Code-switching in The Wire

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Abstract

TV-serier har befestet seg som en av de viktigste massekonsumerte underholdningsproduktene på 2000-tallet. Kvalitetsproduksjoner søker å fremstille et miljø så virkelighetsnært som mulig, og tiden for stereotypiske, endimensjonale karakterer satt i virkelighetsfjerne settinger virker å ta mindre plass i underholdningshverdagen. Språkbruk har en nøkkelrolle i karakterbyggingsprosessen da dette umiddelbart lar seeren gjøre seg opp meninger om sosial status, intelligens og væremåte. Målet for denne studien er å undersøke språkbruken i en av de mest kritikerroste TV-seriene i moderne tid, *The Wire*. En svært fremtredende kvalitetene ved dette produktet er nettopp språkbruken, da spesielt tilstedeværelsen av afro-amerikansk engelsk. Gjennom hip-hop musikk har denne språkvarianten og kulturen den representerer fått en særstilling i vestlig ungdomskultur, med klare assosiasjoner til opprørske holdninger. Gjennom produksjoner som *The Wire* når denne språkvarianten nå et bredt publikum.

Denne oppgaven er skrevet innen det lingvistiske fagfeltet *code-switching*, som undersøker bytter mellom språk, dialekter eller språkvarianter. Denne oppgaven tar ikke sikte på dra paralleller til funn i studier der naturalistiske data er brukt, men forsøker å fortelle hvordan bytter fra standard engelsk til afro-amerikansk engelsk og vice versa er fordelt i talen til karakterer av ulike raser og sosiale strata i et underholdningsprodukt.

All tale fra seks karakterer er inkludert i analysen, tre hvite og tre afro-amerikanske karakterer. Disse er videre delt inn i tre samfunnslag, underklasse, middelklasse og overklasse, og målet ved denne studien er å undersøke hvordan bruken av to språkvarieteter, standard engelsk og afro-amerikansk engelsk er fremstilt i karakterer av både ulik rase og klasse. En rekke eksterne faktorer er også inkludert i analysen. Funnene støtter i stor grad opp om hypotesene, da det viser seg at afro-amerikanere bytter hyppigere mellom de to varietetene, og at en karakters samfunnslag også i stor grad påvirker mengden av varietetbytter. Hypotesene knyttet til eksterne faktorer blir delvis støttet i funnene, da karakterer i ulik grad er påvirket av disse.

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Abbreviations

AA	Afro-American
AAVE	Afro-American Vernacular English
CS	Code-switching
GA	General American
SE	Standard English

Orthographic conventions

Episodes are referred to in the following format: S01E01. "S01" indicates *season 1*, "E01" indicates *episode 1*. When referring directly to the variables and values used in the analysis, double quotation marks are used.

'Come Friday, me and my niggers done sold all that shit off you come past and get paid. That's how I'm at with it.

Hey, Frog. I don't know how to tell you this without hurting you deeply. First of all, you happen to be white.'

1 INTRODUCTION

The Wire, one of the most critically acclaimed TV shows of the 2000's, takes a gritty view on the streets of Baltimore, where the war on drugs is depicted through the eyes of lawmen and criminals alike. To most viewers, a new language variety is introduced: Afro-American Vernacular English (AAVE). '[T]he street argot spoken by its characters – most of whom are black American drug dealers and street-wise detectives – has left many viewers straining to make sense of the dialogue' (The Independent, accessed 17 August 2012). As the show progresses most strata of society are portrayed, and mayors and low-level drug dealers alike become central characters. The linguistic behavior of characters in different social strata will at times differ greatly. Consider the following passages:

(1) And these people that I share the stage with tonight are here as representative of the hundreds, no, the thousands of citizens without shelter, without protection, in this city tonight. Why does this have to be? Certainly, the last seven years have not brought the same levels of federal commitment to American cities as from previous administrations. And certainly, our governor has in the last year placed severe restrictions on whatever stopgap state programs were in place.

Here, the newly elected Mayor, a Caucasian male in his early 40's, is making a public appearance, using a highly formal Standard English (SE). Now consider the following dialogue, including an Afro-American male in his 20's, (A), and two Afro-American teens (B) and (C):

- (2) A: This look like money, motherfucker? Money be green. Money feel like money. That shit look green to you?
 - B: It got a dead fucking president on it.
 - A: I don't give a fuck about the president. That shit ain't money.
 - C: He ain't no president.
 - A: What you mean?
 - C: Hamilton. He ain't no president.
 - A: Nigger, is you crazy? Ain't no ugly-ass white man get his face on no legal motherfucking tender except he president.

It is a stark contrast, and a contrast that sparked the idea for this thesis. These two varieties both have a strong presence in the series, and the initial idea was to examine the use of AAVE in the series and compare the range and accuracy of the features to AAVE grammars. However, Trotta and Blyahher (2011) covered this angle in their article '*Game done changed*: A look at selected AAVE features in the TV series *The Wire*', but a new and interesting approach was developed as a point of departure for this thesis. Having previously watched the show, it was clear that these two varieties, SE and AAVE, were not used separately. Rather, they formed a continuum where lexical items and grammatical structures from variety A and B to various degrees could appear alongside each other in characters' speech. SE and AAVE became the two varieties to be examined within a *code-switching* (CS) framework, a term that will be explained in chapter 2.

As viewers came to struggle with AAVE, characters most familiar with the SE variety are also shown struggle with the this variety. The following excerpt is from a classroom setting, where a Caucasian teacher, (A), is presenting an ancient Greek play, written in very formal SE. (B) and (C) are adolescent Afro-American students:

- (3) A: (...)to return to his home one last...Calvin, pick it up.
 - B: To return to his home one last time before his punishment. He denies the request until Damon inter...
 - A: Intercedes.
 - B: And offers his own life until Pythias returns.
 - A: Good. Who wants to guess what "intercedes" means? What about "plea"? (silence) OK. What about the story, then? (silence) How would you summarize it? Duquan, give it a shot.
 - C: According to the text. Everybody's safe in the end, right?
 - A: Let's think this through. According to the text, Damon offers his own life on behalf of Pythias so that he can return home one last time. The above-stated facts have led me to conclude that Damon values Pythias' friendship and loyalty. Any questions? (silence)

The next example is a telephone conversation between two Afro-American drug dealers, (A) and (B), which two Afro-American detectives, (D) and (E), and one Caucasian detective (C), are listening to:

- (4) A: Yo, where he at?
 - B: Who you mean?
 - A: Cheese, I'm lookin' for Cheese, man.
 - B: Nigga, you ain't supposed to be droppin' names an' shit. Ain't you got no sense?
 - A: I ain't say shit about shit, man. I'm jus' lookin' to get together with the man. Need to see him about nuthin' at all.
 - B: So he be where he be, fool.
 - A: Is he at the place that we was at? 'Cause I'm lookin' to, you know, saddle up and then put another bat on this motherfucker. He need to feel with me today or I'ma take it to someone who can handle them, man. It's nothin' you let him know.
 - B: Ait.

The discussion that follows is between three the detectives, trying to decode the telephone conversation.

- (5) C: "Saddle up an' put another bat on the motherfucker?"
 - D:"Settle" up and put another "bet". But what was that last part?
 - E: Man said, "he need to deal with me today or I'ma take it to someone who can handle them."
 - D: Girl, you do have an ear.

As shown here, the Caucasian detective struggles to identify the words used by the AAVE users under surveillance. The Afro-American male detective corrects him, but he has neither understood the conversation. Casually, the third detective, an Afro-American female, interrupts the discussion and summarizes the phone call. These different levels of understanding tell us that AAVE competence is not necessarily linked to being an Afro-American. Furthermore, it shows that Caucasians are at times unable to identify not only the meaning, they are also unable to understand the words uttered in AAVE constructions. Many terms used by the drug-dealers must be said to belong to a sub-code of AAVE, making it uninterpretable even for the Afro-American male placed in the middle social stratum.

1.1 Real life vs. Fiction

Using data from a scripted TV series can certainly not be equated with using data collected from natural speech. No matter how it compares to reality it is still a fictional product. These entertainment products are, however, what sculpt the consumer's idea of an unknown reality. A twenty year old Norwegian who has never been to New York City would not be lost for words if asked 'What do you think life is like in New York?' or 'How would you characterize the inhabitants of New York?' Reading a magazine article, listening to certain musical artists, watching a movie set in New York or listening to a friend's holiday stories; all contribute to creating a mental image of New York life and its people. Some of the most influential agents in this regard are TV shows. Friends, Sex and the City, Gossip Girl, NYPD Blue and CSI NY are of the more popular fictional shows that have introduced viewers around the globe to their version of New-York life. Reality shows have added another dimension in recent years. Examining fiction thus becomes an examination of the consumer's constructed reality. Timm's (1978) findings in her study of French-Russian CS in Tolstoy's War and Peace would not necessarily match findings in natural speech data from Russian aristocracy, but both convergence and congruence are interesting as it tells us to which degree the author has portrayed this phenomenon accurately.

Lippi-Green's (1997) study of Disney animated movies showed how accents are used to portray characters and underline character traits. This can certainly be found in TV series and movies too. Consider the accents of Arnold Schwarzenegger in the *Terminator* movies or the butler Geoffrey in the sit-com *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, and how these are with ease set apart from General American (GA) speaking cast. CS can be viewed as another linguistic field that plays a role when creating a character. A show with a heterogeneous cast, such as the group of Caucasian middle-class young professionals we find in *Friends*, can be expected to subscribe to a GA norm. American-Italian Joey Tribbiani uses, however, Italian words or phrases at times. Upset with his friend, he yells '*Vafanapoli, eh*??' (Youtube ¹, accessed 23 November 2012) as he storms out of a coffee shop. This is obviously used for comedic effect, but it also tells the viewer that the character has an Italian-American heritage.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The cast of *The Wire* is anything but socially and racially heterogeneous, and this thesis aims to explore the use of CS in characters of both races in the low, mid and high social strata. The research questions used to investigate CS in *The Wire* are the following.

- 1) How does code-switching differ across race and within the races' social strata?
- 2) How does base code use differ across race and within the races' social strata?
- 3) How does a change in speaker affect influence CS?
- 4) How do the physical setting and action affect code-switching?
- 5) How do and interpersonal relations affect code-switching?

The hypotheses that accompany these research questions are related to the variables used in the analysis, which will elaborated on in chapter 3. A lengthy discussion of speaker accommodation theory is not included in this thesis as it would stray from the overarching theme, however, some hypotheses do have clear connections to this field. Johnstone (2002) discusses the social aspect of CS using the terms *power* and *solidarity* to explain the mechanisms behind language negotiation and accommodation. 'Power has to do with the respects in which relationships are asymmetrical (...). Solidarity has to do with the relatively symmetrical aspects of human relationships' (2002:112). Variables related to interpersonal relationships are derived from this quote, and both power relationships and degree of closeness in personal relationships will be examined. 'Power comes with social status' (ibid:113), and an examination of CS in the social hierarchy, ranging from the low to the high social stratum, is also included in this study. These themes are also discussed by Meyerhoff (2006), where she uses an AAVE/SE example that summarizes a central topic in this thesis: 'A speaker of Afro-American Vernacular English (AAVE) may know that when applying for a building permit to add an extension on their house, things may simply go a lot faster if they switch into Standard American English (...) when they are talking to the White clerk at City Hall' (2006:115-16). Some hypotheses stem from the topic discussed in this quote, examining how 'speakers may conceptualize the relationship between location, addressee and in-group identity in different ways' (ibid:117). Gardner-Chloros discusses how CS is often paired with humor (2009:110), and Myers-Scotton and Ury how anger is often expressed when codeswitching (1977:11). A hypothesis related to a change in speaker affect is derived from this.

The two main categories of variables included here are addressee-based or domainbased/situational code-switching (Mayerhoff 2006:116).

- AA characters will code-switch more and use AAVE as base code more frequently than Caucasians.
- 2) Switching and AAVE base code use will decrease the higher the social stratum of the speaker.
- 3) Switching will occur more frequently in less formal actions and settings.
- 4) Scenes including a change in speaker affect will be accompanied by a higher percentage of switching than scenes where no such change occurs.
- 5) Switching will occur more frequently when characters address AA characters as opposed to Caucasian characters.
- 6) Switching will increase the closer the interpersonal relationship is.
- Switching will increase from asymmetrical upwards to downwards power relationships.

1.3 Thesis structure

Chapter 2 presents an overview of AAVE grammar, phonology and lexicon, with an emphasis on the former category. A discussion of CS theory follows, narrowing it to a sociolinguistic perspective, discussing opposing frameworks and setting CS apart from similar linguistic phenomena. Chapter 3 gives an outline of the show and the five seasons, discusses its creators, the data used in this thesis, the six chosen characters and how the analysis was conducted. The variables used in the analysis are presented through tables in chapter 4, where a discussion of the hypotheses and a discussion of character portrayal follows. Chapter 5 summarizes, concludes and presents ideas for future research.

2. THEORY

The theoretical foundation for this thesis demands the examination of two different topics, AAVE and code-switching. Section 2.1 discusses AAVE in a macrolinguistic context, AAVE in TV and movies, 2.2 the grammatical features that set AAVE apart from SE. Section 2.3 gives a brief outline the main categories in AAVE's lexical inventory. Section 2.4 deals with code-switching, where the historical development is discussed, main strands within the field, different theoretical frameworks, and finally the framework I have used in this thesis.

2.1 AAVE

Trotta and Blyahher (2011) present central AAVE grammatical features used in *The Wire* in their paper "*Game done changed*: A look at selected AAVE features in the TV series *The Wire*". The following presentation of AAVE features cannot avoid having resemblances to this article, both structurally and in content. An up to date collection of AAVE lexical items and expressions can be found in Smitherman (2000), which is used as the main work of reference when analyzing the data. Trotta and Blyahher subscribe to the categories used by Green (2002), where *people, money* and *actions* (in particular criminal actions or activities) constitute the three main categories the lexicon is divided into.

2.1.1 AAVE in America

Considering the vast distances from coast to coast, North to South, it is remarkable how uniform AAVE is across the United States. Smitherman offers a simple and concise explanation: 'Black Talk crosses boundaries of age, gender, region, religion and social class because it all comes from the same source: the African American Experience and the oral tradition embedded in this experience' (2000:1). Slavery and the subsequent fight for equal rights that lasted well into the previous century created a deeply rooted sense of 'an underlying uniformity among Blacks' (ibid:2). This historical and cultural feature of Afro-American America is still a from-the-outside-looking-in domain to mainstream America. Following a speech Barack Obama gave at an NAACP function, a Fox News anchor asked the guest 'What was going on with the accent that he was affecting? I thought that was just weird!' The Afro-American guest answered that 'He has embedded himself in African-

American culture and he's been accepted and embraced by the African-American community' (Youtube 2 , accessed 23 November 2012). Associated Press was labeled racist when omitting several word-final *g*'s when transcribing the speech (Yahoo News, accessed 23 November 2012). This is an emotionally charged topic that demands finesse if you want to keep within the socially accepted boundaries.

The uniformity, and certainly the amount of crossover terms into mainstream English, can at least partially be explained by the absorption of Afro-American music, where rap and R n'B in particular are now potent forces in the music industry, as soul and jazz once were (Smitherman 2000). Donnell Alexander (1997) offers his thought on the adoption of AAVE terms and phrases into mainstream America: 'Cool, the basic reason blacks remain in the American cultural mix is an industry of style that everyone in the world can use. It's making something out of nothing. It's the nigga metaphor. And nigga metaphor is the genius of AMVE features reinforce the status of AAVE as cultural phenomenon within Afro-American America, as 'imitation is often considered the highest form of compliment' (Claerbaut 1972: in Smitherman 2000:28), it is an obvious explanation as to why AAVE features can be found in Caucasians' speech.

Certain features, such as *aint* and habitual *be*, are, however, not unique to AAVE. (Green 2002:53) Southern English in particular must be taken into consideration when dealing with e.g *aint* in Caucasian speech. The Southern English past tense paradigm for *be* can be uniform as in AAVE, exemplified by Tennessean Dolly Pardon, stating 'I started that show in 1967, so you *was* a tiny little thing' on the talk show *The Colbert Report* (Colbert Nation, accessed 29 November, 2012) Habitual *be* found in Hiberno English must be said to be a weaker connection in this context. A historical relation between AAVE and Hiberno English habitual *be* is refuted by Green (2002:54). *Be* and *bes* have been documented among Caucasians in the Carolinas (Montgomery and Mishoe 1999:246), but even if they can denote the habitual aspect as in AAVE, they differ in other aspects (see Green 2002).

2.1.3 AAVE in film and TV

Sit-coms such as *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air, Martin, The Chris Rock Show* and films such as *Friday, Boyz n the Hood* and *Menace II Society* are recent commercial successes that reached wide audiences, featuring renowned actors like Cuba Gooding Jr. and Will Smith. African-American life and culture is no longer used solely for comedic effect or ridicule, as it often

was in the dark era of racial discrimination in the US (Green 2002:204-205). Language plays a central role in building characters, a feature that is underlined in e.g. *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, where an adolescent male from a low socio-economic background moves in with his aunt's educated and wealthy family and a clear contrast is constructed not only between Caucasian and Afro-American characters, but within the socio-economic Afro-American range. Green discusses which features of AAVE are commonly used in order to convey a character's familiarity with Afro-American culture or as a tool to 'represent blackness' (201:2002). A prime example of AAVE being used not only a marker of *blackness*, but also for comedic effect, is found in *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, where Will uses copula deletion and multiple negation:

(6) Uncle Phil: Carlton, you know we can afford this; you're the one who helped me invest! My money makes money. We're rich!
Carlton: That's right, we are rich.
Will: If we so rich...
[*Camera pans up to reveal the studio lights*]
Will: ...why we ain't got no ceiling?

(Youtube ³, accessed 12 February, 2013)

The copula deletion in particular serves as an easy-access route to the audience perception of AAVE, but can, however, be used ungrammatically. Green discusses the frequent use of invariant *be*, also pointing out several uses that are ungrammatical, and how "the marker is associated with the inner city and language used by African Americans in that environment" (2002:214). "The lingo of hip-hop" (2002:201) is another tool that is frequently used. Paired with the fact that several rappers have become movie stars, Ludacris, Ice T, Ice Cube and 50 Cent to mention some, it is clear that their presence in mainstream entertainment further enhances the attempts of authentic portrayals of Afro-American culture and language.

2.2 AAVE grammatical features

2.2.1 Verbs

The use of *be* is one of the most salient features of AAVE, and a feature that must stand out to any viewer of *The Wire*. AAVE and SE conventions differs greatly and *be* is also frequently used in speech. *Be* must be further broken down as it has many functions and diverges from SE when used as a copular, an auxiliary and when denoting habitual aspect. Stressed *been/BIN*, the present tense paradigm, verbal markers and negation will also be dealt with.

2.2.2 Copular/auxiliary be

AAVE copular *be* is a feature that has been thoroughly studied. 'AAVE copula is a showcase variable in American dialectology and quantitative sociolinguistics' (Rickford 1999:62). In the hallmark publication 'Language in the Inner City, Studies in the Black English Vernacular', Labov introduces his in-depth analysis of the copula by underlining its intricacy. '(...) one of the most intricate and challenging problems: the appearance and disappearance of the copula in the vernacular' (1972:65). Copular/auxiliary *be* has been collapsed as the paradigms are identical, although their use obviously differs. 'The auxiliary *be* occurs in the environment preceding V-*ing* (...) and the copula *be* occurs in the environment preceding an adjective, adverb, noun and preposition' (Green 2002:38). First person singular *am* is overtly represented through the contracted form *I'm*, and third person singular neuter pronoun as *it's*. It is overtly represented in emphatic utterances through stressed *is* throughout the entire paradigm, save first person singular, where *am* is used. These environments apart, copular/auxiliary *is* is not overtly represented (2002:37-38).

(7) He a doctor.

'He is a doctor'

(8) We at the store.

'We are at the store'

(9) You is a lazy girl.

'You are a lazy girl.'

- (10) I think she coming over to my house later tonight.
 - 'I think she is coming over to my house later tonight.'

As seen in (7), (8) and (10), the copula is not overtly represented as in (9), where it appears due to the emphatic form of the utterance. As mentioned, utterances with first person singular subjects do not undergo copula deletion. Deletion would produce an ungrammatical AAVE sentence, as in (11)

(11) I a volleyball player.*

Am must appear, either through contracted I'm, or as stressed am in emphatic utterances.

In the past progressive tense *was* is the only possible form and deletion is not an option. As in most cases where SE/AAVE paradigms are compared, some AAVE utterances will be ungrammatical in the SE framework, as (12), and some will be grammatical, as (13) (Green 2002: 37-38).

- (12) We was sleeping all night.
 - 'We were sleeping all night.'
- (13) He was sleeping all night.'He was sleeping all night.'

Auxiliary and copular *be* are both represented through *was* in the past progressive/simple past forms. Example (14) shows that a deletion of *be* would make a distinction between past and present tense impossible (Labov 1972:70)

(14) He was a player. / *He a player.

2.2.3 Aspectual be

'Aspectual be indicates habitual meaning' (Green 2002:51). In AAVE it appears in its bare form, and adverbs are in many environments redundant. Conveying habitual meaning in SE is accomplished through a sequence of verbs plus an adverb or adverbial phrase. If posed with the question 'Do you know where I can find Jim this time of day?' an SE (15) and AAVE (16) response could be

- (15) He is usually working now.
- (16) He be working.

The habituality is conveyed by *usually* in the SE sentence, where such an adverb can be omitted in the AAVE sentence. As discussed, copular *be* is often omitted, but an omission of aspectual *be* can lead to an ambiguity not found when omitting the copula. According to Green (2002:52), 'John Ø working.' and 'John be working.' differ as the former sentence can also be interpreted as 'John is working now' whereas the latter only as 'John is usually working'.

2.2.4 BIN

Rickford (1999) discusses whether the stressed *BIN* and the unstressed *bin* differ in regards of signaling a remote and recent perfective. Green states that '*BIN* situates an activity or state (...) in the remote past (...) started at some point in the remote past and continues up to the moment of utterance' (Green 2002:55), summing up its function in a broad manner, before further segmenting *BIN* into STAT (state) HAB (habitual) and COMP (complete actions or states). All readings of *BIN* share one central property which includes them in the frame constructed by the previous quote from Green. In the case of *BIN* it is worth mentioning that it can also lead to present perfect readings, such as 'He *BIN* doing it ever since we was teenagers, and he is *still* doing it' (Rickford 1999:21).

- (17) He BIN slinging drugs.'He has been selling drugs for a long time.'
- (18) I BIN had a .44.'I have had a .44 caliber gun for a long time.'
- (19) She BIN worked at Starbucks.'She was working at Starbucks a long time ago'

As shown, BIN can precede both *-ing* and *-ed* verbs (Green 2002:60). Example (17) could be in Green's HAB or STAT category. HAB denotes an event that occurs more sporadically whereas STAT denotes regularity. The example in (18) is unambiguously STAT, as it denotes constant possession of the item over time. The sentence found in (19), containing an *-ed* verb, falls in to the COMP category as the state of working ended at a point prior to the utterance (Green 2002:60) AAVE has another construction, where BIN precedes *done*, giving a COMP meaning to an utterance.

(20) She BIN done worked at Starbucks'She was working at Starbuck a long time ago.'

The SE gloss is identical to (19), in accordance to Green's claims that *done*'s only function is putting emphasis on the COMP aspect of the sentence. '*don* redundantly indicates the

resultant state' (2002:67). *Done* also appears as *done*+ past tense verb and *be done* + past tense verb.

2.2.5 AAVE present tense verbs

The verb paradigm can be explained from an AAVE point of view by stating that a single form can be used throughout the entire paradigm or from an SE point of view by drawing attention to the contrastive and salient feature of third person singular -s absence. It is a feature of AAVE that is easily detected in both speech and writing as it requires no deeper analysis than identifying a third person singular subject, as in sentences (21) and (22)

- (21) He jump higher than you.'He jumps higher than you.'
- (22) She sing like a bird.'She sings like a bird.'

This environment appears frequently in speech, and serves as one of the most accessible and detectable markers of AAVE (Rickford 1999:7).

2.2.6 Dən

AAVE *dən* represents the SE perfect tense auxiliary *have*. It precedes simple past *-ed* verbs and past participles and indicates the resultant state of an action or event. Distinguished from stressed *done*, one can find constructions as the one in (23)

- (23) We dan done our pushups, coach.
- (24) I dan delivered the cake to Miss Jones.

Both (23) and (24) follow the mentioned patterns of $d\partial n + -ed$ and $d\partial n +$ past participle; structures likely to be understood by SE speakers. Example (25) could be more of a challenge as the intended meaning is not as clear cut.

(25) I don been to New York.

'I have been to New York before.'

This sentence does not necessarily equate *dan* with SE *have*, but to a general experience of having been in New York, not related to time per se (Green 2002: 60-61). 'The markers *be*

and *BIN* can combine with dən' (Green 2002:63) where these precede *dən*. I sum up these combinations and their possible readings by saying they all indicate a resultant state, and that they to a certain degree overlap already discussed structures (see Green 2002:63f).

2.2.7 Steady, stay and come

Come is an interesting AAVE feature as it adds an emotional quality to an utterance, that of indignation or anger.

(26) The police come busting up in here like I don't own my house.'The police are busting into my house acting like I don't own it.'

Come precedes *—ing* verbs, and behaves in this manner just as *steady*. When included in an utterance, a sense of consistency and/or intensity is added. Such features should be paired with verbs denoting an activity; verbs denoting states are not paired with *steady*.

(27) He steady chasing them dogs.

Stay can also function as a preverbal marker, and overlaps *steady* when considering the added sense of consistency, but unlike *steady*, *stay* can be paired with states (Green 2002:23-24).

Finna, a preverbal marker indicating near future, could also be mentioned here, but as this feature is used only twice, by a character not used in this study, it has little relevance (Trotta and Blyahher 2011).

2.2.8 AAVE auxiliaries

Auxiliary *be* has been dealt with, and features discussed here and in present tense verbs resonate in AAVE auxiliaries as well. Some environments diverge from SE, and sentences such as

- (28) She don't know.
- (29) He have ate everything.
- (30) They was partying all night.

are grammatically correct constructions within the AAVE framework. *Do, have* and *was* are uniform paradigms, but this does not exclude the possibility of an AAVE speaker using SE forms, producing (28) as 'She doesn't know.' Deletion is a common feature, and emphatic

affirmation environments are often necessary for an overt representation. Not only is *have* a uniform paradigm, but coupled with *have*, simple past *ate* could be used where the participle *eaten* is expected to appear. (29), "He *have* **ate** everything", has the SE equivalent "He *has* **eaten** everything" (Rickford 1999:7, Green 2002:36-39).

Question formation can be affected by some of the auxiliary rules. Auxiliaries can be omitted in some cases, (31) and (32), and auxiliary-subject inversion does not necessarily have to take place, allowing the constructions in (33) and (34).

- (31) Johnny left?
- (32) Piotr playing?
- (33) They can sing?
- (34) She was crying? (Green 2002:42)

An emphatic sentence such as "She *do* be working." containing AAVE features of emphatic *do* and habitual *be*, can be formed into a question following the SE convention of subject-auxiliary inversion. The end result underlines AAVE and SE's dramatic differences, found in (34). Lack of subject-auxiliary inversion can also be found in Wh-questions, here shown in (35).

- (35) Do she be working?
- (36) Why he can't come?

Intonation, here rising, is obviously a deciding factor in (36) (Rickford 1999:8, Green 2002:41-42, 84-85).

2.2.9 Negation

Ain't, a feature found in other non-standard varieties, is key to understanding AAVE negation. Rickford sums its properties up in an economical manner. 'Use of *ain('t)* as a general preverbal negator, for SE "am not," "isn't," "aren't," "hasn't," "haven't" and "didn't" as in "He *ain't* here" for SE "He isn't here," or "He *ain't* do it," for SE "He didn't do it" (1999:8).

Further, a sentence like

(37) Can't nobody show him no love"

exemplifies both **negative inversion** and *multiple negation*. The SE counterpart would be "Nobody can show him love" (Rickford 1999:8).

2.2.10 Phonology and grammatical implications

Discussing AAVE phonological features might seem somewhat moot in this context as they are shared among many white east-coast speakers (Labov 1972:13). Some grammatical divergence from SE does however stem from phonological deletion.

Deletion and weakening of word final elements.

Weakening/deletion of word-final consonants and consonant clusters are not phenomena unique to AAVE. The same phenomena are found in a wide range of English dialects. -*r* and -*l* lessness are salient features of many Caucasians along the Northern East coast, but deletion of word final elements is even more deeply rooted in AAVE. 'Black speakers show an even higher degree of *r*-lessness than New Yorkers and Bostonians' (Labov 1972:13). Deletion/weakening facilitate production of homonyms such as

- sore/saw
- fort/fought
- toll/toe
- all/awe (Labov 1972:13,15)

This has implications for a set of grammatical categories, of which I will mention three:

The past, the future and the possesive.

Future constructions containing contracted will, e.g you '*ll*, are affected by 1-lessness, producing utterances such as 'WeØ do it tomorrow' (Labov 1972:24). AAVE offers options to deletion, namely '*a*/'*ma* and *gon/gonna*, and in emphatic expressions *will* is used in its uncontracted form (Green 2002:36). The reason for the absence of possessive -s is not as clear cut as e.g. 1-lessness. Plural -s deletion is not a common feature amongst AAVE speakers, and the plural/possessive -s structures cannot be said to diverge much phonologically (Labov 1972:22-23). The weakening/deletion of /t/ and /d/ affect the –*ed* suffix used when constructing regular past tense verbs, such as work*ed*. It creates homonyms like 'fine = find = fined' (ibid:25), and a sentence like 'He work hard.' can certainly be ambiguous when the use of e.g. *sang* and *thought* has been brought in to debunk any claims that AAVE had no past tense. Still, the use of the past participle, e.g. *shown*, in preterite constructions is an AAVE feature, where the SE sentence

(38) I showed him yesterday.

could lead to the following AAVE sentence.

(39) I shown him yesterday.

2.3 Lexical items

Eddie Murphy's legendary stand-up show *Raw* can be used as a good example of the polysemy one can find if both SE and AAVE meanings are used. A dictionary will list several meanings for this word, but not a meaning unique to AAVE, namely having sex without a condom: 'We did it raw' (Smitherman:2000). Another example is found in Humphrey Warner's study of CS in a Baltimore classroom: 'That she was a **freak**' (2007:64). 'Freak' does not refer to a person considered strange in this context, but rather 'an extremely promiscuous person' (2007:65). The categories *money, persons* and *activities* have been mentioned, and serve as a good starting point, but the AAVE inventory extends much further. Several words and expressions have also crossed over to the mainstream SE vocabulary. Some lexical items are mentioned for illustrative purposes to leave the reader with an impression of the AAVE inventory. For the data analysis I will refer to Smitherman, Green and Rickford on a word-to-word basis.

Money_	People	Activities
A knot – roll of money	Money – way to address a male	Sling – sell drugs
A Benji - 100 dollar bill	Hood rat- sexually promiscuous female	Lamp – hang out
Moolah – money	Fiend – drug addict	Buck – shoot someone
Duckettes – money	Fass – female acting grown up	Duke -fight
Grits – money	Hammer – good looking person	Jack up – beat up

The AAVE lexicon is well stocked, and contains several words that cannot be assigned to one of the above categories, e.g *around the way*-the (neighbor)hood , *indo*-marijuana , *mondo* - extremely big, large (Smitherman:2000).

2.4 Code-switching

Code-switching is first mentioned explicitly by Vogt in 1954 (Auer 1998:27), in an era where linguistics in general blossomed. As opposed to many terms and fields of study in linguistics, CS is not only to a certain degree self-explanatory as a concept, but a phenomenon that both potential audience and interlocutors of a conversation can identify. In a Norwegian context, embedding English words, phrases and longer structures seems to be an everyday practice in the media and in younger generations of speakers. Here exemplified by celebrity stylist Jan Thomas:

(40) "Ta meg nå", sa jeg. Jeg blir en big star! Jeg ble faktisk brainwashed i USA.
"Take me now", I said. I'll be a big star! I was actually brainwashed in the US.'
(Asker og Bærum Budstikke, accessed 13 November 2012)

There are three main approaches within the study of CS one can apply when trying to explain the mechanisms behind such quotes as the one above. A *psycholinguistic* approach aims to explain the 'cognitive mechanisms that underlie bilingual production, perception and acquisition' (Bullock and Toribio 2009:14). Psycholinguistic studies are mostly conducted in a laboratory setting using controlled stimuli, where the researcher's aim is to map the cognitive mechanisms and 'assess lexical access, bilingual control, and attention among others' (ibid:15). A *structural* approach would investigate what CS can 'reveal about language structure at all levels (lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics)' (ibid:14). A central view in this field is that CS is highly systematic and strictly governed, where "bilinguals have the capacity to differentiate ill-formed from grammatical patterns of CS'' (Bullock and Toribio 2009:15) CS in typologically distinct language pairs, say Norwegian and Spanish, is not expected to be as easily facilitated as more structurally similar languages (ibid.), such as Norwegian and Swedish, or varieties such as Standard English and AAVE.

A third approach is a *sociolinguistic* one, which is the point of departure in for the present thesis. I turn to Giacalone Ramat:

In the search of general principles underlying CS, one should keep in mind that the sociolinguistic approach has a kind of priority over the grammatical or structural approaches in CS studies, since the choice and the alternation between different languages or varieties is triggered by social or psychological factors rather than by the internal linguistic factors of the languages involved (1995:46).

Giacalone Ramat further acknowledges that it is not a matter of excluding other factors all together. 'Obviously, this is not to say that grammatical models are not relevant to CS or are bound to fail as explanatory tools' (1995:46).

A sociolinguistic approach to CS can consider several linguistic-external factors such as gender, class, race and age as well as accommodation and an individual's social network (Bullock and Toribio 2009:16). As can be read from the hypotheses, assumptions regarding such factors are made based on Gardner-Chloros's listing of categories that should be taken into account when examining CS from a sociolinguistic point of view. Power relations, personal relations, competence in the varieties, situational factors and use of CS as a conversational resource are mentioned here (2009:97-99). Valdes-Fallis stresses how the study of the mentioned variables in a CS framework "can reveal important features of the process of verbal behavior such as the relationship between setting, participants, topic, form, and function of the interaction in question' (Valdes-Fallis 1978:65). A brief theoretical background for the motivation behind implementing these variables was given in section 1.2 and this discussion continues below.

2.4.1 Sociolinguistic factors in CS

An asymmetry in power relationships has, according to Myers-Scotton and Ury, two sources. It may be a difference in status depending 'either on differences in group memberships from one participant to another, or on one participant's position relative to another's within the same group' (1977:19), or it can be related to the interaction, e.g. a person asking a friend to do him a favor (ibid.). Power relationships thus have both a fixed and flexible aspect and an individual can certainly find himself in both asymmetrical upwards and downwards power-relationships situations with the same interlocutor in two different conversations. Personal relationships cannot be said to have the same instant flexibility tied to them, although they can certainly change. Accommodation and degree of closeness in personal relationships is exemplified by Johnstone through an unusual example. 'Strangers sitting together on buses or airplanes have to balance their own and their neighbors' need to be friendly with their need not to be imposed on' (2002:125). In this thesis, the degree of CS is expected to manifest itself in this way, where it increases the closer the personal relationship is. Myers-Scotton and Ury categorize the mentioned variables, and others used in this thesis, in *social arenas* where 'each social arena corresponds to a different set of norms. Each set of norms and therefore

each social arena represents cognitions about what behavior is *expected* for interactions' (Myers-Scotton and Ury 1977:6). As stated in the hypotheses, all variables have expectations of increasing CS across certain values, such as an increase in CS from asymmetrical downwards to upwards power relationships. Meyerhoff hypothesize that an Afro-American would be prone to use SE in a formal setting, e.g. when applying for a building permit (2006:115-116). The setting and action variables have expectations of an increase in switching the less formal the setting and action. This also rests on Myers-Scotton's noting of situational switching depending 'on the societal consensus that a particular linguistic variety is allocated to a particular cluster of topics, places, persons or purposes' (1977:5). Gardner-Chloros (2009) and Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) discuss how changes in speaker affect are often accompanied by CS, and these situations are expected to show more CS than situations not accompanied by changes in speaker affect.

Lo's study of code-switching in Asian-American subjects in Los Angeles found that CS was frequently applied when changing the conversational topic into socially less accepted areas, the sexual attractiveness of women in particular (1999:461). Situations where CS typically appears is discussed by both Gumperz (1982:75-85) and Alfonzetti (1998:182-207), and a listing of expected types of switching is implemented in order to map where these actually occur in the data, where an extended version of the eight categories presented is used when analyzing data (See. 3.3 7).

- (1) Reported speech
- (2) Change of participant constellation
- (3) Parenthesis
- (4) Reiteration
- (5) Change of activity type
- (6) Topic shift
- (7) Puns, language play, shift of "key"
- (8) Topicalisation (Auer 1995:120)

2.4.2 Linguistic competence and CS patterns

Linguistic competence in relation to CS is discussed by Bullock and Toribio (2009). They propose 'there may be a relationship between a speaker's place in the bilingual continuum and

the quality and quantity of CS attested' (2009:7). In terms of speaker accommodation, a similar correlation is also expected between the characters' CS and their interlocutor's position in the bilingual continuum. This discussion has, however, a psycholinguistic heading, but a brief outline of this continuum, found in Treffers-Daller (2009:67-68), is given. Three CS patterns, *alternation, congruent lexicalization* and *insertion* (see Muysken 2000:60-121) are inserted into a language *separation* continuum:

Separation continuum



(Treffers-Daller 2009:68)

Alternation can be manifested through a sentence where the two languages are kept separate, in a A-then-B manner. This switch constitutes the most separate form in the continuum.

(41) Espero que ganamos a City, pero we play utterly rubbish away from home.

(I hope we beat City, but)

Insertion refers to switches where lexical items or longer constituents are embedded into the structure of another language in an A-B-A-like manner. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (1993) resonates here, where a dominant language acts as the grammatical framework for the utterance. Here shown in a Norwegian-English-Norwegian passage.

(42) Vi spilte helt frem til his mom catch-et oss.

(We played until) (-ed us)

A Norwegian past suffix, –et, is added to the bare form of catch, creating a past construction. Norwegian grammar is thus 'the source of the morpho-syntactic frame' (Myers-Scotton 2006:241) for the entire utterance. Congruent lexicalization represents a minimum of separation of languages within an utterance, and is found when two languages' lexicon and/or grammar is actually closely related or perceived so by speakers. (Treffers-Daller 2009:67).

(43) I saw them slingin' around the way, acting like the Game *aint* got no rules.

Using AAVE and SE in this sentence, including a *shared* non-standard feature, *aint*, is done trying to connect this form to the two languages examined in this thesis. AAVE lexical and grammatical features are included in (43), and the intention is to create a sentence that could have been uttered by a speaker with moderate knowledge of AAVE or by a speaker subscribing to AAVE 'full time'.

2.4.3 Definitional matters

Trying to define CS, the common denominator after half a century of research seems to be the 'alternating use of two or more "codes" within one conversational episode' (Auer 1998:1) Within the sociolinguistic approach there are, however, several available frameworks. The definition of *code* is one of the most debated themes in addition to how one separates CS from other contact phenomena, such as borrowing. CS is often discussed in relation to other linguistic phenomena and it needs to be set apart from these phenomena that are often similar in nature. *Borrowing* is one such phenomenon that contributes to making code-switching a 'fuzzy-edged construct', as labeled by Gardner-Chloros (1995:72). These two phenomena are difficult to set apart at times; the line between borrowing and CS is perceived as rather thin. In a monolingual environment, this distinction is easier to make and 'loans used by completely monolingual speakers (...) should be regarded as being psychologically separate from codeswitching' (Gardner-Chloros 1995:74). In environments where languages or varieties co-exist, certain lexical items considered to belong to the AAVE code may be used by an SE speaker, as an SE lexical item, as it has come to '"belong" equally to both codes' (Gardner-Chloros 1995:75). Studying the Alsatian-French relationship in Strasbourg, Gardner-Chloros presented Alsatian 'judges' with Alsatian words in French conversation and vice versa; some consensus regarding their status as either loans, code-switches or an in-between-category was reached only for one third of the words (1995:74). Auer presents an example that demonstrate the intricacy surrounding CS versus borrowing, shown below by young South Americans residing in Germany. They are Spanish-German bilinguals, and the conversation is predominantly taking place in Spanish. The guest is getting up to go outside for a smoke, asking for the appropriate area to enjoy his cigarette. The host answers:

(44) aquí no hay *nichtraucher*('here we don't have *no-smoking'*)

(Auer 1995:6)

Labeling *nichtraucher* as a borrowing casually thrown into the utterance, not considering its implication for the message actually conveyed is seen as a grave mistake by Auer. As he points out, this switch is loaded with information and interpreting such information is crucial. The switch implies the difference between the South American and German approach to smoking in general, and the segregation of smokers and non-smokers found in German public life. The hosts 'distance themselves from this rule which they find ridiculous, and point out that it does not hold in their apartment' (Auer 1998:7). As mentioned, the guest is even mildly ridiculed simply for asking such a question. 'The choice of German for non-smoker gives a decisive clue: it is a certain segment of German culture which is contrasted with South American participants' way of living in terms of how it deals with smokers' (1998:7).

This line of reasoning stems from a *theory of contextualization*. Auer regards himself as a conversationalist whose central idea is to view utterances in a wider, sociolinguistic context (1995:123). Contextualization 'comprises all those activities by participants which make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspects of context which, in turn, are responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence' (ibid.). CS is one of many contextual cues, alongside e.g. mood, speech genre and prosodic features (ibid.) Contextualization cues 'do not have referential (decontextualised) meaning of the kind we find in lexical items. Instead, contextualisation cues and the interpretation of the activity are related by a process of *inferencing*, which is itself dependent on the context of its occurrence' (ibid.). A central issue to the sequential interpretation that Auer calls for is that a switch might not convey the same meaning in two different contexts. Naming a friend or colleague homeboy can certainly have different implications depending on age, race, situation, intonation or mood. *Mood, activity* and *setting* are some of the cues that are included in the analysis of my data, but as written data is examined, factors such as intonation and phonological features are of no relevance, and the more holistic theory of contextualization and its cues was discarded as a framework for this thesis.

A view of *code* that follows Auer's line of reasoning is presented by Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998:29). When discussing the linking of *variety* and *code*, he stresses the inappropriateness of doing so. Juxtaposing these two follows a tradition where 'speech varieties have been mechanistically associated with "codes" ' (1998:29). Alvarez-Cáccamo suggests 'that a clearer conceptual distinction between "linguistic variety" in its broadest sense and "communicative code" is crucial for explaining conversational conduct' (1998:30). In any bilingual environment, but even more so in an environment with two typologically close varieties, the question of CS as a marked or unmarked choice, where the latter is labeled

meaningless code-switching by Alvarez-Cáccamo, can be raised, and he further discusses if these must be treated as separate phenomena (1998:29). The researcher's role thus becomes more intrusive in relation to the data, as a process of (the speaker's) *intentions* versus (the researcher's) *interpretation* must be applied. This obviously offers a wider range of subjectivity, as the researcher considers each utterance in a wider context, but it is also less applicable when analyzing larger amounts of data where the end goal is to quantify a person's use of certain features in relation to e.g. activity and interlocutor relationship or linguistic competence.

Considering the closeness of SE and AAVE, the borrowings from the African-American culture into mainstream America, and the social integration of African-Americans into all strata of the American society, another debated theme within the CS sphere is worth discussing. Many different points of departure within sociolinguistic CS theory could have been used for this thesis, and *style switching* is certainly one of them. Barrett considers *dialect, register* and *genre* under the rubric of *style* (1998:142). Code switching as an unmarked choice is predicted by Barrett to pair with *dialect*, where a speaker can switch back and forth between dialects throughout a conversation. The pattern conveys the multiple identities within the speaker (1998:144). *Dialect* is set apart from *register* as 'a register occurs in a particular situational context and therefore we cannot speak of a change of register without a change in situation' (1998:144). SE/AAVE is as mentioned a pair suited for this framework, but as this thesis does not aim to explore the stylistic use of the varieties this framework was not deemed appropriate.

2.4.4 CS in the AAVE/SE continuum

This thesis shares the view on CS and code put forward by Myers-Scotton and Ury, where they 'define code-switching as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction. The switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech' (1977:5) The latter sentence is an important one, as a single AAVE word inserted into an otherwise SE sentence constitutes a switch. Myers-Scotton and Ury also use the term *language switch* (1977:12) in their study, a term well fitted for this thesis, a thesis that will treat AAVE and SE as *codes*.

This juxtaposition of variety and code is, as mentioned, seen as problematic by e.g. Auer and Alvarez-Cáccamo, whose central idea is if 'the alternation of languages as defined by the linguist is indeed meaningful to participants' (Auer 1998:27). This approach to CS seems to distance itself from subjects' own considerations of their CS when seen in light of an example put forward by Gumperz:

they categorically claimed that they had "spoken only in the local dialect and not used standard Norwegian, since as they said "everyone in our town speaks only village dialect except in school, church or in some formal meetings." Yet, when tape recordings were examined sentence by sentence, they revealed frequent conversational switching into standard Norwegian (1982:62).

This shows that CS is not necessarily a conscious choice, an important point to stress when considering a typologically close environment. Markers from the opposing variety in the AAVE/SE pair are counted as switches into the other code, without considering previously discussed terms such as *contextualization, intention vs interpretation* or *borrowing* into consideration.

While Gumperz also subscribes to the idea of contextualization and cues as important tools for *explaining* switches, he presents examples where language or variety alternation is associated with distinct codes. The following example is an SE/AAVE one, where an Afro-American student, (a) and (c), talks to a professor, (b), after class:

(45) a: Could I talk to you for a minute? I'm gonna apply for a fellowship and I was wondering if I could get a recommendation?

b. O.K. Come along to the office and tell me what you want to do.

As the instructor and the rest of the group left the room, the black student said, turning his head ever so slightly to the other students:

c. Ahma git me a gig! (Rough gloss: 'I'm going to get myself some support')

(1982:30)

Several explanations for the *meaning* of this switch into AAVE are offered in the subsequent discussion, but it is clear that the switch is into not only another variety but also another code. Gumperz uses the terms *we-code* and *they-code*, where an ethnically specific minority language is associated with the former and a majority language associated with the latter. A pairing that is highly relevant in an Afro-American/Caucasian environment. He stresses that even though a we-code can be associated with informal and in-groups settings and a they-code with out-group relations and more formal and stiff settings, 'there is no necessary direct

relationship between the occurrence of a particular set of linguistic forms and extralinguistic context' (1982:66). Examining the effect the extralinguistic context has on CS in the included variables is thought to be most accurately done using a more traditional view where variety equals code.

2.5 Comparable studies

Trotta and Blyahher's study (2011) of AAVE features in The Wire served as mentioned as the most influential inspiration for this thesis, but cannot be said to be comparable apart from examining use of AAVE in the show. Warner's thesis (2007) examining CS in an inner-city school in Baltimore is closer in nature, but the data used in his study is naturalistic. He found that AA students would use more AAVE when interacting with their peers, and more SE when addressing the teacher. He also problematize the use of SE in mainly AA student classrooms, seen as how poorer scholastic performances has been tied to Afro-Americans in general (2007:70). Giacalone Ramat's (1995) study focus on a standard/non-standard variety setting and can be said to have some comparable features, this studies has, however, a more qualitative approach. Giacalone Ramat hypothesize that CS both promotes and is a consequence of convergence, as speakers favor structures shared by Standard Italian and the dialect (1995:61). The theoretical foundation used in Myers-Scotton and Ury's study conducted in Kenya was to a certain degree implemented in this thesis. More than half of their subjects associated switching to English with anger, English also being the most suitable language for a quarrel (1977:12). Further, they found that 'CS code-switching is a response to the interaction as it has progressed' (1977:14), a tool used to negotiate 'a new definition of the interaction within a new social arena' (ibid).

3 METHODOLOGY

Section 3.1 gives a brief introduction of the show, the six characters chosen for analysis, the creators and their background, as well as an outline of the five seasons. The written data used in this thesis are elaborated on in 3.2, and an outline of the data- processing method is given in 3.3.

3.1 The Show

The Wire is an HBO-produced TV series that ran from 2002-2008. HBO has become the leading producer of drama series through series such as *The Sopranos, OZ, Game of Thrones, Boardwalk Empire, Treme* and *Six Feet Under. The Wire* is currently rated at a 9.5/10 at IMDb.com by 71787 users, holding a second place in the "Best TV Series" section (IMDb¹ accessed 7 October 2012). Journalists have embraced *The Wire* as well. The Telegraph's review states that *The Wire* 'is arguably the greatest television programme ever made' (The Telegraph, accessed 13 October 2012). A total of 60 one-hour episodes, over 5 seasons, gradually introduces the viewer to new environments, social strata and walks of life in the city of Baltimore, Maryland.

3.1.1 The Creators

David Simon, the show's creator and one of its executive producers, has experience as a Baltimore Sun crime reporter where he covered the drug trade closely. He wrote the book 'A Year on the Killing Streets', depicting his experiences after following a Baltimore homicide division for a year, which also served as inspiration for two other TV shows: *Homicide: Life on the Street*' (1993-99) and *The Corner* (2000) (IMDb², accessed 7 October 2012). Simon's experiences as a TV-show creator and writer and his in-depth knowledge of both Baltimore and its seedy underbelly must have been essential for the sense of realism the show is known for portraying. Simon is credited as a writer in all 60 episodes (IMDb¹, accessed 7 October 2012). Co-creator and writer (credited as such in 42 episodes), Ed Burns, was born in Baltimore and served 20 years in the Baltimore police force. After retiring from the force he worked for seven years in the public school system (IMDb^{1,3}, accessed 7 October 2012).

The link between the themes addressed throughout the show's different seasons and the creator's own professional experience is a strong one. One cannot ignore the positive

effects this has on the show's authenticity. The show uses real Baltimore locations and locals are cast in several supporting roles. The show's casting strategy is exemplified through the likes of Melvin Williams, former Baltimore drug kingpin, once arrested by Burns, appearing as church deacon in 11 episodes. Felicia Pearson, playing Felicia 'Snoop' Pearson in 25 episodes grew up in the drug trade, and committed murder at the age of 14 (IMDb¹, accessed 7 October 2012). The casting of leading roles is also interesting. Aidan Gillen, Idris Elba and Dominic West, playing Mayor Carcetti, Stringer Bell and James McNulty respectively, are all of foreign origin. Considering the dialogue involving Stringer Bell in particular, this adds to the idea of the creators' striving for authenticity in their writing.

3.1.2 The Five Seasons

Each season focuses on a new topic, a new area of society. A brief outline of the seasons, and some comments relevant for the project, follows.

The drug trade is the backdrop throughout the show. Season one gives an introduction to the drug trade 'seen through the eyes of drug dealers, and law enforcement' (IMDb¹, accessed 7 October 2012). Young, low-level street dealers, the organization's leader and the levels in between are portrayed. With the exception of one character, all involved in drugs, both users and dealers, are black. Key law enforcement characters are of both races. *The Wire* got its name due to the police wiretaps that are central in every season. The telephonic surveillance is the major source of information in the investigation of the drug crew (The Barksdale crew), which limits the face to face interaction between police officers and the drug crew, and consequently also the interaction between strata and races. Season one serves as an introduction to terms, phrases and grammatical structures used by several interesting characters, and is as such a good base for establishing the AAVE features used.

Season two focuses on the withering working middle-class and the weakening of unions as it follows a local chapter of longshoremen. Season-one characters from the police force are integrated in season two when an investigation is opened after a shipping container with several dead eastern-European women is found on the docks. This investigation generates leads to the major drug supplier, a crew of Europeans of unknown nationality, which integrates several drug-involved characters in the storyline as well. The longshoremen are predominantly Caucasians and their interaction with Afro-Americans is rather limited. Two

younger dock workers get involved in the drug trade and have some involvement with AA drug-involved characters.

Season three examines the world of politics, as Caucasian Tommy Carcetti runs for mayor in the city of Baltimore which has a majority of AA citizens. The police return to chasing the now even more powerful Barksdale organization. Ties between influential political characters and the drug world are discovered, which leads to season three offering much more race and class interaction. New characters are introduced, in particular characters from the political sphere, who in turn represent the higher social strata. The AA state senator Clay Davis, briefly introduced in previous seasons, must be said to be a character one cannot avoid to take a notice of in season three.

Season four has a focus on schools. This environment is introduced through a fired police officer who seeks employment at an inner-city middle school. We follow several male students in and out of class, as they are gradually drawn into the Game, an expression of the world of drugs and drug dealing. The drug crew in power is no longer the Barksdale organization, and the police are now investigating the Stanfield crew. Consequently, the series parts ways with several interesting characters as season four commences, in particular Stringer Bell, second in command in the Barksdale crew. He has striven to make it in the conventional business world as well, and has had interaction with most social strata and both races throughout the first three seasons. The school setting is particularly interesting considering Edward Warner's 2007 thesis 'A Black Classroom Culture: Student Codeswitching in an Inner City Secondary School'. In-class sessions occur throughout the season, and most students are involved in the dialogue.

As stories and characters have been added and ended throughout season four, season five offers both veteran characters that can be accounted for in all 60 episodes, a total of eight characters (IMDb¹, accessed 7 October 2012), and a set of newcomers as also this season explores new territory. The city's newspaper, *The Baltimore Sun*, and the events that occur in the newsroom, is the entity that serves as a comment on the media. The police force is still chasing the Stanfield crew, and some of the mentioned 60-episode characters involved in this investigation are chosen for closer examination. Caucasian police officers are working closely with AA officers and vice versa, and interaction with drug-involved characters is at times quite frequent in the span of the five seasons.

3.1.3 The Characters

The show's co-creator David Simon explains the massive character gallery in the lines of the season summaries. 'Structurally, each season of *The Wire* (...) exists as a stand-alone journey. Some characters may progress to the next season for continuity; most others will have their stories resolved in a single season' (The Wire Bible:2, accessed 9 October 2012). A total of twelve characters appear in 50 episodes or more, whilst some 50 characters appear in 10-20 episodes (IMDb¹, accessed 7 October 2012), which clearly supports Simon's stand-alone journey *and* continuity approach.

I chose to work with male characters, of which three are Caucasian and three are Afro-Americans. Including both genders would yield 12 characters, and suitable female characters cannot be found for all cells due to the scarcity of women in the series. The cells in table 3.1 were all filled, and six characters were thus chosen.

Table 3.1: Characters

	Ma				
Caucasian			Afro-American		
High social stratum ch	aracter	acter High social stratum character			
Middle social stratum c	haracter	Middle social stratum character			
Low social stratum cha	aracter	Low	social stratum character		

Placing characters in a given social stratum must be done according to their current standing in society, as an addict, a police detective and a state senator can all have had the same postal code and have gone to the same elementary school. The main criterion used is their occupation, or lack thereof. The lower stratum is occupied by a drug addict and a drug dealer, the middle stratum by two police officers and the high stratum by two politicians. The AA low social stratum cell is somewhat problematic, as it is filled by one of the more influential drug dealers in the series that has attained a considerable amount of money. His strive to succeed in conventional business and climb the social ladder is, however, hindered by his background and at times unconventional problem-solving skills, and he is ultimately viewed as a drug-dealing simpleton outside of his social stratum where he has an abundance of respect. The most interesting subjects have a certain degree of interaction with characters of a different race, language use and from other social strata, features that were held important when choosing characters.

3.1.3.1 Afro-Americans

State Senator Clay Davis – High social stratum

Clay appears in 25 episodes, seasons 1-5. He appears rather sporadically in the first three seasons, more frequently in season four and five. His upbringing in the projects is confirmed in a conversation with drug kingpin Avon Barksdale in S03E05: 'I know, because I'm from the same streets.' He interacts with politicians, businessmen, police officers of both races, AA drug-involved characters and appears in front of voters through rallies and TV appearances.

William 'Bunk' Moreland – Middle social stratum

Bunk appears in 60 episodes, seasons 1-5. His *hood* background is confirmed in S03E06 in conversation with Omar Little: 'I was a few year ahead of you in Edmonson, but I know you remember the neighborhood, how it was.' Bunk is featured in all 60 episodes, at times in a leading role. He is a homicide detective who works within a division where both races are quite evenly represented. He regularly appears in scenes with his best friend, drinking buddy and the show's possible leading character Jimmy McNulty in both private and professional settings. He interacts with low social strata characters through field work and interrogations. Interaction with high social strata characters is limited to high ranking staff within the department.

Russell 'Stringer' Bell – Low social stratum

Stringer appears in 37 episodes, seasons 1-3. Filling the low social strata cell with Stringer can certainly be questioned. Brought up in the housing projects and a product of the streets and the Game, he runs a large drug operation, but Stringer has ambitions to excel in the conventional world of business as well. He attends college courses in social economics, which he tries to apply in both the distribution and sale of drugs and in more traditional business ventures. He appears more well-dressed than most drug-involved characters, often with a suit and tie as well as reading glasses. His ventures outside of the Game lead to interaction with political figures, real estate developers and lawyers, whereas the next scene can feature Stringer demanding the assassination of a rivaling drug-involved character. Involvement in both worlds leads to interaction with all cells, save Caucasian low social strata, which makes

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him an interesting subject. His desire to succeed in both worlds also led to a fitting quote from Avon Barksdale, the crew's leader: '(...) not hard enough for this right here, and maybe, just maybe not smart enough for them out there' (S03E11). Barksdale is referring to Stringer's failures in both the business world and the Game, as their empire crumbles towards the end of season three. He is one of three leadings characters played by a Brit, Londoner Idris Elba (IMDb⁴, accessed 7 October 2012).

3.1.3.2 Caucasians

Thomas 'Tommy' Carcetti – High social stratum

Tommy appears in 34 episodes, seasons 3-5. He is a lawyer by profession and is portrayed as well educated and very ambitious. He was brought up in the 1st district, a predominantly Caucasian area. We follow Tommy from councilman to Mayor elect to Mayor. Day-to-day dealings with AA politicians, high ranking police and community leaders are found through his work, and his closest advisor is an Afro-American middle-aged man. These characters are mostly middle/high social strata SE speakers. Interaction with low stratum AAVE speakers comes through campaigning and later through community outreach. Family, friends, campaign and political staff are mainly Caucasians. Tommy is played by Irishman Aidan Gillen (IMDb⁵, accessed 7 October 2012).

Thomas 'Herc' Hauk - Middle social stratum

Herc appears in 60 episodes, seasons 1-5. No information is given concerning Herc's socioeconomical background. He is employed throughout the series as a narcotics detective, driver to Mayor Royce, Sergeant in Narcotics and as a private investigator for a lawyer. This diverse employment history leads Herc to 'bust heads' on the drug corners in one season, and being summoned to the Mayor's office the next. He holds a supporting role, but few characters can be said to interact more with all cells to the same degree.

Johnny Weeks – Low social stratum

Johnny appears in 14 episodes, seasons 1-3. In *The Wire*, Caucasian low social stratum characters are a rare commodity, at least if we consider characters with a certain amount of dialogue and reoccurring appearances. As mentioned, Baltimore is a city comprised of a majority of Afro-Americans, and the drug-scene depicted takes place in an AA neighborhood. This is reflected in the cast. Characters used in this study should ideally have some interaction

with other races and social strata, and Johnny, an addict who plays the Game with Bubbs, an older AA addict, is in many ways the only candidate to fill this cell. Little information is given about his past and no indication is given allowing the assumption that he has grown up in an AAVE environment.

3.2 Data

Initially I hoped to be able to use the original screenplays, where both dialogue and comments on setting and characters' mood etc. is typed out. A few screenplays can be found online, but after thoroughly searching the Internet and torrent sites, the result was three screenplays (S01E01, S01E09, S05E10). I contacted the already mentioned Joseph Trotta who again provided me with .srt files for all 60 episodes. .srt is the abbreviation for SubRip Title and is more commonly known as subtitle files. Trotta used these files in his own study of AAVE features in *The Wire* (2011). They are of good quality; only minor discrepancies were found when compared to the produced speech. The quality of the .srt files was further tested by comparing random sections of the corresponding available screenplays, and the dialogue produced in the episodes. When one of the written sources diverged from the dialogue it was not necessarily the .srt file.

- 1. Kill a man over some bullshit. (S01E01 dialogue)
- 2. Kill a man over some bullshit. (S01E01 .srt file)
- 3. Kill a man over bullshit. (S01E01 screenplay)

Subtitling has a clear advantage compared to screenplays as it is a post-production issue. Screenplays are obviously written before filming a given episode. Those making subtitles have the possibility to work with produced speech, as directors and actors may stray from a screenplay. It should be mentioned that .srt files found online can at times be of very poor quality. This was certainly a factor that had to be considered, but Trotta's previous use and my own tests of the .srt files left me assured of their quality. The .srt files were easily converted into .doc files and the conversion gives the following layout: 1

00:00:10,042 --> 00:00:13,705 That's the witness all right, the one from the Barksdale case.

2

00:00:13,813 --> 00:00:16,543 Gant, William. 41 years.

3

00:00:16,983 --> 00:00:21,113 Single headshot, close range. Bullet pancaked on the inner skull.

4

00:00:27,059 --> 00:00:29,289 -Ain't necessarily what it looks like. -No?

5

00:00:29,395 --> 00:00:31,590 A man's walking down a street in West Baltimore.

6 00:00:31,697 --> 00:00:33,961 That'll catch you a bullet for a half-dozen reasons.

7 00:00:34,066 --> 00:00:36,762 -Yeah, that it will. -You run him for a sheet?

8 00:00:36,869 --> 00:00:38,734 Yeah, a couple of disorderlies is all.

The stretches of text are as shown numbered, and a number, e.g. 1, refers to the stretch of text that appears on screen before it disappears, followed by a new stretch, 2. A stretch of text can contain two characters if their utterances are rather short, as seen in 4 and 7. Longer utterances by a character, e.g. 3, can appear alone. As shown in 5 and 6, a new number does not necessarily indicate a shift in speaker; 6 is the continuation of 5. The numeration is done for programming the appearance and disappearance of text, but was very useful when in need

of locating a passage, as the timeframe of the utterance is also included. Further, it gives an indication of the total amount of speech produced by a character when all the exchanges were entered into the software (see 3.3, 2). The episodes were watched throughout the data collection process. I read through the srt.s as the episode was playing, highlighting the chosen characters in its own color code and noting the context, e.g, 'in office', 'with Kima, Carver', 'aggravated', 'drinking' etc. All scenes including one of the six characters were included in the analysis. If more than one of the six chosen character values (see 3.3, 3). Occasionally, a word could be missing, typically a 'yo' either at the start or the end of a sentence, and where relevant these words were added to the text by hand. This was done in order to imitate the layout of the screenplays, and the srt. files can in this regard also be viewed as transcripts of the character's speech.

3.3 The analysis

When coding the data I used the SPSS software. In order to extract the relevant information I designed a matrix including 13 *variables*. Each variable has *values*. The *character* variable has six values where each character is assigned a value, where six characters correspond to a number, 1-6. The matrix is constructed to include all speech produced by a character, and several variables thus include a *null* value for exchanges without any CS. An explanation of the variables and their values follows. Due to the fact that two characters appear in comparatively few scenes and that some variables include several values, many of which includes none or few entries, it is not tested for significance.

1. Scene. An entry, e.g. '11234245', refers to season, episode and scene. The numbers should be read as follows: 1 (season), 1 (episode), 234 (start of scene), 245 (end of scene) = 1-1-234-245. This labeling has two functions. It helps the quantification of the total speech produced by a character and it allows both reader and researcher to easily locate specific scenes in the data used. As a unit of analysis, scene has the conventional meaning where it starts as the setting is cut in, and it ends as it is cut to a new setting; the chronology is thus intact. A scene can certainly start indoors, follow a character down the elevator and on to the street in one cut, but omitting e.g. the elevator ride would yield two separate scenes in the software as the chronology is broken. Using scene as the analytic unit has both advantages and drawbacks. It allows more data to be analyzed, and all scenes involving the characters have as mentioned

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been included. A handful of comparatively long scenes could contain dialogue where more than one switch occurred, and using a *switch* as the analytical unit was certainly considered. Using switches as the analytical unit would, however, exclude scenes that did *not* involve a switch, which is an important aspect of the quantification of the characters' language production. As shown below in *6*, a categorization of types of switches within the scene is used, thus partially mending the implications of using scene as the analytical unit.

- 2. Frames. In the example above, 234-245 refers to the start and the end of a scene. 245 minus 234 is 11, and the scene is thus 11 frames. 11 frames refer to 11 bulks of subtitling appearing and then disappearing on screen within a scene, and adding all frames in this variable will give an idea of the amount of language produced by each character. A character can certainly have a low number of lines in a long scene, e.g. two lines over 35 frames (and vice versa), so this method does not count the exact number of lines delivered by a character. One can assume that lines are somewhat evenly distributed, however, the two politicians, Tommy Carcetti and Clay Davies often deliver longer monologues through political debates and speeches.
- 3. *Character*. The characters are assigned a number, *1-6*. A scene including two analyzed characters will thus be entered twice, using two different character values, coding each character's speech according to the variables below.
- 4. Base code. Defining this variable requires a discussion of various approaches, as 'there is no single independent criterion' (Muysken 2000:64) that can govern this variable. What complicates this matter further is the SE/AAVE relationship. The lexicon and the grammatical frameworks are at times impossible to set apart, and as AAVE does not affect all aspects of grammar, an AAVE speaker will surely produce grammatically correct SE sentences at times. Myers-Scotton discusses base code, or the 'main language in CS utterances' (1993:3), in her Matrix Language Frame Model. A matrix language provides the grammatical framework where insertions from the other language, the embedded language, are embedded into this framework (1993). The matrix language thus grammatically governs the utterance. Another approach is *left-to-right parsing*, '(...) a model that attaches great importance to a parsing

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procedure from left to right, the first word or set of words determines the base language' (Muysken 2000:65). A character might delete the copula, an AAVE marker, in the following main clause, and the following sentence might be SE: 'He trying to run, he does it every time.' According to this model, the sentence should follow AAVE grammar, 'He trying to run, he do it every time.' Further, this begs the discussion of various degrees of proficiency, as a Caucasian speaker uttering 'yo' does not necessarily possess knowledge of the grammatical structures used in the AAVE example. 'A third possibility is morpheme-counting' (Muysken 2000:66), where the base or matrix language is set according to the language with the highest count of words or morphemes in an utterance (2000:66). Implementing this model will once again present the researcher with the problem of the similarity of the variants involved, and would be extremely time consuming considering the amount of data. The quantification aspect from this model will however be implemented, as set of parameters must be in place to determine the base code for each character in the same manner for every scene. Drawing on principles found in Muysken's left-to-right parsing, the base code will be set as follows: if a character uses three or more AAVE markers in the three first speaking frames at the start of a scene, the base code will be set in AAVE, otherwise in SE. I will not count short frames, such as e.g. 'So...'/ 'Listen..'. Five out of six characters, all excluding Stringer Bell, are considered to be SE speakers. Lexical insertions from AAVE into SE are easily detectable and easily accessible compared to SE lexical insertions in AAVE, and on this basis it is somewhat easier to set the base code to AAVE for those normally speaking SE. This is somewhat balanced out as the absence of e.g. copula deletion or third person -s is equally detectable and accessible in a normally AAVE speaking character, where three such occurrences will lead to SE being the base code. Including e.g. copular be or third person -s is by no means wrong in AAVE, but this parameter must be set as such in order to allow the possibility of an SE base code in predominantly AAVE speaking individuals. Determining the base code on the initial utterances of a scene can be seen as problematic in very long scenes where these utterances potentially make up a proportionally low amount of the produced speech, where factors such as mood and participants can change, but some limitations must however be suffered.

5. *Number of markers*. This variable is included in order to quantify the number of markers used by a character in a scene. Five markers are coded as 5, six as 6. If SE is

the base code I will count AAVE markers and vice versa. If AAVE is the base code, an absence of e.g. copula deletion in an environment where this would be a possibility, it is counted as a switch to SE.

- 6. *Element involved.* This variable categorizes the *markers* into *none*, *lexical*, *grammatical* and *both.* The distinction between *lexical* and *grammatical* is an important one as using grammatical constructions requires a higher competence than implementing lexical items.
- 7. CS type. The categories found in section 2.4.3 serve as a base for the values in this variable, but more have been added. The first category covers general topic shifts. Topic shifts do, however, often lead to socially less accepted themes of conversation, including criminal activities, sexually loaded themes and alcohol and drug related themes. For that reason I have included 2 and 3 as subcategories of 1 in the list below. A topic shift is only logged in one category, not in 1 and 2 or 3. Further, a null category is included for coding exchanges where no switching is found, and an outside category for switches that cannot be fitted into a category, typically an inserted lexical item at the beginning of an exchange, not followed by more switches.
 - 1. Topic shift, general
 - 2. Topic shift, criminal related
 - 3. Topic shift, sex, drinking, socially less acceptable activities
 - 4. Change of participant constellation
 - 5. Change of participant constellation and topic change
 - 6. Change of activity
 - 7. Reported Speech
 - 8. Parenthesis
 - 9. Reiteration
 - 10. Topicalization
 - 11. Uninterpreable/outside category
 - 12. No CS (0)

- 8. *Change in speaker affect.* Sections 1.2 and 2.4.1 discuss the correlation between CS and *aggravation* and *humor*. These two and a *null* category constitute the three values in this variable. An expectation of more CS in scenes that involve a change in speaker affect than scenes that do not is tied to this variable.
- 9. Setting. An important divide is hood, derived from neighborhood, versus the other settings. The hood is AAVE's expected stronghold, and amongst many characters residing here, AAVE is their day-to-day base code. A more detailed grid was, however, necessary, and the values reflect the most frequently used physical settings. Degrees of formality are tied to these values, where 2,4 and 6 are expected to be least formal, 1 more formal than the mentioned values and 5 is expected to be the most formal. The more formal the setting, the less CS is expected.
 - 1. Police station
 - 2. Hood
 - 3. Office
 - 4. Bar
 - 5. Down town area
 - 6. Home
 - 7. Other
- 10. Action. Most activities can occur in most settings, e.g. in *hood*, as police also frequent it in their day-to-day work. The *police intervention* value includes interrogations, raids, arrests etc. As in *setting*, degrees of formality are also tied to these values, where 2, 3 and 4 are expected to be least formal, 1 and 6 more formal and 5 is expected to be most formal. The more formal the setting, the less CS is expected.
 - 1. Work-related conversation
 - 2. Friendly/social conversation
 - 3. Criminal conversation/activity
 - 4. Drinking/Getting high
 - 5. Public Speaking
 - 6. Police intervention

- 11. Interlocutor relationship refers to the participant being addressed and the relationship between him/her and the speaker. These relationships can develop throughout the show. In this variable, a progressive increase in CS from 1 to 3 and from 4 to 6 is expected.
 - 1. Stranger
 - 2. Acquaintances
 - 3. Closer relationship
 - 4. Mix of above, mainly 1
 - 5. Mix of above, mainly 2
 - 6. Mix of above, mainly 3
 - 7. Even mix of 1-3
- 12. Power Relationship. The power relationship between characters can certainly vary from exchange to exchange, and must thus be considered on an exchange to exchange basis. Three values are included, and CS is expected to be used less in 2, progressively increasing in *1* and *3*.
 - 1. Balanced
 - 2. Asymmetrical upwards
 - 3. Asymmetrical downwards
- 13. Interlocutor Linguistic Competence. Six values are included in this variable. All possible crossings of race and competence are not included, only those deemed relevant for the data. 2 and 4 differ as the Caucasian in 4 is not expected to use the same amount of AAVE markers as an Afro-American in 2. The difference between 1 and 2, 3 and 4 is the attested use of AAVE in the interlocutor in question, as this is the only available measure of the interlocutor's AAVE competence. A progressive increase in CS expected from 1 to 5.

- 1. Afro-American AAVE user
- 2. Afro-American some AAVE use
- 3. Afro-American no AAVE use
- 4. Caucasian some AAVE use
- 5. Caucasian no AAVE use
- 6. Mixed race and competence group.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Section 4.1 presents the results, where nine tables are shown for each character, including all relevant variables mentioned in chapter 3. Stringer Bell's section is structured differently as his frequent use of AAVE as base code demands a table for both base code and switches in certain variables. Each character's most salient features are summarized at the end of his section, including a quote taken from the series. Here, character's initials indicate their lines, 'INT' the interlocutor's. After the characters' tables, Caucasian and Afro-American results are shown in the same nine tables. Section 4.2 will answer the hypotheses. A general discussion of possible motivations behind the character's CS and comparisons of characters' results are found in section 4.3.

4.1 Results

4.1.1 William 'Bunk' Moreland

Bunk appears in 197 scenes, totaling 4520 frames. In his data, 82 markers from the base code's opposing variety are found, yielding 1.8 markers per 100 frames.

Table 4.1: Overall switching, Bunk.

	Frequency	Percent
none	138	70,0
Lexical	35	18,0
Grammatical	16	8,0
Both, majority lexical	4	2,0
Both, majority grammatical	4	2,0
Total	197	100,0

Table 4.1 shows that out of Bunk's 197 scenes, 70% do not involve a switch. Purely lexical switches are found in 18% of the scenes. Purely grammatical code switches are found in 16 scenes, 8%. The two combined categories constitute 2% each.

Table 4.2: Base code, Bunk.

	Frequency	Percent
SE	194	98,0
AAVE	3	2,0
Total	197	100,0

As shown in table 4.2, AAVE is set as base code in 3 out of 197 scenes.

Table 4.3: CS type, Bunk.

	Frequency	Percent
Topic Shift	19	32,0
Topic shift criminal related	11	18,0
Topic Shift sexuality, drinking, "socially less accepted activites"	2	3,0
Change of participant constellation	1	2,0
Change of participant constellation and topic shift	1	2,0
Reported speech	1	2,0
Parenthsis	9	15,0
Reiteration	2	3,0
Uninterpretable/outside categories	13	22,0
Total	59	100,0

As shown in table 4.3, "topic shift" is found in 32% of all scenes involving a switch. Other, more specified, topic shift sub-categories also have a strong presence, where criminally related topic shifts occur in 18% of scenes containing a switch. "Parenthesis" is also well represented with, used in 15% of all scenes containing a switch. Switches placed outside the prescribed sub-categories are found in 22% of scenes.

			Cha	inge In Speake	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	110	14	14	138
		% within Switches	80,0%	10,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	76,0%	70,0%	44,0%	70,0%
	Lexical	Count	20	5	10	35
		% within Switches	57,0%	14,0%	29,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	14,0%	25,0%	31,0%	18,0%
	Grammatical	Count	12	0	4	16
		% within Switches	75,0%	0,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	8,0%	0,0%	13,0%	8,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	3	4
		% within Switches	25,0%	0,0%	75,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	1,0%	0,0%	9,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	2	1	1	4
	grammatical	% within Switches	50,0%	25,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	1,0%	5,0%	3,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	145	20	32	197
		% within Switches	74,0%	10,0%	16,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.4: Change in speaker affect, Bunk.

Table 4.4 shows that scenes not involving a significant change in speaker affect constitute 74% of all scenes. Scenes involving a humorous change constitute 16%, and a change towards aggression is found in 10% of all scenes. The minority of humorous scenes do not involve a switch, as 44% of these scenes did not contain any markers. Of these scenes, 31% involve a lexical switch, 13% grammatical switches. The two "both" sub-categories are represented 9% and 3% within humorous switches, "majority lexical" being the most numerous of the two. Within the "aggression" sub-category, 70% of scenes do not involve a switch, 25% of scenes involve a lexical switch, and one switch, 5%, involves both grammatical and lexical markers, majority grammatical. Overall, within the scenes involving a change in speaker affect, 24 of 52 scenes involve a switch.

						Setting				
			Police station	Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	48	19	23	13	7	2	26	138
		% within Switches	35,0%	14,0%	17,0%	9,0%	5,0%	1,0%	19,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	65,0%	63,0%	77,0%	68,0%	100,0%	67,0%	76,0%	70,0%
	Lexical	Count	15	8	5	2	0	1	4	35
		% within Switches	43,0%	23,0%	14,0%	6,0%	0,0%	3,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	20,0%	27,0%	17,0%	11,0%	0,0%	33,0%	12,0%	18,0%
	Grammatical	Count	9	1	2	2	0	0	2	16
		% within Switches	56,0%	6,0%	13,0%	13,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	13,0%	3,0%	7,0%	11,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%	8,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	4
		% within Switches	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	4
	grammatical	% within Switches	25,0%	50,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	1,0%	7,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	74	30	30	19	7	3	34	197
		% within Switches	38,0%	15,0%	15,0%	10,0%	4,0%	2,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Seven values are included in table 4.5, and Bunk is, as shown, appearing regularly in an array of settings. Overall, all settings contain a majority of scenes not involving a switch. Looking at different settings, one see that "Hood" has 63% of scenes not involving a switch , "Police station" 65% , "Home" 67%, "Bar" 68%, "Other" 76% "Office" 77% and "Down Town area" 100%. The least formal setting, "Hood", and the most formal setting, "Down Town area", are thus the most and least switched setting respectively. The increase in percentage of scenes without switches is accompanied by more formal settings, although most settings do not contain switches around 65%. Lexical switches dominate each sub-category.

Table	4.6:	Action,	Bunk.
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						Action				
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Drinking (high)	Public Speaking	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	76	12	1	7	1	41	0	138
		% within Switches	55,0%	9,0%	1,0%	5,0%	1,0%	30,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	70,0%	63,0%	100,0%	58,0%	100,0%	76,0%	0,0%	70,0%
	Lexical	Count	19	5	0	2	0	8	1	35
		% within Switches	54,0%	14,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	23,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	17,0%	26,0%	0,0%	17,0%	0,0%	15,0%	100,0%	18,0%
	Grammatical	Count	12	1	0	2	0	1	0	16
		% within Switches	75,0%	6,0%	0,0%	13,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	11,0%	5,0%	0,0%	17,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	8,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	4
		% within Switches	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	4,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	4
	grammatical	% within Switches	25,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	1,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	109	19	1	12	1	54	1	197
		% within Switches	55,0%	10,0%	1,0%	6,0%	1,0%	27,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

In table 4.6, "work related conversation" constitutes 55% of all actions, 70% of these do not involve a switch. Lexical switches are found in 17% of scenes in this sub-category, 11% of switches are grammatical. One scene involves a switch in two "both" categories, 1% each

within the sub-category. "Drinking" scenes do not involve a switch in 58% of the scenes, neither does 63% of the scenes in "friendly conversation", 76% of the scenes in "police intervention" and 100% of the scenes in both "public speaking" and "criminal activities". The two last sub-categories contain rather few scenes, but a pattern of more switching paired with less formality can be noted also in the activity category. Lexical switching dominates the more numerous sub-categories, in "drinking" the lexical switching is matched by grammatical switching.

					In	terlocutor Relatior	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	9	13	69	15	12	16	4	13
		% within Switches	7,0%	10,0%	50,0%	11,0%	9,0%	12,0%	3,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	56,0%	87,0%	64,0%	100,0%	67,0%	80,0%	80,0%	70,04
	Lexical	Count	3	1	23	0	5	3	0	3
		% within Switches	9,0%	3,0%	66,0%	0,0%	14,0%	9,0%	0,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	19,0%	7,0%	21,0%	0,0%	28,0%	15,0%	0,0%	18,0
	Grammatical	Count	2	0	12	0	0	1	1	1
		% within Switches	13,0%	0,0%	75,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%	6,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	13,0%	0,0%	11,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,0%	20,0%	8,0
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	
		% within Switches	25,0%	25,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	6,0%	7,0%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0
	Both, majority	Count	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	
	grammatical	% within Switches	25,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	6,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0
Total		Count	16	15	108	15	18	20	5	1!
		% within Switches	8,0%	8,0%	55,0%	8,0%	9,0%	10,0%	3,0%	100,0
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0

Table 4.7: Interlocutor relationship, Bunk.

Table 4.7 shows that Bunk switches significantly less in mixed power relationship settings. The mixed and unmixed "stranger(s)" sub-categories are the prime examples, where 56% of unmixed "stranger(s)" scenes do not contain a switch and 100% of mixed, "mainly strangers" do. The most frequently observed sub-category, "closer relationship(s)", shows 64% of scenes not containing a switch, and the majority of switches, 21%, are lexical. Switches within this sub-category are 11% grammatical and the two combined sub-categories contain two scenes, 2% each.

				Power Re	lationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	112	7	17	2	138
		% within Switches	81,0%	5,0%	12,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	70,0%	78,0%	71,0%	67,0%	70,0%
	Lexical	Count	28	2	4	1	35
		% within Switches	80,0%	6,0%	11,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	17,0%	22,0%	17,0%	33,0%	18,0%
	Grammatical	Count	15	0	1	0	16
		% within Switches	94,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	9,0%	0,0%	4,0%	0,0%	8,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	4	0	0	0	4
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	3,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	2	0	2	0	4
	grammatical	% within Switches	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	1,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	161	9	24	3	197
		% within Switches	82,0%	5,0%	12,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.8: Power relationship, Bunk.

Table 4.8 shows that Bunk mainly appears in "balanced" power relationships, 82% of all observed scenes. Of these, lexical switches constitute 17% and grammatical switches constitute 9%. Combined, the two "both" categories constitute 4% of scenes in this sub-category. "Asymmetrical upwards" versus "downwards" scenes are quite similar, 78% and 71% of scenes do not contain a switch, but types of switches are more evenly distributed in "downwards" scenes. Only three "mixed" scenes were logged, one of these involves a switch.

				Interlocutor Li	nguistic Compete	nce and Race		
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	13	19	30	21	55	138
		% within Switches	9,0%	14,0%	22,0%	15,0%	40,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	65,0%	61,0%	67,0%	81,0%	73,0%	70,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	7	8	4	13	35
		% within Switches	9,0%	20,0%	23,0%	11,0%	37,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	15,0%	23,0%	18,0%	15,0%	17,0%	18,0%
	Grammatical	Count	1	3	6	1	5	16
		% within Switches	6,0%	19,0%	38,0%	6,0%	31,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	5,0%	10,0%	13,0%	4,0%	7,0%	8,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	1	1	0	1	4
		% within Switches	25,0%	25,0%	25,0%	0,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	5,0%	3,0%	2,0%	0,0%	1,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	2	1	0	0	1	4
	grammatical	% within Switches	50,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	10,0%	3,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	20	31	45	26	75	197
		% within Switches	10,0%	16,0%	23,0%	13,0%	38,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Linguistic Competence and Race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.9: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Bunk.

Table 4.9 shows that most scenes not containing a switch are found in the "Caucasian no AAVE use" sub-category, as 81% of these scenes contain no AAVE markers. Scenes with "Caucasians some AAVE use" interlocutors are quite similar to the scenes with Afro-American interlocutors, the range being 61-67% of scenes without switches. The former sub-category does however stand out, as purely grammatical switches are found in 13% of these, whereas only 5% grammatical switches are found with "AA and AAVE user" interlocutors. Types of markers are however more evenly distributed in the AA sub-category. Scenes in the "mixed" sub-category do not contain switches in 73% of such entries, here 17% of switches are lexical and 7% are grammatical. Two scenes are found in the "both" categories, totaling 2% of all scenes

Character summary

Bunk's most salient feature is the use of CS in relation to humor. He code-switches in the majority of the humorous settings and a change in speaker affect is a trigger of CS. The degree of formality in both "setting" and "action" also affects his CS as the less formal sub-categories show a higher percentage of switching. Race and linguistic competence seems to influence CS in to a certain degree, but no progressive increase of switching is found from "Caucasian no AAVE use" to "AA AAVE user". Sub-categories including interlocutors with

some level of AAVE competence are all quite similar, but the highest percentage of scenes that do not involve a switch is found in the "Caucasian no AAVE use" sub-category. In "power relationship" the "asymmetrical upwards" sub-category shows less switching than the two remaining sub-categories, which must be said to show quite similar percentages of scenes involving a switch. Here, no progressively increase across the expected values is found.

Bunk's quote is taken from a scene where he is talking to an AA informant, Omar Little. He uses an AAVE grammatical marker when somewhat humorously pointing out the fact that the investigation of less recent murders is as important as new ones.

(45) Seeing as how you're being all charitable with your recollections,what else you got in the way of open murders? INT: *Going to Barksdale*? W.M: Going anywhere. INT: *How far back do you want me to go*? W.M: As far as you need.Murder stay murder.

4.1.2 Clay Davies

Clay appears in 30 scenes, totaling 726 frames. In his data, 39 AAVE markers are found, yielding 5.4 markers per 100 frames.

	Frequency	Percent
none	15	50,0
Lexical	4	13,0
Grammatical	5	17,0
Both, majority lexical	3	10,0
Both, majority grammatical	3	10,0
Total	30	100,0

Table 4.10: Overall switching, Clay

As shown in table 4.10, 50% of Clay's scenes involve a switch into AAVE. Within said scenes, grammatical switches have a strong presence. Purely grammatical switching constitutes the major sub-category, 17% of all scenes, and the two "both" sub-categories, involving grammatical switches to varying degree, both constitute 10% of all scenes. Combined, grammatical switching is present in 37% of all scenes. Purely lexical shifts are found in 13% of all scenes.

Table 4.11: Base code, Clay

	Frequency	Percent
SE	30	100,0

Table 4.11 shows that Clay Davies uses SE as the base code for all 30 scenes he is involved in.

Table 4.12: CS type, Clay

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Topic Shift	6	40,0
	Topic Shift sexuality, drinking, "socially less accepted activites"	1	7,0
	Parenthsis	4	27,0
	Uninterpretable/outside categories	4	27,0
	Total	15	100,0

As shown in table 4.12, topic shifts constitute 47% of all switches, 40% shifts into unspecified topics, and 7% into the specified sub-category. "Parenthesis" switches, the only remaining interpretable sub-category, are found in 27% of scenes. Switches found outside of the listed categories constitute 27% of all scenes.

			Cha	nge in Speakei	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	11	2	2	15
		% within Switches	73,0%	13,0%	13,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	58,0%	29,0%	50,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	2	1	1	4
		% within Switches	50,0%	25,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	1,0%	14,0%	25,0%	13,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	3	0	5
		% within Switches	40,0%	60,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	11,0%	43,0%	0,0%	17,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	2	0	1	3
		% within Switches	67,0%	0,0%	33,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	11,0%	0,0%	25,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	2	1	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	67,0%	33,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	11,0%	14,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	19	7	4	30
		% within Switches	63,0%	23,0%	13,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.13: Change in speaker affect, Clay

Clay's speech is, as shown in table 4.13, often paired with a change in speaker affect as 23% of all scenes see a change in affect towards aggression and only 29% of these do not contain a switch. Grammatical switches are found in 43% of all "aggression" scenes. Scenes involving a change towards humor count two switches, noting that only four such scenes were found in his data. Here, lexical markers dominate.

				5	Setting		
			Office	Bar	DownTown area	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	2	2	10	1	15
		% within Switches	13,0%	13,0%	67,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	20,0%	67,0%	67,0%	50,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	0	1	0	4
		% within Switches	75,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	30,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,0%	13,0%
	Grammatical	Count	4	0	1	0	5
		% within Switches	80,0%	0,0%	20,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	40,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,0%	7,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	0	2	1	3
		% within Switches	0,0%	0,0%	67,0%	33,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	0,0%	0,0%	13,0%	50,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	1	1	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	33,0%	33,0%	33,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	10,0%	33,0%	7,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	10	3	15	2	30
		% within Switches	33,0%	10,0%	50,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.14: Setting, Clay

As shown in table 4.14, Clay appears in a limited number of settings, and the major subcategories are "office" and "down town area", which account for 33% and 50% of all scenes. The former sub-category leads in scenes showing a switch, where both lexical and grammatical switches exceed scenes without a switch. Only 20% of "office" scenes do not contain a switch. "Down town area" shows no switching in 67% of logged scenes, and the types of switches are quite evenly distributed in this setting. The less numerous sub-categories "bar" and "other", 10% and 7% of all scenes respectively, do not contain a switch in 67% and 50% of the entries.

Table 4.15: Action, Clay

				Action			
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Public Speaking	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	6	5	4	0	15
		% within Switches	40,0%	33,0%	27,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	32,0%	100,0%	100,0%	0,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	4	0	0	0	4
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	21,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%
	Grammatical	Count	5	0	0	0	5
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	26,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	17,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	0	2	3
		% within Switches	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	67,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	3	0	0	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	16,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	19	5	4	2	30
		% within Switches	64,0%	17,0%	13,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The "action" variable, shown in table 4.15, is rather extreme. In the major category, "work related conversation", 32% of scenes do not contain a switch, whereas 100% of scenes in "friendly conversation/social setting" and "public speaking" show no AAVE markers. Other settings, totaling two scenes, are both accompanied by a switch.

Table 4.16: Interlocutor relationship, Clay

					Interlocuto	r Relationship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	2	6	3	0	1	3	15
		% within Switches	13,0%	40,0%	20,0%	0,0%	7,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	46,0%	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	60,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	0	2	0	1	1	0	4
		% within Switches	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	25,0%	25,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	15,0%	0,0%	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	13,0%
	Grammatical	Count	0	2	2	1	0	0	5
		% within Switches	0,0%	40,0%	40,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	15,0%	33,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	17,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
		% within Switches	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	67,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	40,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	0,0%	67,0%	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	15,0%	17,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	2	13	6	2	2	5	30
		% within Switches	7,0%	43,0%	20,0%	7,0%	7,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.16 shows that the most numerous sub-category, "acquaintances", does not contain switches in 46% of its scenes. Switches are quite evenly distributed across lexical and grammatical markers. The mixed "acquaintance(s)" sub-category, only two scenes, has one scene that includes a switch. The two "stranger(s)" sub-categories, mixed and unmixed, are in stark contrast as the former contains only scenes including a switch, in the latter no scenes include a switch. "Closer relationship(s)" and the "mixed, mainly acquaintances" sub-categories are identical, where 50% of scenes do not contain any markers.

				Power Re	ationship		
				Asymmetrical	Asymmetrical		
			Balanced	upwards	downwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	13	0	1	1	15
		% within Switches	87,0%	0,0%	7,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	52,0%	0,0%	33,0%	100,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	0	1	0	4
		% within Switches	75,0%	0,0%	25,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	12,0%	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	13,0%
	Grammatical	Count	4	1	0	0	5
		% within Switches	80,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	16,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	17,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	3	0	0	0	3
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	12,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	2	0	1	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	67,0%	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	8,0%	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	25	1	3	1	30
		% within Switches	83,0%	3,0%	10,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.17: Power relationship, Clay

As shown in table 4.17, Clay is mostly involved in "balanced" scenes which amount to 83 % of all scenes. Of these, 52% do not contain switches. Switches are quite evenly distributed, although grammatical switches are most frequent, accounting for 16% of the switches. Two sub-categories are rather small, containing only one scene each. The "asymmetrical upwards" scene contains a switch, two out of three "asymmetrical downwards" scenes contain a switch, and the "mixed" power relationship scene does not contain a switch.

			Inter	locutor linguistic (competence and r	ace	
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	0	5	2	8	15
		% within Switches	0,0%	33,0%	13,0%	53,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	0,0%	46,0%	67,0%	62,0%	50,0%
	Lexical	Count	1	1	0	2	4
		% within Switches	25,0%	25,0%	0,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	33,0%	9,0%	0,0%	15,0%	13,0%
	Grammatical	Count	1	2	1	1	5
		% within Switches	20,0%	40,0%	20,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	33,0%	18,0%	33,0%	8,0%	7,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	1	0	2	3
		% within Switches	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	67,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	0,0%	9,0%	0,0%	15,0%	10,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	2	0	0	3
	grammatical	% within Switches	33,0%	67,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	33,0%	18,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%
Total		Count	3	11	3	13	30
		% within Switches	10,0%	37,0%	10,0%	43,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.18: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Clay

Table 4.18 shows that all scenes involving "AA AAVE users" contain a switch, whereas 46% of scenes involving "AA some AAVE use" interlocutors do not count switches. "Caucasian no AAVE use" do not contain a switch in 67% of such entries, and 62% of the "mixed race and competence" scenes do not contain a switch.

Character summary

Clay shows a high degree of change in speaker affect, and 73% of scenes involving a change towards aggression are accompanied by a switch. His overall switching, 50% of all scenes, is also highly noteworthy considering his social strata. Categories with many sub-categories show few clear patterns as the scarcity of scenes leaves many sub-categories with only one or two entries. One can draw attention to e.g. "public speaking" that shows no switches, but the sub-category only counts four scenes. A progressive increase in switching is found within race, where switching occurs most frequently in "Afro-American AAVE users" and less frequently with "Caucasian no AAVE use", with the "Afro-American some AAVE use" placed in between.

Clay's quote is taken from a conversation with the AA Council President, where Clay

uses multiple negation. *Ain't* is as previously discussed not considered an AAVE marker, here bold typeface is used to indicate the first negation.

(46)(...)C.D: You tell every last one that I do not fall alone. You think I'm gonna be the scapegoat for the whole damn machine? (...) INT: *Clarence is going to stand with you. He told me so. He'll be out there*. C.D: Easy for him. He **ain't** runnin' for **nuthin' no** more. I don't see you and your kind with me on this.

4.1.3 Russell 'Stringer' Bell

Stringer appears in 121 scenes, totaling 2881 frames. In his data, 225 markers from the base code's opposing variety are found, yielding 7.8 markers per 100 frames.

Table 4.19:	Overall	switches,	Stringer
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					Switche	s		
			none	Lexical	Grammatical	Both, majority lexical	Both, majority grammatical	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	25	17	17	14	15	88
		% within Base Code	28,0%	19,0%	19,0%	16,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Switches	60,0%	89,0%	59,0%	93,0%	94,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	17	2	12	1	1	33
		% within Base Code	52,0%	6,0%	36,0%	3,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Switches	40,0%	11,0%	41,0%	7,0%	6,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	42	19	29	15	16	121
		% within Base Code	35,0%	16,0%	24,0%	12,0%	13,0%	100,0%
		% within Switches	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.19, when Stringer is using SE as base code, 28% of scenes do not involve a switch. The majority of SE scenes thus involve a switch, and these are quite evenly distributed across the sub-categories. The "lexical" and "grammatical" sub-categories both contain 19% of scenes. The two "both" sub-categories trail with 17% and 16% SE scenes, the "both, majority grammatical" being the most numerous. AAVE base code scenes show a drastically different distribution, where 52% of scenes do not include a switch, 36% of these involve a grammatical switch, 6% a lexical switch and the "both" categories hold one scene each, 6% combined.

Table 4.20: Base code, Stringer

	Frequency	Percent
SE	88	73,0
AAVE	33	27,0
Total	121	100,0

As shown in table 4.20, Stinger uses AAVE as base code in 27% of his 121 scenes, 73% of scenes are set in the SE base code.

Table 4.21: CS type, Stinger

							CS type					
			Topic Shift	Topic shift criminal related	Topic Shift sexuality, drinking, "socially less accepted activites"	Change of participant constellation	Change of participant constellation and topic shift	Reported speech	Parenthesis	Reiteration	Uninterpretabl e/outside categories	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	34	5	3	2	0	1	7	4	7	63
		% within Base Code	54,0%	8,0%	5,0%	3,0%	0,0%	2,0%	11,0%	6,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within CS type	87,0%	83,0%	100,0%	100,0%	0,0%	50,0%	58,0%	80,0%	78,0%	79,7%
	AAVE	Count	5	1	0	0	1	1	5	1	2	16
		% within Base Code	31,0%	6,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%	6,0%	31,0%	6,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within CS type	13,0%	17,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	50,0%	42,0%	20,0%	22,0%	0,0%
Total		Count	39	6	3	2	1	2	12	5	9	79
		% within Base Code	49,0%	8,0%	4,0%	3,0%	1,0%	3,0%	15,0%	6,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within CS type	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Topic shifts, shown in table 4.21 dominate this category as the "topic-shift" sub-category constitutes 49% of all CS types and the specified sub-categories 8%, 4% and 1%, totaling 62% of all scenes. "Parenthesis" is also frequently used, found in 15% of all scenes containing a switch. "Reiteration" is found in 6% of all scenes involving a switch, 11% were placed in the "uninterpretable" sub-category. The remaining entries are found in two sub-categories holding two scenes each, 3% of all scenes: "reported speech" and "change in participant constellation". As most scenes are set to SE base code, the SE sub-categories are more numerous than their AAVE counterparts, but looking at the percentages within the base codes one can see that "topic shift" is only observed 31% in the AAVE row, but 54% in the SE row. "Parenthesis" matches "topic shift" in the AAVE row, 31% of such scenes, but in the SE row the percentage is significantly lower with only 11% of SE scenes.

			Cha	nge in Speaker	Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	67	15	6	88
		% within Base Code	76,0%	17,0%	7,0%	100,0%
	% within Change In Speaker Affect		72,0%	75,0%	75,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	26	5	2	33
		% within Base Code	79,0%	15,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	28,0%	25,0%	25,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	93	20	8	121
		% within Base Code	77,0%	17,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.22: Change in speaker affect, base code, Stringer.

Table 4.22 shows that within the base codes scenes not involving a change in speaker affect quite similar percentages are found; 76% in SE and 79% in AAVE. Sub-categories also show a similar distribution; 17% of SE base code scenes have change towards aggression and 15% in AAVE base code scenes. Humorous scenes constitute 7% of all SE entries, 6% in AAVE. Aggression is thus used more frequently than humor, as it is found 17% of scenes whereas 7% of scenes are found in the "humorous" sub-category.

			Cha	nge in Speake	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	32	5	5	42
		% within Switches	76,0%	12,0%	12,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	34,0%	25,0%	63,0%	35,0%
	Lexical	Count	13	6	0	19
		% within Switches	68,0%	32,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	14,0%	30,0%	0,0%	16,0%
	Grammatical	Count	27	2	0	29
		% within Switches	93,0%	7,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	29,0%	10,0%	0,0%	24,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	9	4	2	15
		% within Switches	60,0%	27,0%	13,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	10,0%	20,0%	24,0%	12,0%
	Both, majority	Count	12	3	1	16
	grammatical	% within Switches	75,0%	19,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	13,0%	15,0%	13,0%	13,0%
Total		Count	93	20	8	121
		% within Switches	77,0%	17,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.23: Change in speaker affect, Stinger.

As shown in table 4.23, a total of 77% of scenes see no change in speaker affect, 17% involve a change towards aggression, 7% towards humor. The most numerous sub-category is "aggression", here 30% are lexical switches, 20% fall within the "both, majority lexical" sub-category, 15% are "both, majority grammatical" and 10% are purely grammatical switches. Considering that only 25% of scenes involving aggression are not accompanied by a switch, it becomes clear that aggression spurs code-switching. Humorous scenes are not as plentiful and they are less often accompanied by a switch. Only the "both" cells are filled, two scenes in "majority lexical" and one in "majority grammatical", 24% and 13% of humorous scenes leaving 63% of such scenes not accompanied by a switch. Aggression is thus not only more frequently used overall, but these scenes are more often containing switches.

Table 4.24: Setting, base code, Stringer.

					ç	Setting			
			Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	15	35	2	16	5	15	88
		% within Base Code	17,0%	40,0%	2,0%	18,0%	6,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	72,0%	70,0%	67,0%	84,0%	62,0%	75,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	6	15	1	3	3	5	33
		% within Base Code	18,0%	46,0%	3,0%	9,0%	9,0%	15,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	28,0%	30,0%	33,0%	16,0%	38,0%	25,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	21	50	3	19	8	20	121
		% within Base Code	17,0%	41,0%	3,0%	16,0%	7,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Remembering the percentages for overall base code use shown in table 4.20, 27% AAVE, some sub-categories show a mentionable divergence from this number in table 4.24. In "down town area" scenes, only 16% are set in AAVE base code, in "hood" 28%. "Home", eight scenes total, shows the greatest upwards divergence as 38% of these scenes are set to AAVE.

Table 4.25: Setting, Stringer.

					5	Setting			
			Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	7	17	1	8	2	7	4
		% within Switches	17,0%	41,0%	2,0%	19,0%	5,0%	17,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	33,0%	34,0%	33,0%	42,0%	25,0%	35,0%	35,09
	Lexical	Count	2	10	1	3	1	2	1
		% within Switches	11,0%	53,0%	5,0%	16,0%	5,0%	11,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	10,0%	20,0%	33,0%	6,0%	13,0%	10,0%	6,09
	Grammatical	Count	5	12	1	5	1	5	2
		% within Switches	17,0%	41,0%	3,0%	17,0%	3,0%	17,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	24,0%	24,0%	33,0%	26,0%	13,0%	25,0%	24,09
	Both, majority lexical	Count	2	8	0	1	2	2	1
		% within Switches	13,0%	53,0%	0,0%	7,0%	13,0%	13,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	10,0%	16,0%	0,0%	5,0%	25,0%	10,0%	12,09
	Both, majority	Count	5	3	0	2	2	4	10
	grammatical	% within Switches	31,0%	19,0%	0,0%	13,0%	13,0%	7 17,0% 35,0% 2 11,0% 10,0% 5 17,0% 25,0% 20,0% 20,0% 20,0% 20 17,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	24,0%	6,0%	0,0%	11,0%	25,0%	20,0%	13,09
Total		Count	21	50	3	19	8	20	12
		% within Switches	17,0%	41,0%	3,0%	16,0%	7,0%	17,0%	100,09
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,09

As shown in table 4.25, "down town area" has most scenes that do not involve a switch, 42% total. The remaining sub-categories land around 34% in scenes not involving a switch, save "home", where this percentage shows a decline to 25%. "Hood" shows an interestingly high use of grammatical markers, as 24% of all "hood" scenes involve a purely grammatical switch, a percentage that is matched by the "both, majority grammatical" sub-category. Nearly half of all "hood" scenes thus involve grammatical switches.

Table 4.26: Action, base code, Stringer.

					Action			
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	67	13	5	1	2	88
		% within Base Code	76,0%	15,0%	6,0%	1,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	77,0%	65,0%	50,0%	100,0%	67,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	20	7	5	0	1	33
		% within Base Code	60,0%	21,0%	15,0%	0,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	23,0%	35,0%	50,0%	0,0%	33,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	87	20	10	1	3	121
		% within Base Code	72,0%	17,0%	8,0%	1,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.26 shows that Stringer's "action" variable holds, as with Clay, relatively few subcategories. "Criminal activities" stands out in terms of AAVE base code use, as 50% is set in this base code. "Work related conversation" shows 77% SE base code, and the one "police intervention" scene is also set in SE.

					Action			
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	28	8	3	0	3	42
		% within Switches	67,0%	19,0%	7,0%	0,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	32,0%	40,0%	30,0%	0,0%	100,0%	35,0%
	Lexical	Count	17	1	1	0	0	19
		% within Switches	90,0%	5,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	20,0%	5,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	16,0%
	Grammatical	Count	23	3	3	0	0	29
		% within Switches	79,0%	10,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	26,0%	15,0%	30,0%	0,0%	0,0%	24,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	9	4	2	0	0	1
		% within Switches	60,0%	27,0%	13,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	10,0%	20,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Both, majority	Count	10	4	1	1	0	16
	grammatical	% within Switches	63,0%	25,0%	6,0%	6,0%	3 7,0% 100,0% 0,0% 0,0% 0,0% 0,0% 0,0% 0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	12,0%	20,0%	10,0%	100,0%	0,0%	13,0%
Total		Count	87	20	10	1	3	12'
		% within Switches	72,0%	17,0%	8,0%	1,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.27, the one "police intervention" entry involves a "both, majority grammatical" switch, somewhat robbing it of an expected formality in this setting. Table 4.27 show that "work-related conversation" also contains a high degree of switching, where 26% of these scenes involve a purely grammatical switch. Grammatical switches are as common as scenes not involving a switch in the "criminal activities" sub-category, found in 30% of these scenes.

Table 4.28: Interlocutor relationship, base code, Stringer.

					Int	erlocutor Relation	ship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintances	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	3	34	36	2	11	2	0	88
		% within Base Code	3,0%	39,0%	41,0%	2,0%	13,0%	2,0%	0,0%	100,0%
_		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	72,0%	71,0%	100,0%	85,0%	50,0%	0,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	0	13	15	0	2	2	1	33
		% within Base Code	0,0%	39,0%	46,0%	0,0%	6,0%	6,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	28,0%	29,0%	0,0%	15,0%	50,0%	100,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	3	47	51	2	13	4	1	121
		% within Base Code	3,0%	39,0%	42,0%	2,0%	11,0%	3,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.28, scenes involving "stranger(s)" or "mainly strangers", are set in SE. "Acquaintances" and "closer relationship" are within a few percentage points of the overall AAVE/SE distribution. The mixed," mainly acquaintances" sub-category shows a higher degree of SE base code use, as 85% of these scenes are set in SE.

Table 4.29: Interlocutor relationship, Stinger

					In	terlocutor Relatior	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	2	21	10	1	4	3	1	42
		% within Switches	5,0%	50,0%	24,0%	2,0%	10,0%	7,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	67,0%	45,0%	20,0%	50,0%	31,0%	75,0%	100,0%	35,0%
	Lexical	Count	1	5	10	0	2	1	0	19
		% within Switches	5,0%	26,0%	53,0%	0,0%	11,0%	5,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	33,0%	11,0%	20,0%	0,0%	15,0%	25,0%	0,0%	16,0%
	Grammatical	Count	0	11	16	0	2	0	0	29
		% within Switches	0,0%	38,0%	55,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	23,0%	31,0%	0,0%	15,0%	0,0%	0,0%	24,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	0	10	1	4	0	0	15
		% within Switches	0,0%	0,0%	67,0%	7,0%	27,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	0,0%	20,0%	50,0%	31,0%	0,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Both, majority	Count	0	10	5	0	1	0	0	16
	grammatical	% within Switches	0,0%	63,0%	31,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	21,0%	10,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,0%
Total		Count	3	47	51	2	13	4	1	121
		% within Switches	3,0%	39,0%	42,0%	2,0%	11,0%	3,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.29 shows that only 20% of "closer relationship" scenes do not involve a switch and "both, majority grammatical" is the only cell with a lower percentage, holding 10% of such scenes. In the second most numerous sub-category, "acquaintances", 45% of scenes do not including a switch, and "stranger" scenes do not involve a switch 67%, two out of three scenes. Although the latter sub-category holds few scenes, a clear pattern emerges in the unmixed sub-categories as more switching is found the closer the relationships are.

Table 4.30: Power relationship, base code, Stringer

				Power Rel	ationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	53	5	29	1	88
		% within Base Code	60,0%	6,0%	33,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	71,0%	71,0%	83,0%	25,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	22	2	6	3	33
		% within Base Code	67,0%	6,0%	18,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	29,0%	29,0%	17,0%	75,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	75	7	35	4	121
		% within Base Code	62,0%	6,0%	29,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.30, the four scenes in the "mixed" sub-category stands out as the majority of these scenes' base code is AAVE. No clear pattern is found, as "balanced" and "asymmetrical upwards" scenes are identical, and "asymmetrical downwards" scenes are showing less AAVE base code use than the two former sub-categories.

Table 4.31: Power relationship, Stringer.

				Power Re	lationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	24	6	10	2	42
		% within Switches	57,0%	14,0%	24,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	32,0%	86,0%	29,0%	50,0%	35,0%
	Lexical	Count	13	0	5	1	19
		% within Switches	68,0%	0,0%	26,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	17,0%	0,0%	14,0%	25,0%	16,0%
	Grammatical	Count	19	0	9	1	29
		% within Switches	66,0%	0,0%	31,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	25,0%	0,0%	26,0%	25,0%	24,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	9	1	5	0	15
		% within Switches	60,0%	7,0%	33,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	12,0%	14,0%	14,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Both, majority	Count	10	0	6	0	16
	grammatical	% within Switches	63,0%	0,0%	38,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	13,0%	0,0%	17,0%	0,0%	13,0%
Total		Count	75	7	35	4	121
		% within Switches	62,0%	6,0%	29,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As opposed to table 4.30, a pattern does emerge in table 4.31. A progressive increase is found from "asymmetrical downwards" to "asymmetrical upwards" scenes. Only 29% of the former sub-category does not involve a switch. "Mixed" scenes, four in total, are not accompanied by a switch in 50% of these entries.

Table 4.32: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, b	base code, Stringer.
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				Interlocutor li	nguistic competer	nce and race		
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Base Code	SE	Count	58	12	1	8	9	88
		% within Base Code	66,0%	14,0%	1,0%	9,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	65,0%	92,0%	50,0%	100,0%	100,0%	73,0%
	AAVE	Count	31	1	1	0	0	33
		% within Base Code	94,0%	3,0%	3,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	35,0%	8,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	27,0%
Total		Count	89	13	2	8	9	121
		% within Base Code	74,0%	11,0%	2,0%	7,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The most notable percentage in table 4.32 is clearly the 94% of AAVE base code use found in the "AAA and AAVE user" sub-category. Scenes involving a Caucasian interlocutor, including the "mixed" sub-category, only show one entry where AAVE is used as base code. AAVE is also scarcely used in the "Afro-American some AAVE use" sub-category, only one scene, 8%, is set in AAVE.

				Interlocutor li	nguistic competer	nce and race		
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	26	7	1	3	5	42
		% within Switches	62,0%	17,0%	2,0%	7,0%	12,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	29,0%	54,0%	50,0%	38,0%	56,0%	35,0%
	Lexical	Count	15	1	0	1	2	19
		% within Switches	79,0%	5,0%	0,0%	5,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	17,0%	8,0%	0,0%	13,0%	22,0%	16,0%
	Grammatical	Count	22	2	0	4	1	29
		% within Switches	76,0%	7,0%	0,0%	14,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	25,0%	15,0%	0,0%	50,0%	11,0%	24,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	13	1	0	0	1	15
		% within Switches	87,0%	7,0%	0,0%	0,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	15,0%	8,0%	0,0%	0,0%	11,0%	12,0%
	Both, majority	Count	13	2	1	0	0	16
	grammatical	% within Switches	81,0%	13,0%	6,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	15,0%	15,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,0%
Total		Count	89	13	2	8	9	121
		% within Switches	74,0%	11,0%	2,0%	7,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.33: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Stringer.

Switches are more evenly distributed in table 4.33 than in the base code table, 4.32, but no clear pattern emerges. Here, the "Caucasian no AAVE" sub-category see frequent switching. Purely grammatical switches are more frequent than scenes not involving a switch. The most evenly distributed sub-category is however the most numerous one, "AA and AAVE user", where the "both" sub-categories each contains 15% of such scenes.

Character summary

Stringer's base code use, especially when interacting with AA AAVE users, is his most salient feature. Aggression and CS show a strong correlation, humor seems to have less positive effect on his CS. When interacting with strangers, Stringer shows low percentages of both AAVE base code use and AAVE markers, further, base code use does not show the same progressively increasing patterns in variables where this is the case in his switching, as in power relationships. Stringer's data leaves an overall impression of him being affected by both external and internal factors to a certain degree, but the most important finding is first and foremost the presence of AAVE base code scenes and the frequency of switching in both base codes. Scenes set in the SE base code show a very high percentage of scenes involving a switch, 72%.

Stringer's quote is taken from a conversation with a Caucasian real-estate developer with whom he discusses the lack of progress in their project. Stringer is clearly aggravated initially, but becomes furious in his second line where three AAVE grammatical markers are found.

(47) SB: Oh, I can see it all clearly now. Between you and them subcontractors and that motherfuckin' politician, you all had me in a spin, right. *INT: Mr. Bell, I don't know...* SB: Little man! We() gonna get all this shit sorted out. And hey, if the shit **don't** come up right one way or another you() gonna pay for this shit. *INT: Look, I understand you're angry but at the same time you can see the progress we've made in here.*

4.1.4 Johnny Weeks

Johnny appears in 26 scenes, totaling 482 frames. In his data, 34 markers from the base code's opposing variety are found, yielding 7 markers per 100 frames.

Table 4.34: Overall switching, Johnny

	Frequency	Percent
none	11	42,0
Lexical	10	39,0
Both, majority lexical	5	19,0
Total	26	100,0

Table 4.34 shows that 42% of Johnny's scenes do not contain a switch, meaning that a majority of scenes do. Purely lexical switches constitute 39% of switched scenes. The "both, majority grammatical" sub-category is not used, only the "majority lexical" is found. Five such instances are logged, 19% of all scenes.

Table 4.35: Base code, Johnny

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	SE	24	92,0
	AAVE	2	8,0
	Total	26	100,0

As shown in table 4.35, Johnny uses AAVE as base code in two scenes, accounting for 8% of all scenes. SE is used in the remaining 24 scenes, or in 92% of all scenes.

Table 4.36: CS type, Johnny

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Topic Shift	4	27,0
	Topic shift criminal related	4	27,0
	Change of participant constellation	2	3,0
	Change of activity	1	7,0
	Reiteration	2	13,0
	Uninterpretable/outside categories	2	13,0
	Total	15	100,0

As shown in table 4.36, two "topic shift" sub-categories each contain 27% of all CS types, totaling 54% of all scenes. Shifts into criminally related topics are thus as common as any other topic on Johnny's part. Three sub-categories contain two switches, "change of participant constellation", "reiteration" and "uninterpretable", each sub-category representing 13% of all switches. One switch is found in "change of activity".

Table 4.37: Change in speaker affect, Johnny

			Cha	nge in Speake	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	10	1	0	11
		% within Switches	91,0%	9,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	42,0%	100,0%	0,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	9	0	1	10
		% within Switches	90,0%	0,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	38,0%	0,0%	100,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	5	0	0	5
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	21,0%	0,0%	0,0%	9,0%
Total		Count	24	1	1	26
		% within Switches	92,0%	4,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Being a drug addict seems to limit your emotional repertoire, as table 4.37 shows that only two scenes are included in the changed affect sub-categories. The scene involving humor includes a switch, but a sole scene cannot be used as a base for any generalizations. It does,

however, follow the same pattern seen with other characters, where humor is as a trigger for switching.

				Set	ting		
			Police station	Hood	DownTown area	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	1	7	2	1	11
		% within Switches	9,0%	64,0%	18,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	50,0%	35,0%	100,0%	50,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	1	9	0	0	10
		% within Switches	10,0%	90,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	50,0%	45,0%	0,0%	0,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	4	0	1	5
		% within Switches	0,0%	80,0%	0,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	0,0%	20,0%	0,0%	50,0%	19,0%
Total		Count	2	20	2	2	26
		% within Switches	8,0%	77,0%	8,0%	8,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Three settings comprise two scenes each. As shown in table 4.38, two of these settings, "police station" and "other" have one scene containing a switch, while "down town area" scenes show no switches. The most numerous sub-category, "hood", consists of 35% scenes without switching. "Lexical" and "both, majority lexical" comprise 45% and 20% respectively of all scenes set in "hood".

Table 4.39: Action, Johnny

				Action				
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Drinking (high)	Police Intervention	Total
Switches	none	Count	1	5	3	1	1	11
		% within Switches	9,0%	46,0%	27,0%	9,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	50,0%	30,0%	33,0%	50,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	0	3	4	2	1	10
		% within Switches	0,0%	30,0%	40,0%	20,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	0,0%	30,0%	40,0%	67,0%	50,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	2	3	0	0	5
		% within Switches	0,0%	40,0%	60,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	0,0%	20,0%	30,0%	0,0%	0,0%	19,0%
Total		Count	1	10	10	3	2	26
		% within Switches	4,0%	39,0%	39,0%	12,0%	8,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.39 shows that most scenes are either "friendly conversation" or "criminal activities/conversation", 10 scenes each. 50% of scenes do not contain a switch in the former sub-category, 30% in the latter. When under the influence of heroin, shown in the

"drinking/high" sub-category, he switches in two out of three scenes, when dealing with police in an official manner, one out of two scenes is switched, and the sole "work related conversation" scene is not switched.

				Int	erlocutor Relation	iship		
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Total
Switches	none	Count	3	1	4	1	2	11
		% within Switches	27,0%	9,0%	36,0%	9,0%	18,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	60,0%	50,0%	31,0%	33,0%	67,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	1	1	6	1	1	10
		% within Switches	10,0%	10,0%	60,0%	10,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	20,0%	50,0%	46,0%	33,0%	33,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	3	1	0	5
		% within Switches	20,0%	0,0%	60,0%	20,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	20,0%	0,0%	23,0%	33,0%	0,0%	19,0%
Total		Count	5	2	13	3	3	26
		% within Switches	19,0%	8,0%	50,0%	12,0%	12,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.40: Interlocutor relationship, Johnny

As shown in table 4.40, three out of five scenes, 60%, involving "stranger(s)" do not contain a switch. 50% of scenes in the "acquaintance(s)" sub-category are not accompanied by a switch. The "closer relationship" scenes are mainly with his mentor and partner in crime Bubbs. This sub-category comprise 50% of all scenes, and 31% of these scenes do not contain a switch. Most grammatical switches are also found in this sub-category, 60% of all "both, majority lexical".

Table 4.41: Power relationship, Johnny

			P	ower Relationship)	
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	4	6	1	11
		% within Switches	36,0%	55,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	33,0%	46,0%	100,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	5	5	0	10
		% within Switches	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	42,0%	39,0%	0,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	3	2	0	5
		% within Switches	60,0%	40,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	25,0%	15,0%	0,0%	19,0%
Total		Count	12	13	1	26
		% within Switches	46,0%	50,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.41 shows that no "asymmetrical downwards" scenes were found, and the "mixed" category counts only one scene, which does not contain a switch. From "balanced" scenes, where 33% of scenes do not include a switch, to ""asymmetrical upwards" scenes, 46% do not include a switch, an increase is found, and as one sub-category is absent in his data a pattern less switching across the expected sub-categories emerged.

Table 4.42: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Johnny

				Interlocutor li	nguistic competer	nce and race		
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	4	2	0	1	4	11
		% within Switches	36,0%	18,0%	0,0%	9,0%	36,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	25,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%	67,0%	42,0%
	Lexical	Count	7	0	1	0	2	10
		% within Switches	70,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	44,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	33,0%	39,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	5	0	0	0	0	5
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	31,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	19,0%
Total		Count	16	2	1	1	6	26
		% within Switches	62,0%	8,0%	4,0%	4,0%	23,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.42, no switches are found in either "AA some AAVE use" and "Caucasian no AAVE use". One scene involving a switch is the only scene in the "Caucasian some AAVE use", and two out of six scenes in the "mixed race and competence", 33%, include a switch, both lexical.

Character summary

Johnny has limited screen time in the series, and clear trends based on well-stocked subcategories are hard to find. Further, he mainly interacts with one person, Afro-American drug addict Bubbs, leaving the interactional categories somewhat skewed towards one subcategory. Apart from these implications, some interesting features emerge in his data. His overall switching percentage is rather high, 58% of Johnny's scenes involve a switch. Further, he shows a high degree of specified topic shifts, as shown in the "criminally related" subcategory. Both the "power relationship" and the "interpersonal relationship" variables show the expected patterns, but the scarcity of scenes is once again noted.

Johnny's quote is taken from an interaction with Bubbs, where Johnny presents a plan to steal copper that they can sell off in order to buy heroin. He introduces a criminally related topic shift with a rather accessible AAVE lexical marker, a typical feature of Johnny's CS.

(48) J.W: Me and Uck, here, we got something on, too. We got a plan. INT: No shit. J.W: For real. **Yo**, we're gonna take off on the copper house. INT: Damn, your first two days out and you get dramatic on me...copper house.

4.1.5 Thomas 'Herc' Hauk

Herc appears in 162 scenes, totaling 2720 frames. In his data, 37 markers from the base code's opposing variety are found, yielding 1.4 markers per 100 frames.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	none	131	81,0
	Lexical	20	12,0
	Grammatical	10	6,0
	Both, majority lexical	1	1,0
	Total	162	100,0

Table 4.43: Overall switching, Herc

As shown in table 4.43, scenes not containing switches constitute 81% of Herc's entries. Purely lexical switches are counted in 12% of all scenes. Grammatical markers are used in 6% of scenes, and the only instance of "both" is found within the "majority lexical" sub-category, amounting to 1% of all scenes.

Table 4.44: Base code, Herc

	Frequency	Percent
SE	158	97,0
AAVE	4	3,0
Total	162	100,0

As shown in table 4.44, AAVE is set as base code in 4 out of 162 scenes, or in 3% of all scenes.

Table 4.45: CS type, Herc

	Frequency	Percent
Topic Shift	16	52,0
Change of participant constellation	1	3,0
Change of participant constellation and topic shift	2	7,0
Reported speech	1	3,0
Parenthsis	4	13,0
Reiteration	1	3,0
Uninterpretable/outside categories	6	19,0
Total	31	100,0

Table 4.45 shows that the two sub-categories involving a "topic shift" constitute 52% and 7% of the logged scenes involving a switch, the latter percentage paired with a change in participant constellation. Two more sub-categories exceed a sole entry, where "parenthesis" is found in 13% of scenes involving a switch, and 19% are placed in the "interpretable" sub-category. "Reported speech", "change of participant constellation" and "reiteration" shows one scene each.

Table 4.46:	Change	in sp	eaker	affect,	Herc
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			Cha	nge in Speake	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Swithces	none	Count	91	20	20	131
		% within Swithces	70,0%	15,0%	15,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	84,0%	80,0%	69,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	12	2	6	20
		% within Swithces	60,0%	10,0%	30,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	11,0%	8,0%	21,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	5	3	2	10
		% within Swithces	50,0%	30,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	5,0%	12,0%	7,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Swithces	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	108	25	29	162
		% within Swithces	67,0%	15,0%	18,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.46, scenes where no significant change in speaker affect is found constitute 67% of all entries. The remaining 33% of scenes are almost equally divided among scenes involving a change towards aggression, 15%, and scenes where humor is used, 18%. Humorous scenes see no switch in 69% of such entries, scenes involving aggression 80%. Lexical switching is found in 21% of "humorous" scenes, whereas the most frequent markers in "aggression" are grammatical, used in 12% of such scenes.

Table 4.47: Setting, Herc

						Setting				
			Police station	Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Swithces	none	Count	21	57	36	1	5	2	9	131
		% within Swithces	16,0%	44,0%	28,0%	1,0%	4,0%	2,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	73,0%	82,0%	86,0%	100,0%	100,0%	67,0%	75,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	6	6	5	0	0	1	2	20
		% within Swithces	30,0%	30,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	21,0%	9,0%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	33,0%	17,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	6	1	0	0	0	1	10
		% within Swithces	20,0%	60,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	7,0%	9,0%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	8,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		% within Swithces	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	29	70	42	1	5	3	12	16:
		% within Swithces	18,0%	43,0%	26,0%	1,0%	3,0%	2,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.47, the most numerous sub-category is "hood", and 82% of these scenes do not involve a switch, almost aligned with the overall switching percentage, 81%. This percentage decreases in scenes set at the police station, where 73% of scenes do not contain a switch. The "office" sub-category shows that 86% of scenes do not contain a switch in this setting. "Down town area" shows no scenes involving a switch and the only "bar" scene is also without AAVE markers. "Home", three scenes, counts one scene involving a switch, 33%, and the "other" category contains scenes of which 75% do not involve a switch.

Table 4.48: Action, Herc

					Action				
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Drinking (high)	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Swithces	none	Count	65	30	2	1	32	1	131
		% within Swithces	50,0%	23,0%	2,0%	1,0%	24,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	75,0%	91,0%	100,0%	100,0%	84,0%	100,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	15	3	0	0	2	0	20
		% within Swithces	75,0%	15,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	17,0%	9,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	7	0	0	0	3	0	10
		% within Swithces	70,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	30,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	8,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		% within Swithces	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	87	33	2	1	38	1	162
		% within Swithces	54,0%	20,0%	1,0%	1,0%	24,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.48 shows that three sub-categories, "criminal activities/conversation", "drinking" and "other" contain no switches. "Work related conversation", by far the most numerous sub-category, counts 75% of scenes not involving a switch. Switches are mainly lexical in this sub-category, 17% of its scenes. "Police intervention" has switches quite evenly distributed in its sub-categories; a total of 16% scenes containing a switch, where 8% total are grammatical. "Friendly conversation" is not Herc's preferred action to switch in, only 9% of such scenes involve a switch.

Table 4.49: Interlocutor relationship, Herc

					Int	terlocutor Relatior	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Swithces	none	Count	8	12	57	13	25	12	4	131
		% within Swithces	6,0%	9,0%	44,0%	10,0%	19,0%	9,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	89,0%	75,0%	74,0%	87,0%	93,0%	86,0%	100,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	0	4	12	1	2	1	0	20
		% within Swithces	0,0%	20,0%	60,0%	5,0%	10,0%	5,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	25,0%	16,0%	7,0%	7,0%	7,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	1	0	7	1	0	1	0	10
		% within Swithces	10,0%	0,0%	70,0%	10,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	11,0%	0,0%	9,0%	7,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		% within Swithces	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	9	16	77	15	27	14	4	162
		% within Swithces	6,0%	10,0%	48,0%	9,0%	17,0%	9,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.49 shows that scenes involving a stranger contain 89% scenes where no switch is logged. A small decline, 87%, is found in the mixed sub-category where "mainly strangers" are involved. The two acquaintance(s) sub-categories are set wider apart. Unmixed scenes do not involve switches in 75% of such entries, this percentage rises to 93% in the mixed scenes. "Closer realtionship" contain 74% scenes without swiches, in the mixed, "mainly closer relationship" sub-category 86% of scenes do not contain a switch. The "even mix" sub-category holds three scenes, and none involve a switch.

Table 4.50: Power relationship, Herc

				Power Rel	ationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Swithces	none	Count	87	12	16	16	131
		% within Swithces	66,0%	9,0%	12,0%	12,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	77,0%	92,0%	80,0%	100,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	17	1	2	0	20
		% within Swithces	85,0%	5,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	15,0%	8,0%	10,0%	0,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	8	0	2	0	10
		% within Swithces	80,0%	0,0%	20,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	7,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		% within Swithces	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	113	13	20	16	162
		% within Swithces	70,0%	8,0%	12,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

In table 4.50, the most numerous sub-category, "balanced", holds 85% of all lexical switches and 80% of all grammatical switches. Overall, 77% of these scenes do not contain a switch, a percentage quite similar to the "asymmetrical downwards" sub-category, where 80% of scenes do not contain a switch. Grammatical and lexical switches show equal numbers here, both found in 10% of these scenes. Only one scene involves a switch in "asymmetrical upwards", 92% of said scenes do not involve a switch. Further, the one scene's switch is lexical. Less switching and less complexity is thus found when going from downwards to upwards asymmetrical situations, but the picture is somewhat blurred, as all "mixed" scenes are left without any AAVE markers.

				Interlocutor li	nguistic competer	nce and race		
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Swithces	none	Count	11	47	3	11	59	131
		% within Swithces	8,0%	36,0%	2,0%	8,0%	45,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	69,0%	71,0%	100,0%	85,0%	92,0%	81,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	11	0	1	5	20
		% within Swithces	15,0%	55,0%	0,0%	5,0%	25,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	19,0%	17,0%	0,0%	8,0%	8,0%	12,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	7	0	1	0	10
		% within Swithces	20,0%	70,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	13,0%	11,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1
		% within Swithces	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	16	66	3	13	64	162
		% within Swithces	10,0%	41,0%	2,0%	8,0%	40,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.51: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Herc

Table 4.51 shows that the presence of Afro-Americans has a positive effect on Herc's switching. Lexical switches alone in the "Afro-American some AAVE use" sub-category are more numerous than all other lexical cells combined. 70% of all grammatical switches are also found in the two AA lexical switches cells. Scenes in the two Afro-American sub-categories have no AAVE markers 69% and 71%. Scenes in "Caucasian some AAVE use" show no switching and 85% of scenes within the "Caucasian no AAVE use" do not involve switches. As in the previous table, mixed situations show a rather high percentage of scenes not involving a switch; here 92% of scenes do not involve a switch.

Character summary

Interaction with Afro-Americans seems to spur switching. Scenes not containing a switch are found in 69% and 71% in these sub-categories as opposed to 85% and 100% when interacting with Caucasians. Grammatical markers are also almost exclusively found in AA interactions. Unmixed interlocutor relationship situations have a progressive increase in switching from "stranger" to "closer relationship", but the "power relationship" variable fails to meet the expected pattern. Humor also triggers CS as 69% of such scenes do not involve a switch as opposed to 84% in scenes not involving a change in speaker affect. Action and setting both see some unexpected percentages in some sub-categories, e.g. a comparatively low percentage of switching in "friendly conversation" and "hood", disrupting the expected pattern of more

switching the less formal the action and setting.

Herc's quote is taken from a discussion including his two closest colleagues, both AA detectives. As most undercover work is done in AA neighborhoods, Herc is delighted to learn that he is the only viable candidate to go undercover as Caucasian drug dealers are targeted. He uses an AAVE lexical marker, as he humorously points out that he is the most suited detective for the assignment.

(49)(...)A lot of these port guys are white, aren't they? I mean, some of the southeast street dealers, too. So that means you're gonna need a white boy to go down to some of these Southeastern corners, right? So Kima, Carv on the rooftops. It's my time to **front**.

4.1.6 Thomas 'Tommy' Carcetti

Tommy appears in 144 scenes, totaling 3739 frames. In his data, 3 AAVE markers are found, yielding 0.1 markers per 100 frames.

Table 4.52: Overall switching, Tommy

	Frequency	Percent
none	141	98,0
Lexical	3	2,0
Total	144	100,0

As shown in table 4.52, 3 scenes, 2%, involve a switch. Only lexical markers are found.

Table 4.53: Base code, Tommy

	Frequency	Percent
SE	144	100,0

Table 4.53 shows that Tommy is using SE as base code in all 144 scenes.

Table 4.54: CS type, Tommy

	Frequency	Percent
No switch	141	98,0
Parenthesis	1	1,0
Uninterpretable/outside categories	2	1,0
Total	144	100,0

As shown in table 4.54, only one switch falls within the prescribed sub-categories, "parenthesis". Two switches are counted in the "uninterpretable" category.

Table 4.55: Change in speaker affect, Tommy

			Cha	nge in Speaker	Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	127	9	5	141
		% within Switches	90,0%	6,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	98,0%	100,0%	83,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	2	0	1	3
		% within Switches	67,0%	0,0%	33,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	2,0%	0,0%	17,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	129	9	6	144
		% within Switches	90,0%	6,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.55 shows that Tommy's scenes are rarely accompanied by a change in speaker affect, only 10% are paired with either humor or aggression. Of the two, aggression is used slightly more, found in 6% of all scenes. The only switch is found in the "humorous" sub-category and it constitutes 17% of all such scenes.

Table 4.56: Setting, Tommy

						Setting				
							DownTown			
			Police station	Hood	Office	Bar	area	Home	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	7	11	62	2	42	8	9	141
		% within Switches	5,0%	8,0%	44,0%	1,0%	30,0%	6,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	97,0%	100,0%	98,0%	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
		% within Switches	0,0%	0,0%	67,0%	0,0%	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	7	11	64	2	43	8	9	144
		% within Switches	5,0%	8,0%	44,0%	1,0%	30,0%	6,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.56, all switches occur in rather official settings, two in "office" and one in "down town area". These two subcategories are by far the most numerous, 74% of all scenes take place in either setting. As shown, other characters seem to avoid switching in these settings, possibly as they are somewhat foreign to them.

Table 4.57: Action, Tommy

				Action			
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Public Speaking	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	95	25	18	3	141
		% within Switches	67,0%	18,0%	13,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	98,0%	96,0%	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	2	1	0	0	3
		% within Switches	67,0%	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	2,0%	4,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	97	26	18	3	144
		% within Switches	67,0%	18,0%	13,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.57, two switches are found in "work related conversation", constituting 2% of scenes in this numerous sub-category. The third switch is found in a social setting. There are 18 instances of "public speaking", a sub-category that often involves scenes with long monologues, and no switches are found here. The "other" sub-category counts three scenes, no switches occurred in these.

Table 4.58: Interlocutor relationship, Tommy

					In	terlocutor Relation	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	13	38	42	3	16	5	24	141
Lexical (% within Switches	9,0%	27,0%	30,0%	2,0%	11,0%	4,0%	17,0%	100,0%	
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	97,0%	95,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
		% within Switches	0,0%	33,0%	67,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	3,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	13	39	44	3	16	5	24	144
		% within Switches	9,0%	27,0%	31,0%	2,0%	11,0%	4,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.58 shows that Tommy does not switch in any "mixed" interlocutor relationship situations or when interacting with strangers. Two switches are found when interacting with a character he has a closer relationship to, and one when dealing with an acquaintance.

Table 4.59: Power Relationship, Tommy

				Power Relations	hip	
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Total
Switches	none	Count	131	3	7	141
		% within Switches	93,0%	2,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	98,0%	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	0	0	3
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	134	3	7	144
		% within Switches	93,0%	2,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As shown in table 4.59, "balanced" scenes constitute 93% of all scenes, and all switches are found in said scenes.

Table 4.60: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Tommy

			Interlocutor li	nguistic competer	nce and race	
			AA some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	55	33	53	141
		% within Switches	39,0%	23,0%	38,0%	100,0%
		% within Interloc. ling. competence and race	95,0%	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%
	Lexical	Count	3	0	0	3
		% within Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Interloc. ling. competence and race	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	58	33	53	144
		% within Switches	40,0%	23,0%	37,0%	100,0%
		% within Interloc. ling. competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.60 shows that Tommy is represented in three of the five sub-categories. Interestingly, all switches are found in scenes where he interacts with Afro-Americans.

Character summary

The lack of switching in Tommy's data limits the possibility of seeking out patterns in most categories. Further, many categories have many entries in one or two sub-categories, and many sub-categories are not found at all. However, his switches occur only when interacting

with Afro-Americans.

Tommy's example is taken from a conversation with his AA political advisor, where he uses an AAVE phrase to humorously signal his discontent with the situation he is currently in.

INT: In the Pentecostal church where I was given religion, it would have been said that the Spirit was on you yesterday. T.C **It got good to me**. INT: Let praises be. T.C: I don't know. It just pissed me off that on top of everything else I gotta deal with, some nutjob starts killing homeless guys.

4.1.7 Caucasians versus Afro-Americans

The same nine tables will as mentioned be presented in this section; here the races' combined data are collapsed into one table. Three table pairs are presented side by side. The size of the remaining tables does not allow this layout for the last six pairs.

Table 4.61: Base code, Afro-Americans

Table 4.62: Base code, Caucasians

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
SE	312	90,0	SE	327	98,0
AAVE	36	10,0	AAVE	6	2,0
Total	348	100,0	Total	333	100,0

As can be read from tables 4.61 and 4.62, the Caucasian and Afro-American characters are involved in almost an equal amount of scenes, 348 and 333 scenes combined. Base code use is significantly higher in the AA data, but as shown in the previous sections, the low stratum AA character provides 33 of 36 AAVE base code scenes.

Table 4.63: Overall switching, Afro-Americans Table 4.64: Overall switching, Caucasians

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
none	195	56,0	none	283	85,0
Lexical	58	17,0	Lexical	33	10,0
Grammatical	50	14,0	Grammatical	10	3,0
Both, majority lexical	22	6,0	Both, majority lexical	6	2,0
Both, majority grammatical	23	7,0	Both, majority grammatical	1	1,0
Total	348	100,0	Total	333	100,0

Comparing table 4.63 and 4.64 shows that scenes involving an Afro-American character contain substantially more switches than scenes involving Caucasians. The latter group keep to the same base code in 85% of their scenes where the former only in 56%. Nearly every other scene thus involves a switch in the Afro-American corpus, and switches are also more evenly distributed in the sub-categories. Purely lexical switches are found in 17% of scenes, while grammatical switches trail with 14%. The "both" sub-categories are quite similar, grammatical switches leads by one scene, found in 7% of scenes. Lexical switches dominate the Caucasian corpus, found in 10% of all scenes. This sub-category is nearly twice as numerous as the three other sub-categories combined.

Table 4.65: CS Type, Afro-Americans

Table 4.66: CS Type, Caucasians	Т	able	4.66:	CS	Type,	Caucasians	5
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	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Topic Shift	64	42,0	Topic Shift	19	39,0
Topic shift criminal related	17	11,0	Topic shift criminal related	4	8,0
Topic Shift sexuality, drinking, "socially less accepted activites"	6	4,0	Change of participant constellation	3	6,0
Change of participant constellation	3	2,0	Change of participant constellation and topic	2	4,0
Change of participant	2	1,0	shift		
constellation and topic			Change of activity	1	2,0
shift			Reported speech	1	2,0
Reported speech	3	2,0	Parenthesis	6	12,0
Parenthesis	25	16,0	Reiteration	3	6,0
Reiteration	7	5,0		_	
Uninterpretable/outside categories	26	17,0	Uninterpretable/outside categories	10	20,0
Total	153	100,0	Total	49	100,0

Comparing the results in table 4.65 and 4.66, one see that topic shifts dominate both races, and most other sub-categories are rather similar. "Parenthesis" is found in 16% of all Afro-American scenes; this percentage does not diverge greatly from the Caucasian sub-category, 12%, but this percentage is based on only six scenes.

			Cha	nge in Speakei	Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	153	21	21	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	79,0%	11,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	60,0%	45,0%	48,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	35	12	11	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	60,0%	21,0%	19,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	14,0%	26,0%	25,0%	17,09
	Grammatical	Count	41	5	4	5
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	82,0%	10,0%	8,0%	100,09
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	16,0%	11,0%	9,0%	14,09
	Both, majority lexical	Count	12	4	6	2
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	55,0%	18,0%	27,0%	100,09
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	5,0%	9,0%	14,0%	6,09
	Both, majority	Count	16	5	2	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	70,0%	22,0%	9,0%	100,09
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	6,0%	11,0%	5,0%	7,09
Total		Count	257	47	44	34
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	73,0%	14,0%	13,0%	100,09
		% within Afro-Americans, Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,09

Table 4.67: Change in speaker affect, Afro-Americans

Table 4.68: Change in speaker affect, Caucasians

			Cha	nge in Speakei	r Affect	
			none	Aggression	Humorous	Total
Switches	none	Count	228	30	25	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	81,0%	11,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	87,0%	83,0%	69,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	23	2	8	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	70,0%	6,0%	24,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	9,0%	6,0%	22,0%	10,0%
	Grammatical	Count	5	3	2	10
		% within Caucasians, Switches	50,0%	30,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	2,0%	8,0%	6,0%	3,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	5	0	1	6
		% within Caucasians, Switches	83,0%	0,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	2,0%	0,0%	3,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	0	1	0	1
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	261	36	36	333
		% within Caucasians, Switches	78,0%	11,0%	11,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Change In Speaker Affect	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Tables 4.67 and 4.68 show that scenes that see a change in speaker affect towards aggression are more frequently observed in the AA data, 14% of all scenes, versus 11% in the Caucasian data. Of these scenes, 45% do not involve a switch in the AA data, whereas 83% of "aggression" scenes are not accompanied by a switch in the Caucasian data. This gap in percentages is not as wide in the "humorous" sub-category. Caucasians seldom use both lexical and grammatical markers, only two such scenes are found, one in each "both" sub-category. Afro-Americans have filled these cells with a total of 17 scenes, the "both, majority lexical" cell being the most numerous with six scenes, constituting 14% of all scenes paired with a change towards humor.

						Setting				
			Police station	Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	48	26	42	16	25	4	34	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	25,0%	13,0%	22,0%	8,0%	13,0%	2,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	65,0%	51,0%	47,0%	64,0%	61,0%	36,0%	61,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	15	10	18	3	4	2	6	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	26,0%	17,0%	31,0%	5,0%	7,0%	3,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	20,0%	20,0%	20,0%	12,0%	10,0%	18,0%	11,0%	17,0%
	Grammatical	Count	9	6	18	3	6	1	7	50
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	18,0%	12,0%	36,0%	6,0%	12,0%	2,0%	14,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	12,0%	12,0%	20,0%	12,0%	15,0%	9,0%	13,0%	14,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	2	8	1	3	2	5	22
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	5,0%	9,0%	36,0%	5,0%	14,0%	9,0%	23,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	1,0%	4,0%	9,0%	4,0%	7,0%	18,0%	9,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	7	4	2	3	2	4	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	4,0%	30,0%	17,0%	9,0%	13,0%	9,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	1,0%	14,0%	4,0%	8,0%	7,0%	18,0%	7,0%	7,0%
Total		Count	74	51	90	25	41	11	56	348
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	21,0%	15,0%	26,0%	7,0%	12,0%	3,0%	16,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.69: Setting, Afro-Americans

Table 4.70: Setting, Caucasians

						Setting				
			Police station	Hood	Office	Bar	DownTown area	Home	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	29	75	98	3	49	10	19	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	10,0%	27,0%	5,0%	1,0%	17,0%	4,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	76,0%	74,0%	92,0%	100,0%	98,0%	91,0%	83,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	7	15	7	0	1	1	2	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	21,0%	46,0%	21,0%	0,0%	3,0%	3,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	18,0%	15,0%	7,0%	0,0%	2,0%	9,0%	9,0%	10,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	6	1	0	0	0	1	10
		% within Caucasians, Switches	20,0%	60,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	5,0%	6,0%	0,9%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,0%	3,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	6
		% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	83,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	17,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	38	101	107	3	50	11	23	333
		% within Caucasians, Switches	11,0%	30,0%	32,0%	1,0%	15,0%	3,0%	7,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Setting	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

A comparison of table 4.69 and table 4.70 shows that Caucasians trail Afro-Americans in every sub-category. The greatest divergence is found in "home", where no switches were found in 36% of Afro-American scenes and in 91% of Caucasian scenes. Only one scene in the "down town area" sub-category includes a switch in the Caucasian corpus whereas 16 are found in the Afro-American corpus, constituting 39% of such scenes. Afro-American "hood" scenes do not involve a switch in 51% of all scenes, nearly every other scenes in this setting thus involve a switch. The "both, majority grammatical" sub-category is well represented, as 14% of all "hood" scenes are found here as opposed to zero entries in the Caucasian corpus.

Table 4.71: Action, Afro-Americans

						Action				
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Drinking (high)	Public Speaking	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	110	25	4	7	5	41	3	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	56,0%	13,0%	2,0%	4,0%	3,0%	21,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	51,0%	57,0%	36,0%	58,0%	100,0%	75,0%	50,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	40	6	1	2	0	8	1	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	69,0%	10,0%	2,0%	3,0%	0,0%	14,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	19,0%	14,0%	9,0%	17,0%	0,0%	15,0%	17,0%	17,0%
	Grammatical	Count	40	4	3	2	0	1	0	50
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	80,0%	8,0%	6,0%	4,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	19,0%	9,0%	27,0%	17,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	14,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	11	4	2	1	0	2	2	22
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	50,0%	18,0%	9,0%	5,0%	0,0%	9,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	5,0%	9,0%	18,0%	8,0%	0,0%	4,0%	33,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority	Count	14	5	1	0	0	3	0	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	61,0%	22,0%	4,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	7,0%	11,0%	9,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	7,0%
Total		Count	215	44	11	12	5	55	6	348
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	62,0%	13,0%	3,0%	3,0%	1,0%	16,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.72: Action, Caucasians

						Action				
			Work related conversation	Friendly Conversation / social setting	Criminal activities / conversation	Drinking (high)	Public Speaking	Police Intervention	Other	Total
Switches	none	Count	161	60	5	2	18	33	4	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	57,0%	21,0%	2,0%	1,0%	6,0%	12,0%	1,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Action	87,0%	87,0%	42,0%	50,0%	100,0%	83,0%	100,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	17	7	4	2	0	3	0	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	52,0%	21,0%	12,0%	6,0%	0,0%	9,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Action	9,0%	10,0%	33,0%	50,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	10,09
	Grammatical	Count	7	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
		% within Caucasians, Switches	70,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	30,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Action	4,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	8,0%	0,0%	3,09
	Both, majority lexical	Count	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	
		% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	33,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	17,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Action	0,0%	3,0%	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	2,09
	Both, majority	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Action	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,09
Total		Count	186	69	12	4	18	40	4	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	56,0%	21,0%	4,0%	1,0%	5,0%	12,0%	1,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Action	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,09

Tables 4.71 and 4.72 show that no public speaking scenes involve a switch; "police intervention" is another sub-category that sees a high percentage of scenes not involving a

switch in both races. "Criminal conversation/activities" shows a similarly interesting low percentage of switches in both corpora, as 42% of such scenes involving Caucasians do not count any switches, compared to 36% of Afro-American scenes. Of more numerous sub-categories, "work-related conversations" follows the trend where Afro-Americans switch more than Caucasians. Here, the lowest percentage of switches is found in "both, majority lexical" in the Afro-American corpus, the highest percentage in the Caucasian corpus is found in "lexical" switches where 17 scenes constitute 9% of all "work-related conversation" scenes.

					In	terlocutor Relatior	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	13	40	82	16	17	19	8	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	7,0%	21,0%	42,0%	8,0%	9,0%	10,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	62,0%	53,0%	50,0%	84,0%	52,0%	79,0%	73,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	4	8	33	1	8	4	0	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	7,0%	14,0%	57,0%	2,0%	14,0%	7,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	19,0%	11,0%	20,0%	5,0%	24,0%	17,0%	0,0%	17,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	13	30	1	2	1	1	50
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	4,0%	26,0%	60,0%	2,0%	4,0%	2,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	10,0%	17,0%	18,0%	5,0%	6,0%	4,0%	9,0%	14,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	2	12	1	4	0	2	22
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	5,0%	9,0%	55,0%	5,0%	18,0%	0,0%	9,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	5,0%	3,0%	7,0%	5,0%	12,0%	0,0%	18,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	12	8	0	2	0	0	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	4,0%	52,0%	35,0%	0,0%	9,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	5,0%	16,0%	5,0%	0,0%	6,0%	0,0%	0,0%	7,0%
Total		Count	21	75	165	19	33	24	11	348
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	6,0%	22,0%	47,0%	6,0%	10,0%	7,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.73: Interlocutor relationship, Afro-Americans

					In	terlocutor Relation	nship			
			Stranger(s)	Acquaintance s	Closer reationship (s)	Mix of above, mainly 1	Mix of above, mainly 2	Mix of above, mainly 3	Even mix of 1- 3	Total
Switches	none	Count	24	51	103	17	43	17	28	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	9,0%	18,0%	36,0%	6,0%	15,0%	6,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	89,0%	90,0%	76,0%	81,0%	94,0%	90,0%	100,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	1	6	20	2	3	1	0	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	3,0%	18,0%	61,0%	6,0%	9,0%	3,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	4,0%	11,0%	15,0%	10,0%	7,0%	5,0%	0,0%	10,0%
	Grammatical	Count	1	0	7	1	0	1	0	10
		% within Caucasians, Switches	10,0%	0,0%	70,0%	10,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	4,0%	0,0%	5,0%	5,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	3,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	6
		% within Caucasians, Switches	17,0%	0,0%	67,0%	17,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	4,0%	0,0%	3,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	27	57	135	21	46	19	28	333
		% within Caucasians, Switches	8,0%	17,0%	41,0%	6,0%	14,0%	6,0%	8,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.74: Interlocutor relationship, Caucasians

As shown in tables 4.73 and 4.74, "closer relationship" is the most numerous and most switched sub-category in both the Afro-American and Caucasian data. Here, Afro-Americans show no switching in every other scene. Caucasian scenes do not involve a switch in 76% of all entries, making it the sub-category with the highest percentage of switching as most other sub-categories show no switching around 90% of scenes. In the Caucasian data, the majority of grammatical switches are also found in "closer relationship" scenes, as 70% of these fall within this sub-category.

				Power Re	lationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	149	13	28	5	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	76,0%	7,0%	14,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	57,0%	77,0%	45,0%	63,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	44	2	10	2	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	76,0%	3,0%	17,0%	3,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	17,0%	12,0%	16,0%	25,0%	17,0%
	Grammatical	Count	38	1	10	1	50
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	76,0%	2,0%	20,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	15,0%	6,0%	16,0%	13,0%	14,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	16	1	5	0	22
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	73,0%	5,0%	23,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	6,0%	6,0%	8,0%	0,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority	Count	14	0	9	0	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	61,0%	0,0%	39,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	5,0%	0,0%	15,0%	0,0%	7,0%
Total		Count	261	17	62	8	348
rotar		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	75,0%	5,0%	18,0%	2,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.75: Power relationship, Afro-Americans

				Power Re	lationship		
			Balanced	Asymmetrical upwards	Asymmetrical downwards	Mixed	Total
Switches	none	Count	222	21	23	17	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	78,0%	7,0%	8,0%	6,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	85,0%	72,0%	85,0%	100,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	25	6	2	0	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	76,0%	18,0%	6,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	10,0%	21,0%	7,0%	0,0%	10,0%
	Grammatical	Count	8	0	2	0	10
		% within Caucasians, Switches	80,0%	0,0%	20,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	3,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,0%	3,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	4	2	0	0	6
		% within Caucasians, Switches	67,0%	33,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	2,0%	7,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Both, majority	Count	1	0	0	0	1
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total		Count	260	29	27	17	333
		% within Caucasians, Switches	78,0%	9,0%	8,0%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Power Relationship	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.76: Power relationship, Caucasians

Table 4.75 shows that the AA data see a progressive increase in switching from "asymmetrical downwards" to "balanced" to "asymmetrical upwards" power relationship scenes. The Caucasian data, found in table 4.76, do not show this progressively increasing pattern, as "balanced" and "asymmetrical downward" scenes match in percentage and "asymmetrical upwards" scenes show the highest degree of switching. "Mixed" scenes in the AA data also show a significantly higher degree of switching than scenes in the Caucasian data where no scenes contain a switch.

			Interlocutor linguistic competence and race					
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	39	31	31	26	68	195
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	20,0%	16,0%	16,0%	13,0%	35,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	35,0%	56,0%	66,0%	70,0%	70,0%	56,0%
	Lexical	Count	19	9	8	5	17	58
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	33,0%	16,0%	14,0%	9,0%	29,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	17,0%	16,0%	17,0%	14,0%	18,0%	17,0%
	Grammatical	Count	24	7	6	6	7	50
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	48,0%	14,0%	12,0%	12,0%	14,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	21,0%	13,0%	13,0%	16,0%	7,0%	14,0%
	Both, majority lexical	Count	14	3	1	0	4	22
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	64,0%	14,0%	5,0%	0,0%	18,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	13,0%	6,0%	2,0%	0,0%	4,0%	6,0%
	Both, majority	Count	16	5	1	0	1	23
	grammatical	% within Afro-Americans, Switches	70,0%	22,0%	4,0%	0,0%	4,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	14,0%	9,0%	2,0%	0,0%	1,0%	7,0%
Total		Count	112	55	47	37	97	348
		% within Afro-Americans, Switches	32,0%	16,0%	14,0%	11,0%	28,0%	100,0%
		% within Afro-Americans, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4.77: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Afro-Americans

			Interlocutor linguistic competence and race					
			AA and AAVE user	AA some AAVE use	Caucasian some AAVE use	Caucasian no AAVE use	Mixed Race and Comp	Total
Switches	none	Count	15	104	3	45	116	283
		% within Caucasians, Switches	5,0%	37,0%	1,0%	16,0%	41,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	47,0%	82,0%	75,0%	96,0%	94,0%	85,0%
	Lexical	Count	10	14	1	1	7	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	30,0%	42,0%	3,0%	3,0%	21,0%	100,0%
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	31,0%	11,0%	25,0%	2,0%	6,0%	10,0%
	Grammatical	Count	2	7	0	1	0	10
		% within Caucasians, Switches	20,0%	70,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	6,0%	6,0%	0,0%	2,0%	0,0%	3,09
	Both, majority lexical	Count	5	1	0	0	0	
		% within Caucasians, Switches	83,0%	17,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	16,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,09
	Both, majority	Count	0	1	0	0	0	
	grammatical	% within Caucasians, Switches	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,09
Total		Count	32	127	4	47	123	33
		% within Caucasians, Switches	10,0%	28,0%	1,0%	14,0%	37,0%	100,09
		% within Caucasians, Interlocutor linguistic competence and race	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,09

Table 4.78: Interlocutor linguistic competence and race, Caucasians

The Caucasian data, found in table 4.78, does not show a progressively increasing pattern in this variable, as is found in the AA data, shown in table 4.77, where an progressive increase is found from "AA AAVE user" to "Caucasian no AAVE use"

Summary

The Afro-Americans' combined data show a more frequent use of both CS and the AAVE base code. Clearer patterns emerge in the AAVE data when considering the last three table pairs that involve interpersonal variables. Both action and setting patterns are also rather incompatible, as sub-categories such as "work-related conversation" and "down town area" position themself quite differently in the order of the least/most switched sub-categories within the two data sets.

4.2 Discussion

The previous sections saw both expected and unexpected results and interesting patterns emerging both within single characters' data and the races' combined data. The following section answers each hypothesis, followed by a general discussion of salient trends and patterns within the characters. The hypotheses were as follows:

- AA characters will code-switch more and use AAVE as base code more frequently than Caucasians.
- 2) Switching and AAVE base code use will decrease the higher the social stratum of the speaker.
- 3) Switching will occur more frequently in less formal actions and settings.
- Scenes including a change in speaker affect will be accompanied by a higher percentage of switching than scenes where no such change occurs.
- 5) Switching will occur more frequently when characters address AA characters as opposed to Caucasian characters.
- 6) Switching will increase the closer the interpersonal relationship is.
- Switching will increase from asymmetrical upwards to downwards power relationships.

The implications of comparatively few scenes in certain characters' data have been discussed, but these implications will not be taken into account when the hypotheses are discussed in the section below.

- 1) The tables showing the races' combined results showed that Afro-Americans code-switch more frequently than Caucasians, and this is also true if the low, middle and high strata are compared across the races. AAVE base-code use was significantly higher in the Afro-American data. This is mainly due to the AA low social stratum character who also clearly surpasses the Caucasian low social stratum character in this regard. The Caucasian middle social stratum character showed higher AAVE base code use than the AA character. No AAVE base code use was found in the high social stratum.
- The second hypothesis was supported by the Caucasian data but not in the Afro-American data, as the high social stratum character switched more than the middle social stratum character.

- 3) Widely different patterns were displayed within the six characters, where only the AA middle social stratum character supported the hypothesis in both variables. The low stratum AA and Caucasian characters' setting variable were aligned with the expected pattern. Most characters' data were, however, aligned with the expected patterns, but a sub-category with a low degree of formality would break the emerging trend by showing a higher percentage of switching than sub-categories with a higher degree of formality. As a result of these findings, the races' combined data did not corroborate this hypothesis.
- 4) Only the Caucasian low social stratum character's data did not support this hypothesis. Within this variable, the AA low and high social strata characters switched more when aggression was involved, this was also true in the AA combined data. The AA middle social stratum character and all the Caucasian characters had a higher degree of switching when a humorous change of speaker affect was present.
- 5) All characters except the AA low social stratum character corroborate this hypothesis. It must, however, be noted that this character's use of AAVE base code was found almost exclusively when addressing AA characters, only one scene set in this base code was found when addressing Caucasians.
- 6) The sixth hypothesis was partially corroborated by four of the characters' data; all Caucasian characters and the AA low social stratum character, as they showed a progressive increase of switching in unmixed situations. However, this pattern was not repeated in mixed situations. The combined Caucasian data did not support this hypothesis, whereas the AA data partially supported it, as unmixed situations show a progressive increase in switching the closer the personal relationship is.
- 7) The AA middle and high social stratum characters and the combined AA data corroborated this hypothesis, as did the Caucasian low social stratum character. The remaining characters and the combined Caucasian data did not corroborate the hypothesis.

4.2.1 Character portrayal in The Wire

AAVE base code use was surprisingly low in Bunk and Clay's data, especially when considering Stringer's results in this variable. The absence of AAVE base code scenes is particularly interesting in Clay Davies' data, as he shows a high degree of AAVE use. Not using AAVE as base code, but frequently switching into AAVE is, however, a sound strategy for a character in Clay's position. As an elected official he is expected to operate within the SE domain, but injecting AAVE markers quite frequently enables him to signal his background and heritage. His AAVE use is often paired with a change in speaker affect, aggression in particular. His 'hood' persona thus takes a step forward in these scenes, and Stringer barely matches Clay's percentage in scenes involving a clear change towards aggression. Both the "work related conversation" and the "office" sub-categories show a high degree of switching; these rather formal external factors do by no means limit his CS and AAVE use. As he often interacts with other AA politicians in these situations, he seems to be portrayed as deliberately using a "we-code" strategy in order to build and maintain these relationships. Compared to his colleague, the Caucasian high social stratum character Mayor Tommy Carcetti, who operates in the same environment, his standing as State Senator is surprising considering their contrasting use of the two varieties. This is obviously a racial matter, but Clay's frequent switching and the absence of this in public speaking settings further contribute to the image of a sly politician who is using language very consciously, knowing his audience at all times. Clay's high percentage of switching can certainly be questioned in terms of a low amount of scenes, but an overall impression of Clay living up to an Afro-American stereotype in a greater way than Bunk was certainly made throughout the data-collection process

Tommy's lack of switching is surprising considering the number of scenes he is involved in and the amount of CS attested in other Caucasian characters. The settings that contain switches are found in his home arena, "office" and "down town area", and the interlocutors are in all three instances AA. Interestingly, Tommy is the only Caucasian character who shows any switching in the "down town area" setting, although the volume of scenes in this sub-category is significantly higher than both Herc and Johnny's. This could be related to the fact that this setting is his home arena. Tommy's data certainly leave much to be desired when examining them from a CS perspective. The formal SE that he seldom strays from is however a useful piece of information, and contributes to confirming the series' use of

language as a key element when constructing characters. Just as Stringer represents one end of the SE/AAVE continuum, Tommy represents the other. Not only does this show that the writers are well versed in both varieties; they also use the two varieties in a very conscious manner. The same degree of CS as Clay, even or Herc, would be perceived as highly unnatural for a Caucasian college-educated lawyer running for, and becoming Mayor. Two of the three switches found are also in the uninterpretable CS type sub-category, possibly signaling that they are written into his speech without signaling the deliberate use found in other characters. The last logged switch is however interpreted to be used in a very deliberate manner, as he is underlining the disparity of a situation by using an AAVE phrase in a dark humor utterance. This assumed act of conscious AAVE use leaves us with the faintest of ideas of some AAVE competence on Tommy's part. Most high social stratum Afro-American characters in the series do however show little or no AAVE use, and speech production cannot be juxtaposed with linguistic competence.

Bunk appears in more scenes than Clay and Stringer combined, and most variables' sub-categories are filled with a substantial amount of scenes. Where clear progressively increasing patterns emerged in Stringer's interpersonal variables, the physical setting and action variables are the most salient in Bunk's data. The more formal the settings and actions are the less CS was used, culminating in the downtown area setting and the public speaking action sub-categories. A formal action can, however, take place in a less formal setting, e.g. police intervention in a domicile. Whether action or setting is the most important variable in such cases was not examined any further. The lack of grammatical markers in Bunk's data is somewhat surprising as these frequent the other Afro-American characters' data. The grammatical switches are also often rather complex, and a possible answer to this conundrum lies in Bunk's last table, "interlocutor linguistic competence and race". Here, only 26% of his scenes are with Afro-American interlocutors as opposed to 47% in Clay's data and 85% in Stringer's data. Bunk's frequent use of switching in humorous scenes is also paired with a relatively even distribution of lexical and grammatical markers, and this arena seems to be one where he clearly signals his ethnicity and upbringing.

Herc is possibly the most interesting Caucasian character as his variables include most sub-categories which are most often filled with a significant number of entries. He uses the AAVE base code more often than the other middle social stratum AA character, but switches less. Interaction with AA characters spurs switching as these entries show a significantly higher percentage than the Caucasian data, and all grammatical switches, save one, are found in these sub-categories. Overall switching and "hood" scenes show, however, an almost

identical percentage, and the frequent switching found in this setting in both Johnny and Bunk's data is not found in Herc's data. The highest percentage of switching is found in the "work-related conversation" sub-category, where his AA partner is often the interlocutor. This is echoed in the "setting" variable where "police station" is the sub-category with the highest percentage of switching. Paired with the fact that he rarely switches when interacting with strangers, this leaves the impression that he prefers to switch when actions, settings and interlocutors are well known. The" change of speaker affect variable" shows a greater percentage of switching in humorous scenes as opposed to aggression scenes, and similar findings were made in Bunk's data. I hypothesize that they are both portrayed to use this consciously, whereas the high percentage of switching paired with aggression in Stringer and Bunk's data is a reflection of the writers' intentions of more spontaneous, and possibly less deliberate, CS.

Stinger Bell was by far the most complicated character to analyze. Several frameworks were tested in order to set the appropriate base code, mainly with Stringer's language production in mind. Triple variable crossings and many more tables would have been needed to fully portray the intricacy of Stinger's language output. Interesting patterns did, however, emerge. A comparatively high percentage of AAVE base code scenes is accompanied by a high degree of switching in scenes set in SE, and this clearly shows a strong presence of AAVE. Scenes in the AAVE base code is almost exclusively found when addressing Afro-American AAVE users and only SE is used when addressing Caucasians showing no AAVE use. In this regard, accommodation is clearly found in his use of language. In the "action" variable, SE seems to be used less in less formal actions, where a steady decline is found from "police intervention" to "criminal activities". This can be paired with a setting low of 16% AAVE base code use in "down town areas", showing that Stinger seems to use SE as base code more frequently in more formal actions and settings. In terms of switching, the degree of closeness in "interlocutor relationship" is a most interesting variable. It displays a clear increase in switching, where strangers are found at the bottom of a progressively increasing trend. Base-code use in the "power relationship" variable does not display an equally interesting pattern as switching within the "interlocutor relationship" variable does. The gap in percentages from "asymmetrical upwards" to "downwards" power-relationship scenes, 14% and 71% involve switches, is not matched by any character, and one of the most salient features in Stringer's data. As he administrates a rather large drug organization he deals with many employees who frequently need an attitude adjustment, aggression is often involved, a factor shown to spur his switching. His upwards power relationship scenes diverge greatly

from his overall switching percentage (14% vs. 65%). This could be related to the fact that he is aiming to succeed in conventional business as well, frequently interacting with Caucasian lawyers and businessmen. Regardless of the mechanisms at play here, this gap in percentages is one of the clearest indicators of his linguistic flexibilities.

As shown, Stinger's language output produces several interesting patterns, but some variables did not meet the expectations. The specified topic shift sub-categories were in many ways included with Stringer in mind, but these were not filled with as many scenes as expected. However, Stringer's parenthesis sub-category is relatively well stocked, as with the two other Afro-American characters. Overall, his language use has a very flexible design, and both base code use and switching patterns display clear progressively increasing trends across the expected sub-categories, particularly in interpersonal relationship variables.

Many of Johnny's variables need more scenes in order to both widen and deepen the spectrum of sub-categories. Some interesting findings are, however, made in his data. As mentioned, the specified topic shift variables were aimed at Stringer in particular, but Johnny surpassed him and the remaining characters in this sub-category as topic shifts related to criminal activities ties as the most frequently used CS type together with general topic shifts. Another interesting feature in Johnny's language output is the scarcity of grammatical switches considering his overall percentage of switched scenes. Grammatical markers are, however, found in the "both, majority lexical" sub-category, but Johnny and Tommy are the only characters who do not use any purely grammatical switches. Considering the company he keeps, full-time AAVE user Bubbs, who possibly has one of the highest levels of AAVE use in the series, this is somewhat surprising. Johnny's "down town area" scenes do not include any switches, which is interesting in light of both the high percentage of scenes including switches in hood scenes, 65%, meaning that he behaves as most other characters in a down town setting. The lack of scenes including only other Caucasians means that the significance of the overwhelming majority of switches found in the "AA AAVE user" subcategory cannot be taken into account when commenting on the racial distribution of switches. A pattern of progressively increasing CS from "strangers" to "closer relationships" and from" balanced" to "asymmetrical upwards" power relationships is, however, found, allowing the promotion of some conscious linguistic behavior assigned to Johnny.

Implications for the races' combined data

The races' combined data are affected by single characters in numerous ways, as e.g. Stringer's base code use easily surpasses both Bunk and Clay's overall use, and Tommy's

lack of switching lowers the overall percentage in the Caucasian data. Collectively, it is clear that both base code use and overall switching is higher in the AA data. Both aggression and humorous changes in affect show higher percentage of switching than the overall switching percentage in the AA data, whereas this is true in the Caucasian data only when a change towards humor is found. Settings are also rated differently in terms of switching in the two races, where Caucasian "down town area" scenes are not accompanied by a switch 98% and 61% in the AA data. An even greater gap is found in scenes set in a domicile. Both the "interlocutor relationship", "power relationship" and "interlocutor linguistic competence and race" variables show clear progressive increases in the AA data, but as with Herc, the overall Caucasian data include one sub-category in these variables that changes this pattern into a more unpredictable one. In terms of audience design and speaker accommodation these patterns lead to many interesting questions, questions that can be answered with an idea of Afro-Americans being portrayed as more conscious in terms of variant use, due to higher degree of competence in the AAVE variety ascribed to these characters. Regarding CS within the races' social strata, a steady increase in switching is found from the low to the high stratum in Caucasian data, whereas the high social stratum cell switches more than the middle social stratum cell in the AA data.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary and conclusion

This thesis aimed to examine the use of code-switching in six characters in the HBO TV series *The Wire.* One Caucasian and one Afro-American character from the low, middle and high social strata were used as subjects, which facilitated comparisons across the strata and between the races. Subtitle files previously used in a study examining AAVE served as transcripts, and the characters speech were color-coded while watching all 60 episodes. Several variables were examined and necessary information; mood, action, interlocutors etc., were added to the transcripts. A total of 13 variables were entered into the SPSS software for each scene, and nine tables were produced per character and per race. Stringer's results were shown in more than nine tables, as some variables were crossed with both base code and the switching variable as his use of the AAVE base code was significantly higher than any other character. Each variable had an expected pattern of code-switching across its values, e.g. a steady decrease in code-switching from "Afro-American AAVE users" "Caucasians no AAVE use".

These variables were constructed in order to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How does code-switching differ across race and within the races' social strata?
- 2) How does base code use differ across race and within the races' social strata?
- 3) How does a change in speaker affect influence CS?
- 4) How do the physical setting and action affect code-switching?
- 5) How do interpersonal relations affect code-switching?

Seven hypotheses accompanied these three research questions, hypotheses that were discussed and partially corroborated in the previous chapter.

Main findings

 Afro-Americans had a higher percentage of overall switching and showed a significantly higher use of both lexical and grammatical markers. A steady increase in code-switching was found from the high to the low social stratum in the Caucasian data, but a similar pattern was not found in the Afro-American characters, as the high social strata character code-switched more than the middle social strata character. Comparing the low, middle and high strata, every stratum saw a higher degree of code switching in the Afro-American character. A more conscious use of the two varieties was noted in the Afro-American characters, which is likely to stem from the higher degree of AAVE competence that is attributed to these characters.

- 2) A high degree of AAVE base code use was only found in the Afro-American low social stratum character. A progressive decrease in AAVE base code use was found was found from the low to the high social strata in both races. Both high social stratum characters used only SE as base code, and the Caucasian middle social stratum character showed a higher percentage of AAVE base-code use than the Afro-American middle social stratum character.
- 3) AA CS was more frequent in data where a change towards aggression was found, whereas the Caucasian data showed more switching in data that saw a humorous change in speaker affect. Only one character, the Caucasian low social stratum character, showed a higher percentage of switching in scenes that do not involve a change in speaker affect than scenes that do. This possibly rests on the fact that only two scenes were accompanied a change in speaker affect. The remaining five characters' overall switching was higher in scenes that saw a change in speaker affect than scenes that do not, although the scenes involving a humorous change in the AA low social stratum character's data showed a lower percentage of switching than scenes that do not involve a change in speaker affect.
- 4) The expected increase in switching in less formal settings and actions were found in some characters, but not all. The overall influence of the external factors was, however, manifested in each character and in the races' combined data, but in certain data sets only in the "action" or the "setting" variable. Possible explanations for the divergences were given in section 4.2.
- 5) The interpersonal variables showed scattered patterns. The AA low and middle strata characters and the Caucasian low social stratum character's data showed that their CS was affected by "upwards/downwards" power relationships, the same was true for the combined AA data. This pattern was not found in the remaining characters as the Caucasian high social stratum character only code-switched in "balanced" situations, the Caucasian middle social stratum character had matching percentages in two subcategories and the sole "asymmetrical upwards" scene in the AA high social stratum character's data involved a switch, making it the most frequently switched sub-category. Interlocutor race and competence affected the characters' CS to a certain degree, but race seemed to be the deciding factor more so than linguistic competence. All characters code-

switch more when addressing Afro-Americans, but the differentiation of linguistic competence within the races did not affect all characters in the same way. The degree of closeness in interlocutor relationships affected code-switching in the same manner as linguistic competence and race. Situations with a mix of interlocutor relationships did not show any clear patterns, but four characters showed a pattern in unmixed situations, where more switching was found the closer the relationship is.

In sum, considering how language is used to portray this fictional world, the most salient feature is certainly the at times extreme differences found when comparing the characters. The differences of CS and AAVE use between the two high social stratum characters show the racial factor is carefully considered by the creators; when comparing characters of both different races *and* from different strata, e.g. Tommy and Stringer, these differences are even greater. As previously stated, *The Wire* has been claimed to convey a strong sense of authenticity. These results cannot be directly compared to a study using naturalistic data in a similar setting, but the clear stratification of linguistic behavior of these six characters must be said to contribute to the depiction of a highly realistic environment, where attested sociolinguistic phenomena has been found also in the data used, such as accommodation and more frequent use of CS in situations involving a change in speaker affect.

5.2.2 Weaknesses of current study

Using *scene* as the analytical unit facilitated the quantification of interactions where no CS was used, but this method also had shortcomings in a few comparatively long scenes where a character could switch back and forth between the two varieties more than one time. The "mixed" sub-categories in the "interlocutor relationship" variable, and to a certain degree the "mixed competence and race" sub-category in the "linguistic competence and race variable", proved somewhat excessive. Scenes found in these sub-categories could possibly have been put in the most appropriate "unmixed" sub-category, thus making these more numerous, and strengthening the results in these variables. The amount of tables used in chapter 4 was not necessarily the most reader-friendly approach, and it certainly consumed much space. Presenting character's and the race's data in this repetitive pattern was, however, thought to best facilitate comparisons.

5.2.2 Further research

If one chose to launch a study based on the results found in this thesis several approaches would be appropriate. Examining the SE/AAVE relation in a code-switching framework using naturalistic data from subjects that would compare to those used in this thesis would be highly interesting. Challenges would, however, be met in the data collection process. A study focusing on AAVE use and code-switching in popular culture, that being movies, another TV-show or music, would further enhance the understanding of this phenomena within the most globally exported entertainment products. A qualitative approach to this subject matter, narrowing the field to one or two characters, is another possibility, one that would give deeper insight into the intricacies that accompany these characters' language production. Here, Stringer Bell would be an obvious candidate.

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