

The study addresses the following research questions:

What are the most frequent pragmatic features of CSs in glossy magazines?

What are common and specific pragmatic functions of CS in women's and men's glossy magazines?

Literature Review

This theoretical review involves four sections. The first section provides a brief history of language and gender studies and focuses on the differences between women's and men's speech. The second section presents the content comparison of modern gender-oriented magazines *Elle* and *Gentlemen's Quarterly*. The third section offers a review of studies on gender-related variations in CSs. The fourth section deals with pragmatic features of CSs in bilingual speech and seeks to survey various functional classifications of CSs.

Language and Gender

Gender is one of the most important sociolinguistic categories which is distinguished from 'sex' in that sex refers to biological characteristics of man and woman and mainly connected with reproductive potential and anatomical, chromosomal and endocrinal features (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, p. 10) whereas gender includes socially acquired components and governs the behavior and the role of a person in accordance with the norms prescribed by society (McCormick 2001, p. 366).

Gender issues have a long history. They started to develop as a field of science during the second wave of feminism in the 1970s to 1980s. Researchers in most of the studies in this time period focused on asymmetry in the way women and men speak (Weatherall 2002, pp. 1–2). The key figure in language and gender research is Robin Lakoff. She firstly described gender differences in language use in the article *Language and Woman's Place* published in the journal *Language in*

Society (1973), afterwards these ideas appeared in the book with the same title (1975) which now is a classic one (Hall et al. 2021, p. 2). R. Lakoff follows a *dominance approach* to language and gender which is based on gender inequality. It means that women's subordination and men's dominance are reflected in the linguistic phenomena (Cameron 2005, p. 485). Thus, gendered language highlights unequal roles of women and men in society (Svendsen 2019, p. 1). Later Tannen in the book *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (1990) suggested the *cultural differences approach* or *two-culture theory* focused on social arrangements: during socialization, girls and boys belong to different subcultures. They learn various ways of speaking and communication (genderlects) due to their separation in the period of childhood (Cameron 2005, p. 485). The separation of children reinforces the differences in linguistic forms (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, p. 24). However, it is no longer the only reason why gender differences persist in today's language. See some more recent publications on the topic (e.g., Gracia et al 2022).

Language reflects stereotypes. Women's speech is generally polite and tentative. It indicates powerlessness and dependence (Lakoff 1973, p. 80). Women tend to be indirect, whereas men are direct. The constraint in the emotions that women and men can express intensifies imbalance (power-powerlessness) between the sexes (Lakoff 2003, pp. 162–163). We can see gender differences in suppression strategies which vary depending on the situation and emotion type (e.g., women try to suppress disgust and contempt, whereas men conceal emotions of fear and surprise). Men use problem-solving and externalizing methods, women use internalizing, social support and emotion-focused strategies (McCormick-Huhn and Shields 2016, p. 356). Women typically show politeness and have a role of patient listeners, while men are eager to interrupt and be an active interlocutor. Women more often use standard language than men do, so they are stricter with the rules of the use of language. Gender differences in politeness, rules and tradition suggest that women are supposed to be more polite than men (Gardner-Chloros 2009, Subon 2013). Women and men also choose different topics for discussion in social interaction. Women are more likely to speak about family affairs, clothes, cooking and fashion. Men are more interested in talking about politics, sports and current news (Xia 2013, p. 1487). Subon considers humour the characteristic of women's conversation. It is frequently used to express excitement and establish a closer relationship. Men do not use humour in their conversations. It can be partly explained by the topic of their conversations, which focuses mainly on occupations (Subon 2013, p. 72).

There are some expectations about the women's and men's speech behavior and the way these gender groups conduct themselves linguistically. Lakoff represented gender differences in speech in regard to lexicon items (particles, colour terms, evaluative adjectives), syntax aspects (tag-questions, hedges) and vocabulary elaboration (euphemisms) (Lakoff 1973, p. 45). She suggested the following features of women's language:

1. fillers and hedges, e.g., *kind of, rather, somewhat, you know*;
2. tag questions, e.g., *her main principle is mix & match, isn't she?*;

3. rising intonation;
4. hyper correct grammar, e.g., *speaking standard English*;
5. intensifiers and absolute superlatives, e.g., *really, very, just, so*;
6. empty adjectives, e.g., *charming*;
7. polite forms, e.g., *euphemistic substitutes, indirect speech*;
8. avoiding swear words;
9. emphatic stress, e.g., *It was an AMAZING trip!*
10. precise colours, e.g., *lavender* (Lakoff 1973).

Xia states that language reflects social variations in different marked ways concerning pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary, diminutives, syntax, manners and topics (Xia 2013, pp. 1485–1487). In general, women are better at word pronunciation than men. Women prefer to use high pitch, while men are likely to speak in a falling intonation. Women employ more interrogative sentences, especially tags (Lakoff 1975). Men prefer imperatives while women choose let-patterns. The gender-related differences in vocabulary are reflected in five aspects (colour, adjectives, adverbs, swear words and diminutives):

1. women prefer to use colour words of French origin (e.g., *lavender* and *mauve*), while men do not use them;
2. women and men tend to choose different words to express their feelings. Women use more adjectives to describe things and their feelings. Adjectives such as *charming, lovely* and *fantastic* are the specific feature to female speech.
3. women are likely to use such adverbs as *pretty, quite* and *terribly*, while men prefer *utterly* and *really*;
4. women usually avoid using swear words. They prefer to use euphemisms, while men choose slang;
5. women primarily use diminutives to express smallness or to show intimacy, tenderness or affection.

A constantly growing interest in gender aspect has started to be more apparent in linguistics in the recent decade. Gender research topics have become an interdisciplinary field. Although both men and women usually are the members of the same speech community, some variations in the usage of linguistic forms may occur (Xia 2013, p. 1485).

Gender-oriented Glossy Magazines

Glossy magazines for women and men differ in terms of topic originality. Topics for men include health, appearance, cars, politics and sport, while magazines for women deal with fashion, relationships with men, health, career, travel and celebrities' life.

Elle is a monthly women's glossy magazine about fashion and beauty, which is published in more than sixty countries around the world. *Elle* consists of several major columns: FASHION, BEAUTY, LOOK, HEALTH, CULTURE, LIFESTYLE and

RELATIONSHIPS. The central topic of *Elle* is fashion, which contains relevant industry news and reviews of the leading trends of the season. The BEAUTY column provides information about new products, expert masterclasses from make-up artists and beauty secrets of the stars. The RELATIONSHIPS column contains articles about love and psychology of family relationships. The CULTURE column presents film and music reviews, new books, as well as the fashion shows of the season. The LIFESTYLE column contains gastronomic trends and popular routes for travel.

Gentlemen's Quarterly (GQ) is a monthly men's magazine focused on men's fashion, lifestyle and entertainment. It covers such topics as style, sport, health, travelling, music, and includes the reviews of the latest films, gadgets and cars. The STYLE section provides style news, information about watches, catwalk, best buys and gives tips on how to dress best. The ENTERTAINMENT section contains information about films, music, tech, celebrities, parties and other activities for fun. The SUCCESS section describes the stories of successful people, their habits and quotes. The TRAVELLING section focuses on travel ideas, guides to destinations and vacation tips. It also discusses gastronomic issues which reflect culture and traditions of different people of the world. The WELLNESS section provides articles on fitness, health and nutrition, work out and sport. The SOCIETY section gives information about lifestyle, food, cars, art and design. *GQ WOMEN* section includes relationship ideas and dating tips.

Gender and Code-switches

Gardner-Chloros and Cheshire examined bilingual behavior in relation to gender and found no significant differences between usage of CSs by women and men regarding quantity and type, although both sexes code-switched for very different reasons. The researchers claim that CS does not correlate with gender directly, but it interacts with plenty of intervening variables which are connected with gender patterns. CSs intersect with women's discourse strategies and needs via the politeness notion (Gardner-Chloros 2009, pp. 82–84).

Gardner-Chloros and Finnis attempted to show the link between language and gender in the Greek Cypriot bilingual community. The researchers tried to determine which pragmatic functions of CSs are more typical for women and which for men. They conclude that the functions of humour, bonding and dampening directness are commonly associated with women but not exclusive to them (Gardner-Chloros 2009, p. 84).

However, Chan demonstrates that there is a big difference in the frequency of CSs used by male and female speakers during discourse. Women switch much more often than men (Chan 2012, Kane 2020, p. 126). Kane investigates gender variation in Wolof-French CSs. The research results show that female and male CSs vary in terms of frequency, types and some linguistic forms (Kane 2020, p. 122). From a linguistic point, men intentionally use non-standard language including CSs, while women prefer more standard forms even in bilingual communication (Jagero and Odongo 2011, p. 8).

Code-switches and Their Pragmatic Features

CS is a rule-governed linguistic phenomenon which can serve different functions in discourse (Barredo 2003, p. 528). This statement relies on the Gumperz's idea of *contextualization cues*. According to this notion, CS is a strategy of communication to achieve certain pragmatic functions (Benguedda 2017, p. 51). From the functional point of view, CS is a means of discourse management. The functions of CSs are multidimensional: bilinguals can use a single CS in an utterance for different reasons simultaneously. CSs in a sentence have various roles and carry interactional meaning, which can vary from a semantic one. It follows that we can understand CS's meaning only in context (Tseng and Cashman 2015, p. 1). In some cases, it is impossible to interpret CSs literally (Benguedda 2017, p. 51). CS makes the conversation more interesting and alive. When someone uses unknown and unusual words (CS) it makes the person appear to be more intelligent and educated (Puspitasari and Dewanti 2020, p. 463). In this case, the CS serves as identity expression (Tomic and Valdés Kroff 2022, p. 81)

Tan and Sumartono (2018) analyzed bilingual data and proposed twelve functions of CSs:

1. acquired terms;
2. creation of communication effect;
3. expression;
4. grammatical categories;
5. practicality;
6. proper names;
7. repetition, translation, explanation;
8. reported speech;
9. seeking affirmation, clarification;
10. temporal categories;
11. terms of affiliation;
12. topic association (Tan and Sumartono 2018, p. 116).

Auer used the following typology of CSs' pragmatic features:

1. reported speech;
2. change of participant constellation or addressee. In this case, the use of CSs helps to exclude/include someone into conversation;
3. parenthesis;
4. reiterations (for example, CSs may be used to emphasize request, to clarify information or to attract attention);
5. change of activity type;
6. topic shift;
7. language play, puns;
8. topicalization (Auer 1995, p. 120).

In the studies of bilingual children's speech, Chirsheva distinguishes twelve functions of CSs: addressee-oriented, topic-related, phatic, quotational, metalinguistic, humorous, esoteric, emotional, persuasive, effort-saving, emphasizing and self-identification (Chirsheva 2012, pp. 37–46). It should be pointed out here that the description and the analysis of CSs' pragmatic functions offered by this linguist is applied in our research. For this reason, we find it necessary to describe this functional classification in detail.

1. Addressee-oriented function

In such cases, the speaker uses CSs to specify an addressee. It means that he/she consciously selects an interlocutor who understands the chosen language. In example (1) the child walking in the park with his parents code-switches into English in order to get the father's answer more quickly.

(1) Russian-English

Ty	mne	kupish'	morozhen-oe?	Yes, daddy?
2-SG	me- DAT-SG	buy- FUT-SG	ice-cream- ACC-SG?	Yes, daddy?

'Will you buy me some ice-cream? Yes, daddy?'

2. Esoteric function

Bilinguals can exclude someone from a conversation using CSs. If speakers do not want interlocutors to know a private piece of information, they shift from one language to another. In this case, a CS serves as a form of information hiding or a secret code. Russian students of the Linguistic Department usually use English to hide the information from other people who do not know this language (2):

(2) Russian-English

Ty	kuda?	– To WC.
2-SG	where?	– To WC.

'Where are you going? – To the WC' (Chirsheva 2008, p. 74).

3. Topic-related function

The speakers introduce a new topic and use a CS when they discuss issues in another language. Students usually code-switch talking about different tasks and teaching materials:

(3) Russian-English

Na	kakoj	page	etot	tekst?
On	which-NOM-SG	page	this-ACC-SG	text-ACC-SG?

‘On which page is this text?’

4. Phatic function

CSs serve to start, continue or end a conversation. They are used for communicative and social purposes rather than giving or asking information. In example (4) the child greets the father who has just returned from a business trip. Pete code-switched from English into German because his parents approve of speaking this language.

(4) English-German

Gut-en	Tag,	dad.
Good-ACC-SG	afternoon-ACC-SG,	dad.

‘Good afternoon, dad’ (Chirsheva 2012, p. 42).

In example (5) a child wishes his father good night using an English phatic expression:

(5) Russian-English

Good night,	papa.
Good night,	father-NOM-SG.

‘Good night, father’ (Chirsheva and Korovushkin 2021, p. 108).

5. Self-identification

The speaker usually code-switches to specify his/her nationality or to demonstrate his/her foreign language proficiency. Bilingual children usually like to show off their knowledge of language:

(6) Russian-English

It’s cold.	Ya	govor-yu	po-anglijsk-i,	kak	papa.
It’s cold.	1-SG	speak-PR-1SG	English,	as	father-NOM-SG.

‘It’s cold. I speak English as my father’ (Chirsheva and Korovushkin 2021, p. 108).

Russian bilingual children often speak a foreign language consciously with their monolingual grandparents because they are sure that elder relatives understand nothing. In such situations, CS as a self-identification tool helps children to identify

themselves as a particular kind of people who know not only a native language. Bilingual children are proud of knowing a second language and try to show their ability to communicate in different languages.

6. Metalinguistic function

In bilingual children's speech this function occurs when they teach someone a foreign language. Bilinguals code-switch to explain the meaning of foreign words or to estimate someone's attempt to speak another language. For example, Misha heard his younger brother called him Mike and praised him using CS (7):

(7) Russian-English

Pravil'n-o – **Mike.**

Correct-ADV – Mike.

'Mike is correct' (Chirsheva and Korovushkin 2021, p. 107).

7. Quotational function

A code switch can be a quotation or an aphorism. For example, Russian bilingual children may repeat lines from English poems, cartoons or films.

(8) Russian-English

Kak v pesn-e: **We wish you a merry Christmas!**

Like in song-PR-SG We wish you a merry Christmas!

'Like in the *We wish you a merry Christmas* song!'

8. Humorous function

The speaker uses a CS as a tool which makes the interlocutors smile or even laugh. Jokes and having fun are made possible by including foreign-language units in speech. The speaker plays with morphemes or words of two languages and creates bilingual puns:

(9) Russian-English

Bread siv-oj koby-l-y!

Bread grey-GEN-SG mare-GEN-SG!

'This is total hogwash!' (Chirsheva 2008, p. 69).

In the example (9) in the Russian idiomatic phrase the word ‘bred’ with the meaning of ‘nonsense’ is replaced with the English word ‘bread’ which sounds alike.

9. Emotional function

The speaker uses a CS to express feelings and emotions. Bilinguals often use various emotional interjections from different languages. For example, the Russian bilingual child experiencing unexpected pain exclaimed: “**Ouch**” (Chirsheva 2012, p. 44). The following situation shows how duplication of morphological structures can increase indignation: Sasha made a house out of cubes but suddenly it broke down. Then the boy exclaimed: “Net! **No!**” (Chirsheva and Korovushkin 2021, p. 109). If words are associated with something unpleasant and embarrassing or they have bad connotations, the speaker/writer uses inoffensive expressions which do not cause an uncomfortable effect (Lakoff 1973, p. 57). In this case, CSs replace potentially rude phrases in a form of euphemisms.

10. Persuasive function

The speaker wants to influence someone’s behavior or tell the other what to do. A CS serves as a request, a command, a persuasion. Sasha was playing and his father called him for dinner: Sasha objected switching into English in order to make his request more convincing (10):

(10) Russian-English

Ya	eshche	ne	doigr-a-l.	One time!
1-SG	Yet	not	finish-PST-SG.	One time!

‘I haven’t finished playing yet. One time!’

11. Effort-saving function

A CS may express the referent more briefly than the words of the native language. For example, the English word ‘use’ appears in the synopsis of students of the Linguistic Department more often than the Russian word with the similar meaning ‘ispol’zovat’ (Chirsheva 2012, p. 46).

12. Emphasizing function

The speaker highlights a communicative core of an utterance using CS. The theme is represented in the ML, while the rheme is expressed in the EL. However, in later works G. Chirsheva excludes this function because it is focused on textual division (Chirsheva 2017). In our paper we always do not take into account

emphatic function as it is mostly connected with principles of organizing the message rather than the pragmatic features of CSs.

Materials and Methods

The present study focuses on CSs in the media discourse. The aim of the paper is to describe the pragmatic aspect of CSs in popular fashion magazines *Elle* and *GQ* published between 2012-2016.

The Russian-English corpus of the data consists of two gender-oriented fashion magazines (*Elle* and *GQ*) of different editions: *Elle* Russia (eleven issues), *Elle* USA (four issues), *GQ* Russia (eleven issues), *GQ* USA (four issues). The publications include the issues dated: April 2012, September 2013, February 2014, May 2015, June 2015, July 2015, August 2015, September 2015, March 2016, May 2016, September 2016 (*Elle* Russia and *GQ* Russia); May 2015, June 2015, September 2015, September 2016 (*Elle* USA and *GQ* USA). 668 examples of CSs are taken from 30 issues of glossy magazines using continuous selection methodology; 434 units are extracted from *Elle* and 234 units are taken from *GQ*.

All elements from the EL in the examples appear in bold. We follow interlinear morphemic glossing of examples with CSs using the general principles of the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

The analysis of CSs is based on a mixed-method approach which involves the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. This process consists of the following stages:

1. Looking for the CSs in women's and men's glossy magazines (the data collection process).
2. Distinguishing CSs in women's and in men's magazines.
3. Classifying CSs according to their pragmatic function.
4. Describing the pragmatic features of CSs in women's and men's glossy magazines.
5. Analyzing the CSs according to their pragmatic functions.
6. Comparing the pragmatic features of CSs in relation to the gender orientation of glossy magazines.

In this study, we use key terms of the Matrix Language Frame Model by Myers-Scotton and analyze CSs according to the classification of pragmatic features of CSs by Chirsheva.

Results

The data outlined in Table 1 points to use twice as many CSs used by *Elle* journalists in comparison to *GQ* ones. 434 CSs were recorded in women's magazines whereas 234 CSs were found in men's magazines. Furthermore, we found seven pragmatic features of CSs in *Elle* and eight in *GQ*.

Table. 1 *The Pragmatic Features of Code-switches in Gender-oriented Glossy Magazines*

Pragmatic Feature	<i>Elle</i>		<i>GQ</i>	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Topic-related	264	60	125	54
Effort-saving	66	15	17	7
Emotional	54	13	13	6
Self-identification	19	4	29	12
Metalinguistic	16	4	22	9
Quotational	14	3	7	3
Humorous	-	-	17	7
Addressee-related	1	1	4	2
Total	434	100	234	100

1. Topic-related function

Data from Table 1 also show that the topic-related function is the most frequent pragmatic feature of CSs in both magazines. Examples 1a, 1b and 1c illustrate this.

(1a) Russian-English

Fashion -hit-y	sezon-a	osen'-zima
Fashion-trend-s	season-	autumn-winter-
PL/MASC/NOM	MASC/SG/GEN	FEM/SG/ACC

'Fashion-trends of the autumn-winter season.' (Elle №9, 2015: 6).

In (1a) the CS into English has an equivalent in the ML. In this example, it represents the topic 'fashion'.

(1b) Russian-English

Tele-sn-aja	pomad-a –	let-n-ij	makeup -hit
Carnation-	lipstick-	summer-	makeup-trend
FEM/SG/NOM	FEM/SG/NOM	MASC/SG	MASC/SG

'Carnation lipstick is a summer makeup trend' (Elle №7, 2015: 24).

In (1b) CS is associated with the topic of the magazine section 'beauty'. In both (1a) and (1b) topic-related function combines with persuasive. CSs (**fashion**-hit, **makeup**-hit) are sale-boosting words which encourage readers to buy trendy clothes or cosmetics. In general, *Elle* mostly provides information about fashion and beauty. It explains the prevalence of CSs connected with these topic issues.

Magazine for men mostly discusses politics, cars and sport. These topics trigger CS in *GQ*:

(1c) Russian-English

4 režim-a	pod-ves-k-i:	Street, Sport, Offroad	i	Comfort
4 regimes-	suspension-	Street, Sport, Offroad	and	Comfort
MASC/PL/GEN	FEM/SG/GEN			

‘There are 4 regimes of suspension: Street, Sport, Offroad and Comfort’ (GQ 2015, №8: 62).

In example (1c) all CSs into English represent the topic ‘cars’.

Thus, in *Elle* CSs typically reflect the topic of ‘fashion’ and ‘beauty’ while in men’s magazine *GQ* they generally represent the topic of ‘sport’ and ‘cars’.

2. Effort-saving function

Some of the examples of the effort-saving function are given below in 2a and 2b.

(2a) Russian-English

Hajlajter –	must- have	osen-n-ego	seson-a.
Highlighter–	must-have	autumn-	season-
MASC/SG/NOM		MASC/SG	MASC/SG.

‘Highlighter is a must-have of the autumn season’ (Elle 2015, №8: 62).

(2b) English-French

Crudités	are simple as shirt to prep.
Sliced vegetable-PL/NOM	are simple as shirt to prep.

‘Sliced vegetables are simple as shirt to prep’ (GQ №6, 2015: 66).

In both examples (2a) and (2b) CSs appear to be shorter than the units of the ML.

3. Emotional function

In *Elle* CSs quite often occur to express the emotional state or to show positive or negative attitude.

(3a) Russian-English

Na-posled-ok	za-ver-i-l,	rezul’tat	bud-et	wow!
Finally,	claimed-	result-	be-	wow!
	PAST/MASC/SG	MASC/SG/NOM	FUT/SG	

‘Finally, he claimed that there would be a wow result’ (Elle №5, 2016: 329).

In example (3a) the CS is an interjection which shows the impression of the character. It signifies astonishment and amusement.

(3b) English-German

‘The results are strong yet graceful silhouettes, like this **über** sexy, slimy tailored navy tuxedo created exclusively for ELLE’ (Elle №8, 2015: 422).

In (3b) the CS into German demonstrates a positive attitude towards tuxedos, tailored especially for *Elle*.

(3c) Russian-English

Obo-zv-a-li	model’ju	plus size.
Call-PAST/3 RD /PL	model-FEM/SG/INSTR	plus size

‘They called me a plus size model’ (Elle №5, 2015: 100).

In example (3c) CS plays a role of a euphemism, whereby the expression ‘plus size’ is used instead of ‘fat’ that may sound offensive. The journalist used the said figure of speech because this concept might make the character uncomfortable.

(4c) English-Italian

Joy Williams’s influential and long-revered body of work jubilantly defies the pigeonholing that can shadow artists, in particular women **di una certa età**. ‘Joy Williams’s influential and long-revered body of work jubilantly defies the pigeonholing that can shadow artists, in particular senior women’ (Elle №9, 2015: 440).

In (4c) the CS into Italian is a euphemism which is used instead of elderly/old women.

Emotional CSs in men’s glossy magazines usually refer to swearing.

(4d) Russian-English

F-f-ak!	ja	šl’jop-a-ju	knig-u	na	stol.
F-f-uck!	I	throw-PRES/SG	book-ACC/SG	on	table.

‘F-f-uck! I am throwing a book on the table’ (GQ 2015, №8: 36).

In (4c) the CS is a swear word. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet provides a significant effect because the words in this form lose their original graphics which give them the visual alienation from their English equivalent.

(4e) Russian-English

On	is-pol'zu-et	bolee	jadrjon-oe	slove-chk-o	fucker.
2-SG	use-	more	vigorous-	word-	fucker.
	PRES/3 RD /SG		NEUT/SG	NEUT/SG/ACC	

'He uses more vigorous word fucker' (GQ 2016, №9: 154).

(4f) Russian-English

Ja	mog-u	skazat':	"Echo, fuck you!"
1SG	can-PRES/SG	say-PRES/SG:	"Echo, fuck you!"

'I can say: Echo, fuck you!' (GQ 2016, №9: 117).

The CSs into English in both (4e) and (4f) are swearing. The journalists use CSs because they sound less offensive than their equivalents in the ML.

Women have always been considered more emotional than men. Thus, emotional type of CSs in glossy magazines for women are often euphemisms or interjections, while we rarely found such CSs in *GQ*. In men's glossy magazines the emotional CSs are often rude expressions.

5. Metalinguistic function

There is a close connection of this CSs' function with the metalinguistic function of the language. It deals with defining the language itself in order to give some information to readers, explain the meaning of a particular word.

(5a) English-French

That is why the expression "**Cherchez la femme**" – which literally means "look for the woman" – makes so much sense as the wittily subversive tagline for ELLE (ELLE №5, 2015: 264).

(5b) English-German

Following doctor's orders, he began to record his positive thoughts in what he called a **glückstagesbuch** – roughly translated as a "happiness diary" (GQ №9, 2016: 162).

In (5a) and (5b) the author includes translations for the CSs into French and German in the sentences. The French expression 'Cherchez la femme' means 'look for the woman' and a word in German 'glückstagesbuch' means 'happiness diary'.

6. Self-identification

(6a) English-Italian

For Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana, **la famiglia** is everything

‘For Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana, the family is everything’ (Elle №5, 2015: 138).

(6b) English-German

And my **brudder**, he seemed to say.

‘And my brother, he seemed to say’ (GQ №6, 2015: 161).

In example (6a) the CS into Italian indicates the nationality of Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana. In (6b) the CS into German also specifies the nationality of the character.

7. Quotational function

(7a) Russian-English

“ Shine bright like a diamond! ”	vtor-jat	dizajner-y	hit-u
“Shine bright like a diamond!”	sing along- PRES/PL	designers- MASC/ PL/NOM	hit- MASC /SG/DAT

‘Shine bright like a diamond!’ – designers sing along to the hit’ (Elle №5, 2015: 53).

In (7a) CS into English is a line from the famous Rihanna’s song.

(7b) Russian-Thai-English

“ Maj pen raj ”	ili,	Kak	pel	Bob Marli	Don't worry, be happy.
“Mai pen rai”	or	As	sang- PAST/3 RD /SG	Bob Marley	Don't worry, be happy.

‘Mai pen rai’, or as Bob Marley sang Don't worry, be happy.’ (Elle №6, 2015: 180).

There are two CSs in (7b). ‘Mai pen rai’ is a Thai quotation which means ‘never mind’. In this sense it relates to the Thai cultural belief that people do not have much control over things. The CS into English has the same meaning as the Thai phrase.

5. Humorous function

CSs in men’s glossy magazines quite often create a comic effect.

(8a) Russian-French

Potom	oni	k	vam,	potom	lja	vodka	lja	seljodka
Then	they-	to	you-	then	la	vodka-	la	herring-
	NOM/PL		DAT/PL			FEM/SG		FEM/SG

‘Then they will come to you, then you will speak about vodka and herring’ (GQ 2015, №8: 39).

The journalist creates the comic effect in (8a) by adding the French definite article ‘la’ which is used before the Russian words, reflecting the specifics of Russian culture: the traditional alcoholic drink and traditional snack for it. In addition, the journalist mocks the characters of the articles and their low level of proficiency in the French language: a) the use of articles of French origin in the Cyrillic script; b) the absence of French words in the sentence except the definite articles.

(8b) Russian-English

My	pri-eha-l-i	iz	Moskv-y	rož-at’.	Džast biznes.
We	came-	from	Moscow-	give birth-	Just business.
	PAST/PL		FEM/SG/GEN	INF	

‘We came from Moscow to give birth. Just business’ (GQ 2015, №7: 31).

In (8b) the CS is used to express ridicule: the journalist sneers at people with poor English language proficiency who use inappropriate English words while speaking to demonstrate their language skills.

6. Addressee-oriented function

(9a) Russian-English

Nu,	kak	dela,	love?
So	how	thing-ACC-PL	love?

‘So, how are you, love?’ (Elle №3, 2016: 222).

(9b) English-French

Oh, my God,” says Line.	Mon	frère.
Oh, my God,” says Line.	My-MASC/SG	brother-MASC/SG.

‘Oh, my God,” says Line. My brother’ (GQ №9, 2015: 184).

In (9a) and (9b) CSs specify the addressee of the utterance. In (9a) it is a girlfriend, in (9b) the brother of the character.

The contrastive analysis of CSs in bilingual data reveals that gender affects the amount of CSs and their pragmatic features. The findings indicate that in both *Elle* and *GQ* journalists use CSs. However, the total number of code-switched

instances in woman-oriented magazines exceed approximately twice the quantity of CSs used in men-oriented publications. Our research results are similar to Chan (2012) and Kane (2020) who suggest gender variation in bilingual data. However, the findings contradict the previous study indicating that there is no significant gender difference in CSs (e.g., Gardner-Chloros 2009).

We have distinguished 8 pragmatic functions of CSs in glossy magazines: topic-related, effort-saving, metalinguistic, emotional, quotational, humorous, addressee-oriented, self-identification. The results confirm a number of distinctions in CSs usage in women's and men's glossy magazines. The most common pragmatic function of CSs in women's and men's glossy magazines is topic-related. In *Elle* the topics of 'fashion' and 'beauty' are more likely to appear, while in *GQ* it is 'sport' and 'cars.' In women's glossy magazines, journalists often use CSs to make bilingual sentences shorter and more concise. In men's magazines, CSs help journalists to show their language proficiency. In *Elle* CSs are often used to express emotions and feelings, while in *GQ* they create a comic effect. The women's emotionality can explain the dominance of emotional CSs in magazines for this gender group. Generally, such CSs are euphemisms and interjections. In glossy magazines for men, CSs rarely help to show feelings, however, they often have a negative connotation. CSs as quotations are usually a specific feature to glossy magazines for women than for men as proverbs and sayings make female speech emotional. In men's magazines journalists use CSs to express irony which includes humour as an accompanying component of ironic phrases (Knežević 2011, p. 229). B. Benwell claims that irony is a prominent feature of magazines for men which is strategically used as a partial constitution of a specific masculine identity (Benwell 2004, p. 3).

Conclusion

The study deals with the pragmatic features of CSs in Russian and English gender-oriented glossy magazines *Elle* and *GQ*. The research results support the existence of gender differences in CSs in glossy magazines for men and for women in terms of quantity and pragmatic functions. Gender variations are significant in the amount of CSs: the number of CSs in *Elle* is approximately twice as many as in *GQ*. The study also indicates that topic-related function predominates in both glossy magazines. However, different topics trigger CSs in women- and men-oriented publications. It has also been confirmed that emotional function is unique to women-oriented magazines, while humorous feature is specific to men-oriented glossy publications.

Bilingual studies investigate CSs in different aspects creating original research agenda which is mostly focused on the interaction of different variables (Kastrati 2019, p. 296). Overall, our research contributes to the field of gender and pragmatic analysis of CSs in bilingual speech (Jagero and Odongo 2011, Chan 2012, Huang et al. 2020, Kane 2020). The gender dimension of our research can offer insights into the perspectives of conducting a sociolinguistic study focused on ethnicity and age. We consider comparing CSs in age-related glossy magazines (e.g., *Elle* and

Elle Girl) and in editions of *Elle* in different countries including *Elle RUS*, *Elle USA* and *Elle UK*).

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