

THE USE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE  
IN LEO TOLSTOY'S NOVEL,  
*WAR AND PEACE*

by

OLGA HENRY

MICHAEL D. PICONE, COMMITTEE CHAIR  
ANDREW DROZD  
MARYSIA GALBRAITH

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Department of Modern Languages and Classics  
in the Graduate School of  
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2016

Copyright Olga Henry 2016  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

## **ABSTRACT**

This study comprises an inventory and an analysis of the types of code-switching and the reasons for code-switching in Leo Tolstoy's novel, *War and Peace*. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Russia were marked by multilingualism among the nobility. The French language, in particular, was widely known and used in high society. Indeed, French was considered expressively superior to Russian (Offord, Ryazanova-Clarke, Rjéoutski & Argent, 2015). Then as now, code-switching was a common phenomenon among bilinguals. There were subjects discussed specifically in French, and others in Russian, in Tolstoy's novel, which represents the life in Russia between 1807 and 1812, and which was constructed to reflect the nature of the time period and its characteristics. In this paper, using the theoretical model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1995) based on markedness, an identification is made of reasons for using code-switching. This is correlated with René Appel and Pieter Muysken's (1987) five functions of code-switching; and Benjamin Bailey's (1999) three functional types of switching. A delineation is also made of the types of topics discussed in the French language by the Russian aristocracy, the types of code-switching used most frequently, and the base language of code-switching in Tolstoy's novel.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to everyone who helped me and guided me through the process of creating this manuscript. In particular, my mom who cultivated in me the love toward literature and Dr. Michael Picone who helped me with his guidance throughout this process.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I am pleased to have this opportunity to thank the many individuals who helped me with this research project. Thank you to Dr. Michael Picone, the committee chair, for sharing his knowledge and his research expertise. I would also like to thank Dr. Andrew Drozd, the committee member, for invaluable input and inspiring questions. Thank you to all of my friends and colleagues with their moral support throughout this process.

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	viii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION .....	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	3
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	4
BILINGUALISM AND CULTURE .....	4
BILINGUALISM IN RUSSIA .....	4
USE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE .....	7
CODE-SWITCHING .....	8
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY .....	12
GOALS OF STUDY .....	12
RELATED RESEARCH .....	13
RESEARCH PROCESS .....	14
CHAPTER IV: <i>WAR AND PEACE</i> : GENERALITIES .....	18
TOLSTOY’S LITERARY LANGUAGE IN <i>WAR AND PEACE</i> .....	21

CHAPTER V: CODE SWITCHING IN <i>WAR AND PEACE</i> .....	24
CHAPTER VI: RESULTS .....	53
INCIDENCE OF TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING .....	58
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES REPRESENTED.....	61
CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION .....	63
REFERENCES .....	65
APPENDIX: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF EXAMPLE TEXTS .....	69

## LIST OF TABLES

1. First Volume Of <i>War And Peace</i> .....	59
2. Second Volume of <i>War and Peace</i> .....	59
3. Third Volume of <i>War and Peace</i> .....	60
4. Fourth Volume of <i>War and Peace</i> .....	60
5. Combined Volumes of <i>War and Peace</i> .....	61

**LIST OF FIGURES**

1. Research Tool .....14

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

One of main features of Russian nobility in the beginning of the nineteenth century was bilingualism or even multilingualism. For many among them, the dominant language was French, not Russian. The standing of French is reflected in Russian literature of the period. Some research has been done on bilingualism in nineteenth century Russia (Figes, 2002) and on the influence of the French language on the Russian language (Offord, Ryazanova-Clarke, Rjéoutski & Argent, 2015). Correspondence between noblemen was taken into account, and the well-known poet Pushkin was studied. For my thesis, I decided to examine a famous novel written by Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, originally published in 1869, in order to understand aspects of the bilingual language situation of that period. Tolstoy tried to represent Russian society of the nineteenth century, including aristocrats and peasants. He described that period of time through the eyes of the people he knew, like his parents, his uncle and aunt. The novel is the account of what they saw and experienced. He chose real people, but disguised their names; for example, the Volkonskys became Bolkonskys, and the Trubetskoys became the Drubetskoys. Tolstoy also brought historical figures into the novel, such as Napoleon, Kutuzov, and Rustopchin, without changing their names.

Tolstoy used multilingualism and code-switching between languages, to characterize linguistically the period of time of his novel. The change into French signals not only a switch into a different language, but it is also a transformation into a different culture. Tolstoy created a

novel that presents the world in a realistic way by applying linguistic richness on a literary level, and by using linguistic varieties as a literary device.

Lenora Timm (1978) analyzed the limits of code-switching between Russian and French in *War and Peace*. She demonstrated certain restrictions for intra-sentential code-switching (that is, code-switching taking place within the boundaries of the same clause, as opposed to using boundaries between clauses as convenient switch sites [inter-sentential code-switching]), and focused on the linguistic constructions and not as much on the meaning of the text. If Tolstoy attempted to depict the authentic use of language of that period, then we can interpret literature and literary works as a representation of reality, and code-switching can represent the reality of conversational dynamics. In this paper, the use of French in Tolstoy's novel will be studied on a discourse analysis level. The role of a foreign language in a literary text represents not just code-switching, but also culture switching in style and voice.

Why did the Russian nobility favor French? How did this figure into Tolstoy's representation of life in nineteenth century Russia? What did Russian aristocracy talk about in French? In what circumstances did they use French or Russian? Did the use of French change after the war with Napoleon? These questions led me to study Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace*, which is his mimesis of that time period. To guide my investigation, I arrived at the following set of questions about the use of French in the novel. In the course of my investigation, some answers began to emerge, especially regarding quantifiable items such as the tallying of code-switches. Items that could not be easily quantified were more resistant to analysis and only permitted generalizations about motivations for code-switching.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. According to Tolstoy's literary mimesis what are the topics that are discussed in the French language by the Russian aristocracy of the nineteenth century?
2. How does the use of French change, if at all, throughout the novel *War and Peace*?
3. Which type of code-switching is used the most frequently by Tolstoy in *War and Peace*?
4. What is the most common base language in the code-switch in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*?
5. What are the reasons for using code-switching in *War and Peace*?

First of all, by way of a review of some of the pertinent literature, I will look at bilingualism and its different types. It is generally acknowledged that wherever there is bilingualism, there is code-switching to a certain extent. I will examine the linguistic phenomena of code-switching and its different types to help determine which types Tolstoy used most in his novel.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **BILINGUALISM AND CULTURE**

Bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages. The range of bilingualism can vary from a native-like competence in both languages to a minimal proficiency in a second language (Hamers & Blanc, 1989). According to Appel and Muysken (1987), a person who uses two or more languages in alternation can be called bilingual.

Bilingualism is usually accompanied by biculturalism. Language represents a structure that serves as a social discourse to exchange information. This exchange forms a certain system of signs which are used in accordance to the needs of the members of that particular group (Lotman, 1994). Culture is linked to the moral, intellectual, and spiritual life of a society. Each person is a product of a culture, which controls its members (Smith, 1995). Culture shapes their perceptions of reality; it dictates the attitudes and reactions to different perspective.

#### **BILINGUALISM IN RUSSIA**

Different types of bilingualism in Russia are still common in our day. There are people of different nationalities who live and work all over the country. But the particular configuration of bilingualism of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Russia is a thing of the past. One important characteristic of Russian culture was that Russian noblemen spoke French. This phenomenon influenced Russian literature and the Russian language. The Europeanized culture of the upper

classes differed from the Russian culture of the peasantry, leading to a collision of two radically different worlds (Figes, 2002).

At that period, France was the leader of progressive thought (Mazour, 1937). Cultural and political events unfolding in France were not the only things that attracted the attention of Russian nobility. French literature also made a great impact on the minds of young aristocrats in Russia. They were brought up on French classics including the works of Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau and many other brilliant French writers. Their writings were used in the programs of education and training in schools and at homes of the Russian nobility (Offord et al., 2015).

French journals were reporting details about the French way of life. France was the leader of fashion, culinary ideas and progressive thought. “Throughout early nineteenth-century Europe, and despite far from negligible competition from English and German, it was French that was the main lingua franca for fashion. The language of Voltaire – or rather that of the *Journal des Dames et des Modes*” (Offord et al., 2015).

Peter the Great, a Russian czar in the late seventeenth century, known for his widespread reforms to establish Russia as a great nation, introduced a European way of living which was very different from the Russian way of living (Hughes, 2004). He made men shave their beards and wear European style clothes. He sent the young noblemen to Europe to study in universities there. He encouraged study of languages, science, art, etc. (Riasanovsky & Steinberg, 2011). In the seventeenth century, Russian customs were different from European ones, and Peter the Great wanted to bring progress to Russia. As a result, the French, German, English, and Italian languages were introduced to Russia. These languages were associated with progress. French language became more prominent, and the majority of noblemen started to use it in high society

in eighteenth-century Russia. It was also considered superior to Russian (Offord et al., 2015). The French language became the language of the Russian aristocracy and its use culminated in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The French language was related to everything refined, everything that the West offered, while the Russian language was associated with serfs, mud, and work. Some Russian aristocratic children were taught that the serfs were like animals, who should not be respected. They were treated as if their whole purpose of being here was to serve upper classes.

“By the end of the eighteenth century the aristocracy had become so bilingual that they slipped quite easily and imperceptibly from Russian into French and back again” (Figes, 2002, p. 103). Using French became a custom. Conversations that began in Russian would inevitably end in French. Noblemen wrote to the Tsar in Russian, and it was impudent to write to him in French; but they always spoke to the Tsar in French, as they did among other noblemen. An aristocratic woman wrote in French to all officials including the sovereign, “because this was the language of polite society; it would have been deemed a gross indecency if she had used Russian expressions” (Figes, 2002, p. 103).

Pushkin’s famous character Tat’iana from *Evgenii Onegin* hardly spoke Russian. She wrote her letter to Onegin in French. According to the poet “Russian ladies in general seem to be resisting attempts to make them read Russian” (Offord et al., 2015).

French language served as a dual entity for the Russian nobility of the nineteenth century. First of all, it was a means to understand and develop French culture. It was considered to be a better language for literature at that time in that it transmitted all shades and intricacies of thought and feelings. Second, it was the marker of belonging to an elite, a highly educated stratum that brought with it the achievements of the larger world’s civilizations.

## USE OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

The Russian language was neglected by the overclass; it was the language of the serfs. “The neglect of the Russian language was most pronounced and persistent in the highest echelons of the aristocracy, which had always been the most Europeanized” (Figes, 2002, p. 56). The Russian nobility gave their children the best education. The Golitsyn family (one of the largest and most noble families of Russia) always had a French governess for their children and, “if she ever caught them speaking Russian, she would punish them by tying a red cloth in the shape of a devil’s tongue around their necks” (Khvoshchinskaia, 1898, p. 518). This shows that speaking Russian was discouraged by the tutors. The same situation occurred in the Girls’ Gymnasium, which was one of the best schools for noble daughters in Moscow. The girls who attended it were punished for speaking Russian by being “made to wear a red tin bell all day and stand like dunces, stripped of their white aprons, in the corner of the class; they were forced to remain standing even during meals, and received their food last” (Lelong, 1914, p. 393). The approach taken toward the Russian language was akin to an exorcism; it “should be beaten out of noble children from an early age, and that even the most childish feelings had to be expressed in a foreign tongue” (Figes, 2002, p. 56). Tolstoy’s character, the princess Helene, preferred to speak French when she talked about her concerns because the Russian language did not define her feelings clearly enough, and French was deemed to have a vocabulary more suitable to nuanced expression (Tolstoy, 2005).

In counterpoint, Admiral Shishkov was a statesman and a writer, who protected the Russian language. In 1803, he defended the use of the Russian language against the use of the French language (Figes, 2002). Moved by the serfs’ patriotic spirit, the Russian aristocracy “began to break free from the foreign conversions of their society and search for a sense of

nationhood based on ‘Russian’ principles. They switched from speaking French to their native tongue, they went out to the countryside to learn folklore” (Figes, 2002, p. xxviii). After all, every “high-born Russian boy spent his childhood in the downstairs servants’ world” (Figes, 2002, p. 122). Nannies were chosen from Russian serfs and usually they did not speak anything but Russian. A boy was cared for by his serf nanny through his childhood. She would usually sleep in the nursery beside the baby’s bed, and when the baby cried, it was his nanny who held him. In many cases, the nanny became like a mother to him. (Figes, 2002).

Since infancy, the aristocratic children heard the Russian language. So many of them were familiar with it, but they did not know it as well as French. For example, in Tolstoy’s novel *War and Peace*, one of the main characters, Andrei Bolkonsky, spoke Russian with a French accent. The Russian language was used, but in many instances it was discouraged.

## CODE-SWITCHING

Code-Switching involves “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation” (Grosjean, 1982, p. 145). It consists of “several types of bilingual language mixture, including the alternating use of relatively complete utterances from two different languages, alternation between sentential and/or clausal structures from the two languages, and the insertion of (usually lexical) elements from one language into the other” (Winford, 2003, p. 101). According to Cantone (2007), code-switching can happen not only when the addressees are fully bilingual but also if they are capable of understanding the two languages. Code-switching is the way a speaker can associate him or herself with the society and identify his or her relation to the other speakers (Winford, 2003). It is a vehicle to make a statement about his or her identity (Picone, 2002).

Bilingual communities are one of the most common places where code-switching is used. For example, in certain parts of Switzerland, Belgium, and Canada, and in post-soviet states where bilingualism is a norm, people code switch a great deal. There are TV channels, radio broadcasts, and schools conducted in both languages. Even if one language is more prestigious than the other, both of them are studied and used. Code switching is a part of everyday life for many inhabitants of those countries.

When African, Asian, Caribbean, and South American regions were colonized, the European languages served as official languages of administration, education, and other public activities, at the same time as people of those regions used the pre-existing indigenous languages (Winford, 2003). According to Greensberg (1971), there are over 800 distinct languages in Africa, and many urban inhabitants in Africa are known for using more than one language in all walks of life. Thus bilingual or multi-lingual code-switching is a common phenomenon, which happens on a daily basis (Myers-Scotton, 1995). For example in Cameroon, English and French are official languages, but there are also more than 200 linguistic groups. Cameroonians speak their native language plus English or French, and sometimes both. At home, they tend to speak the language of their linguistic group, while at school, they study in English or French. Having recourse to both English and French as official languages, people from the southern part of Cameroon, where French prevails, are able to understand inhabitants of the east part of Cameroon, where English prevails.

Globalization has led to migration. In particular, immigrants have been moving into more industrialized nations in Europe and North America. The newcomers face the challenge of learning a new language, and becoming bilingual. When the community is bilingual, it leads to code switching (Hall, 2012). Winford (2003) also mentions that the speakers of a non-standard

dialect are forced to learn the standard variety in order to pursue educational and social advancement. This increases bidialectalism, which leads to code switching between the varieties (Winford, 2003).

There are different types of code switching. *Inter-sentential* or “Classical Code Switching” is prevalent in some situations. This may happen when one person talks in one language, and another answers in another language, as is the case in circumstances of passive bilingualism where a person understands what is said to him or her, but cannot reply in the same language. When an individual is bilingual and addresses another bilingual, however, inter-sentential code switching typically takes on another configuration. One individual will resort to code switching between sentences or clauses within the boundaries of the same sentence. One sentence or a clause is in one language and the following one is in a second language. There are a lot of examples of inter-sentential code-switching in Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*. It is one of the “easiest” code-switching devices, because there is no clause-internal syntax to navigate.

Another type of code switching is *intra-sentential*. The alternation happens within the boundaries of a clause. “Intra-sentential switching involves, arguably, the greatest syntactic risks” (Romaine, 1988, p. 113). It may occur as a single word, or as a phrase switch. This code switching is very common especially among languages with relatively similar linguistic structure, like French and English.

*Tag Code Switching* is fairly self-explanatory. It comes at the extremities of the sentence, usually at the end, in other words it “tags along” (Romaine 1988). It is very typical for pragmatic effect. For example: “Ses chaussettes ont des trous, you know.”

*Insertional* or *intra-sentential single-word code-switching* occurs within a morpheme boundary, which simply means that a single word gets switched. Pfaff (1979) makes a

distinction between a borrowing and an *insertional* switching. Pfaff defines borrowings as a phenomenon that occurs in the speech of monolinguals, while code-switching requires some degree of competence in both languages. The main criteria that helps to distinguish between borrowings and code switching is first of all the degree of use of that word by monolingual speakers. Second, it includes the degree of morphophonemic integration (Winford, 2003). Borrowed words usually go through different sound changes in the language, they assimilate into the language, and became harder to recognize for the average speaker.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### GOALS OF STUDY

Since he wrote the novel *War and Peace* almost as a memoir based on the reality of his parents' experiences only about 50 years earlier, in the context of the actual historical events taking place at the time, and since some of the reading audience that he was accountable to would be familiar with the same time period, either as eye-witnesses themselves or through the testimony of their own parents, my initial working assumption was that Tolstoy's portrayal of bilingualism must have some measure of validity so as to ring true with the reading public (leaving open the possibility, however, that some elements of Tolstoy's depictions may prove to be due to literary license; see below). Consequently, I attempt to analyze his literary mimesis of that period to see to what extent the use of French changed, if at all, throughout the novel. Along with this, as I proceed through the novel, one goal of my study is to identify the topics discussed in the French language by the Russian aristocracy of the early nineteenth century, as depicted by Tolstoy. I also aim to identify the types of code-switching used by Tolstoy, and which ones were used the most frequently. I attempt to identify the reasons for using code-switching in *War and Peace*. Finally, I attempt to establish the most common base language in the code-switched passages in *War and Peace*.

## RELATED RESEARCH

Before conducting my research, it was necessary to review other research that had been published on this subject. The first work I found was a book, *Natasha's Dance*, written by Orlando Figes in 2002. The book uses the novel, *War and Peace*, to explain the influence of the French language and culture on the nobility of the 1800s. Figes talks about the Russian aristocracy who had the name Russians, but they were mostly French. In his book, he focuses more on the revival of the Russian spirit through the memoirs of Decembrists exiled in Siberia and did not analyze code-switching used by Tolstoy nor anything related to it.

The second book, *French and Russian in Imperial Russia: Language Attitudes and Identity*, is written by Offord, Ryazanova-Clarke, Rjeoutski and Argent (2015). The authors explain the importance of the influence of the French language on Russian literature, Russian culture, and Russian vocabulary. One of the most influential figures of that period whose writings they analyzed was Pushkin, whose work was influenced by French literature. Indeed, his first verses were in French. This book sheds much light, but it mostly explores how the knowledge of French shaped the view of Russians on the language and their identities.

The most closely related study is conducted by Lenora Timm on *Code-Switching in War and Peace* (1978). She examines linguistic constructions of intra-sentential code-switching in *War and Peace*. She comments that Tolstoy ignored the syntactic “rules” commonly cited as constraints on code-switching. For example, his characters sometimes use modifiers in one language and switch to another language for the noun they modify, which is very unusual. Myers-Scotton (1995) considers it as a marked choice for code-switching. Timm concentrates on text analysis, whereas I will be concentrating on content analysis. She identifies what types of code-switches Tolstoy used in his novel. I will attempt to identify why he used them and

thereby, it is hoped, contribute something to our understanding of the permutations and dynamics of conversational code-switching.

## RESEARCH PROCESS

After I decided to conduct this research, I started to read the novel, *War and Peace*, marking each instance of code-switching. I did not see a possible way to use any of the qualitative data analysis tools such as ATLAS.ti, HyperRESEARCH, Ethnograph, MAXQDA, NVivo, Qualrus, or HyperTranscribe, because the research involved two different languages, with different alphabets. There are some other languages used in the novel, for example, Latin, German and Italian, but only French instances were included in the count. When the conversation was continued in French, then I counted it as one occurrence even though it was between numerous speakers. In order to facilitate my research, I created tables for each volume of the book to record all of my findings:

Figure 1. Research Tool

<b>Types of switches</b>	Inter-sentential	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjections (Ah! Oh, dear!)
<b>Incidence of switches</b>					
How many times total					
How many times French is the base language					
How many times Russian is the base language					

I examined each code-switching occurrence in the framework of Myers-Scotton (1995) theory based on markedness. In her model, types of code-switching establish the social roles and obligations. The speaker assigns them when he or she code-switches. The markedness metric “is part of the innate cognitive faculty of all humans. It enables speakers to assess all code

choices as more or less marked or unmarked for the exchange type in which they occur” (Myers-Scotton, 1995, p. 79-80). There are three main categories in it: an *unmarked choice*, a *marked choice* and an *exploratory choice*.

The first category is an *unmarked choice*. Its maxim is: “Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO [rights and obligations] set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set” (Myers-Scotton, 1995, p. 114). *The unmarked choice* is most expected and most common in contemporary language, which means, it is the default use of language. It reveals the norms and behavioral rules in a speech community. The norms are defined by the customary usage of the members of communities. The unmarked code-switching is safer, because it is more predictable. By using the unmarked choice, the speaker does not violate or offend conversational rules.

The second category is a *marked choice*. Its maxim is: “Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO [rights and obligations] set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange” (Myers-Scotton, 1995, p. 131). *The marked choice* carries some extra meaning or information. It is not predicted in a conversation. A speaker chooses it to show deference, affection, anger, solidarity and ethnic identity, demonstration of authority, superiority, eloquence, or distance (Myers-Scotton, 1995). The marked code-switching may become problematic socially. By using the marked choice, the speaker does not accept the present state of a conversation and calls for new rights and obligation set. The motivation is to reveal a change in the relationship between the participants in the conversation.

The third category is an exploratory choice. Its maxim is: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS [code-switch] to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an

unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO [rights and obligations] set which you favour” (Myers-Scotton, 1995, p. 142). In *the exploratory choice*, markedness is not at first clear, and there is an uncertainty about which language choice is the expected one.

The second parameter that I used was the motives for code-switching by René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987). They give five motives or functions: *referential function* is caused by lack of language competence on a certain subject; *directive function* involves the hearer directly, it may be to exclude certain persons from the conversation or to include a newcomer into the conversation, or to make sure the listener understands what is said, so the one talking switches to her or his native language; *expressive function* emphasizes a mixed identity through the use of two languages (compare Poplack, 1980); *phatic function* changes the tone of conversation, it is also labeled a *metaphorical switch* by Bailey (1999) and by Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1975); and *metalinguistic function* is used to impress others with language skills.

The last set of factors that I used to analyze the data were the three functional types of code-switching discussed by Benjamin Bailey (1999) in his article *Switching*. He gives several overlapping functional types: *situational switching*, *metaphorical switching*, and *discourse contextualization switching*. *Situational switching* has a direct and predictable relationship between code-switching and observable features of the situation. The situation effects switching of languages. The language is switched as observable changes in the context occur, for example to accommodate a monolingual person, who just joined the conversation. *Metaphorical switching* is the opposite of *situational switching*; it effects changes in context and social roles. The speaker switches languages to switch the social role, which requires a different language, or to change the context, from an informal conversation to more formal one. In *discourse contextualization switching*, the speaker is not influenced by external changes in the context, or

by sociocultural framework, but she or he changes languages to contextualize, to frame cues, to mark off quotations, to change the topic.

Tolstoy's characters and an important segment of his audience were both bilingual, having been educated in French and Russian. Accordingly, in his literary production, for the sake of realism, he had to include the kind of bilingual features that some of his readership would have remembered and would have continued to engage in. Thus, arguably, he was constrained to mimic conversational realities that included code-switching, and he was free to do so without compromising comprehension in relation to the most educated segment of his intended audience. This is the rationale for applying the frameworks developed for conversational analysis by the scholars cited above (Myers-Scotton; Poplack; Appel and Muysken; Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez; Bailey; etc.) to Tolstoy's literary production. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Tolstoy may well have resorted to "literary license" at times and deviated from actual conversational patterns of code-switching, especially as the novel evolves and the Russian language itself becomes symbolic of authenticity. Thus the frameworks developed for conversational analysis may have limitations when applied to literature that is simply portraying conversation. It is not apparent, for example, that the "motives" for code-switching explained by René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987) can be attributed without complication to the invented characters of an author.

## CHAPTER IV

### ***WAR AND PEACE: GENERALITIES***

Tolstoy considered *War and Peace* to be neither a novel nor a historical chronicle; rather it constituted memoirs of his family and of the people who played a vital role in the outcome of their lives. In the later chapters he devoted much space to philosophical discussion of his own beliefs (Claridge, 2001). *War and Peace* has a historical setting, the Napoleonic wars. Set between the years 1805-1812, the bulk of the four-volume book, recounts the history of five families: the Bezukhovs, the Bolkonskys, the Rostovs, the Kuragins and the Drubetskoys (Sturman, 1999). These families belonged to the higher circles of the Russian aristocracy. The book is concluded by an epilogue set in the year 1820 (Noyes, 1968).

Tolstoy worked from primary source materials, including interviews, correspondence and other documents. He gathered his information from history books, philosophy texts and other historical novels (Feuer, Miller & Orwin, 1996). He used his own experience in the Crimean War, 1853-1856, to describe details and first-hand accounts of how the Russian army was structured (Bloom, 1988).

Tolstoy's original idea was to write a story about the Decembrist exile to Siberia after their revolt. The Decembrists were upper class Russian military officers who had revolutionary sympathies, espousing the emancipation of the serfs, a constitutional monarchy (or abolition of the monarchy among the more radical), and political liberalization. They led an unsuccessful uprising on December 14, 1825 (Mazour, 1937). In the process of working on the sketches for

an early edition of the novel, Tolstoy gradually transformed his work into an epic set against the backdrop of the War of 1812 (Bobyeh.ru online Russian encyclopedia). The central historical event of the book is the invasion of Russia by Napoleon (Noyes, 1968). Throughout the book, Tolstoy injects chapters of historical philosophy (Bloom, 1988).

The novel takes as its point of departure July 1805, in Saint Petersburg, at a soirée given by Anna Pavlovna Scherer, the confidante of the Empress Maria Feodorovna (Sturman, 1999). Tolstoy carefully introduced his characters, as he describes Russian home life among the noblemen, in St. Petersburg, in Moscow, on their country estates, and on the battlefield.

One of Tolstoy's beloved main characters in the story was Pierre Bezukhov, who was completely fictional. Decembrists, who were returning from Siberia, served as prototypes for this character. Pierre was socially awkward, because he was the illegitimate son of Count Kirill Vladimirovich Bezukhov, which made him a misfit among Russian aristocratic society (Sturman, 1999). He was educated abroad, but he still did not know how to conduct himself in public. After inheriting his father's large fortune, Pierre set on a journey to find the meaning of life. Tolstoy voiced his own inner thoughts and beliefs through the reflections of Pierre Bezukhov (Bobyeh.ru).

Nicolay Rostov and his father were based on the author's father and grandfather. "The Rostovs, open-handed, simple-hearted country squires, represent the Tolstoys" (Noyes, 1968). At the beginning of the novel, Nicolay was 20 years old and has given up university enrollment to serve his country in order to defeat Napoleon. He was easily influenced, and often acted on impulse according to his emotion. By losing large amounts of money to Dolokhov at cards, his army friend, he ruined his family fortune. There is a noticeable transformation from an irrational

person into a very responsible young man toward the end of the novel, when he married rich Maria Bolkonsky (Толстой, 1983).

Nicolay had a sister, Natasha, who became the main heroine of the novel. According to Noyes (1968), Tolstoy combined characteristics and features of his wife and her sister to create Natasha. She was always enthusiastic, full of energy, and full of love for everybody. She got engaged to Andrew Bolkonsky, but she broke off their engagement because of her affair with Anatole Kuragin. Prince Andrew was very upset, but toward the end of the third volume, when Natasha nursed him and took care of him, he forgave her, and fell in love with her all over again, which would have been a wonderful love story if Prince Andrew did not die of a serious stomach wound. In the Epilogue, she happily married Pierre Bezukhov and had children (Толстой, 1983).

The Bolkonskys were a reflective, intellectual, independent and powerful family. The Volkonskys, the family of Tolstoy's mother, were the prototypes for the Bolkonskys (Noyes, 1968). Tolstoy's mother served as a prototype for Princess Maria Bolkonsky. In the novel, he described her as a plain-faced, well-educated, religious, and caring woman, who took care of her stubborn father and orphaned nephew.

Andrew Bolkonsky was Princess Maria's brother, who was a philosophical aide-de-camp in the Napoleonic Wars. He was handsome, strong but skeptical. His first wife, Lise, died while giving birth to their son, Nicolushka. This event helped Prince Andrew realize the emptiness of life.

The Trubetskoy family, one of the aristocratic families, became the prototype for Drubetskoy family. Prince Boris Drubetskoy grew up in the Rostov family household, because his mother was too poor to care for him. He made some good choices and got promoted, but he stopped being friends with Rostov, and later he married one of the richest brides in Russia.

The Kurakins were the Russian princely family; almost all Kurakins were in the diplomatic service. This family served as prototypes for Prince Kuragin's family in *War and Peace*. Vasili Kuragin was the father of Helene, Pierre Bezukhov's first adulterous wife, and her brothers, Hippolyte and Anatole. Anatole Kuragin lied to young Natasha, and almost married her under false pretenses. He was the reason why Natasha Rostov annulled her engagement with Prince Andrew Bolkonsky. The family Kuragin was presented in the novel as deceitful and dishonest but very handsome and beautiful. They spoke French at home among themselves and during their outings.

#### TOLSTOY'S LITERARY LANGUAGE IN *WAR AND PEACE*

Tolstoy's literary language experienced a complex evolution. The language of the novel *War and Peace* is a synthesis and further development of the stylistic trends of Tolstoy's art, forming a complex system of interaction and mixed literary narrative styles drawing from the spheres of military parlance, official-business language, and also scientific, philosophical and journalistic speech. These sources surface in the novel in a variety of contexts, ranging from historical documents to the multi-colored speech features of the different characters (Виноградов). According to Vinogradov, the language of *War and Peace* is not homogeneous, because, in addition to the multiple-forms and styles of that era, it includes "foreign speech." Indeed, as noted previously, *War and Peace* is bilingual, incorporating both Russian and French. But bilingualism was used not only as a reflection of reality, in a portrayal of the documents and dialogues of that time period. Tolstoy also used it for the narrative voice.

According to the novelist, he tried to express the characteristics of that era which arose from Russia's reigning philosophy concerning the preeminence of the French language.

Education was strictly in French or other European languages. High society tried to distance itself from other classes by using foreign languages (Толстой, 2008). Tolstoy did not intend to write a historical novel, but rather a novel that invoked events of the then recent past that was still within the memory of Tolstoy's readers. He tried to engage his readers in the real world of that period, which included bilingualism and used code-switching. (Виноградов).

In the novel, people speak and write in French and in Russian. Tolstoy included bilingualism in his novel, and he compared it to shadows in a picture which are really not there, but make it feel true to life (Толстой, 2008). So if readers notice only French or only Russian, it is similar to looking at a portrait and seeing, for example, only a black spot under the nose, which is supposed to be a shadow, making the image come alive. It is the mix of the light and the shadows which makes the picture realistic; the same idea applied to the use of both languages in the novel (Толстой, 2008). It is similar to code-switching used in films, where the scenarist uses it to achieve the desired ethnic coloration, while keeping the film accessible to the intended audience (Palacios, 2001).

In the original (1868–1869) edition, about two percent of the book was in French. Tolstoy translated those passages into Russian in footnotes. In the revised 1873 edition, Tolstoy decided to eliminate French, and translate all of it into Russian in the novel itself, but he restored it in the later editions (Figes, 2007). For some readers, needless to say, it is easier to read without the French, but according to Figes “it misses an important element of Tolstoy's irony and meaning in the portrayal of his characters, which relates to a broader discourse—between Tolstoy and his readers—about the relationship between Russia and Europe that runs through the pages of *War and Peace*” (2007). For example, the diplomat Bilibin speaks French, and the only

times he uses Russian is to underscore his disapproval. This allows Bilibin to be portrayed as the stereotypical “Russian who would rather be French” (Figes, 2007).

*War and Peace* described historical events beginning in 1807, and particularly the pivotal year of 1812. On one hand, Tolstoy depended on what really happened in history. On the other hand, he created his own characters. According to Tolstoy, he used the names of the famous people of that time, like Volkonsky and Trubetskoy, and he changed them into Bolkonkiy and Drubetskoy. He used barely-disguised names, and gave his characters’ attributes that were true to the period, but he also made them live, breathe, and act the way Tolstoy saw fit in order to achieve his literary purposes. He used code-switching as one of his strategies to show the distinguishing traits of society at that time.

The French language helped give life to one of Russia’s most famous novels; therefore, it is appropriate to examine and describe the principles of the relationship between French and Russian in terms of the code-switching manifesting itself with regard to the interaction of these two languages.

## CHAPTER V

### CODE SWITCHING IN *WAR AND PEACE*

“— Eh bien, mon prince. Gênes et Lucques ne sont plus que des apanages, des поместья, de la famille Buonaparte. Non, je vous préviens que si vous ne me dites pas que nous avons la guerre, si vous vous permettez encore de pallier toutes les infamies, toutes les atrocités de cet Antichrist (ma parole, j'y crois) — je ne vous connais plus, vous n'êtes plus mon ami, vous n'êtes plus мой верный раб, comme vous dites. Ну, здравствуйте, здравствуйте. Je vois que je vous fais peur, садитесь и рассказывайте” (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7).

What a remarkable start of an epic Russian novel that talks about the War of 1812 with Napoleon, and finishes with the revival of the Russian spirit. Tolstoy chose to start his novel with French. He wanted to mimic the spirit of 1805 when Bonaparte was reigning in Europe. The Russian nobility continued speaking French, and there were some supporters of Napoleon among them. Tolstoy intentionally began *War and Peace* with the opening dialogue shown so he could start with the French language.

Let's look at the examples of code switching in the novel. (Translation of all the texts cited, in numbered order, are located in the Appendix beginning on the page 58.) In all, there are 1196 examples of code-switches found in *War and Peace*. I chose the following 52 examples, allowing me to showcase the variety of functions that can be attributed to instances of code-switching. Explicating all 1196 code-switches would have represented an immense undertaking

out of proportion with the normal limitations on a Master's thesis. Furthermore, after starting to examine each case of code-switching, I realized that there were many that fit the same category. For present purposes, describing just a small number of examples that fit a particular category is sufficient to illustrate what processes are at work.

1. “Eh bien, mon prince. Gênes et Lucques ne sont plus que des apanages, des *поместья*, de la famille Buonaparte” (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7).

The word *поместья* is neuter gender, and it belongs to the second declension. In the sentence, it is used in plural form, accusative case, which is the direct object case. It means ‘family estate’.

There would need to be two words in French to explain the same thing: *le domaine familial*.

This is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch where French is the base language. This is a marked choice; the switch was unexpected since it happened between the modifier *des* and the noun. In my opinion this switch has a phatic function, and it is a metaphorical switch, that the speaker uses to change the tone of conversation. *Gênes* (Genoa) and *Lucques* (Lucca) are cities with people. By saying that these cities have become nothing but Napoleon's family estate, it is sad and ironic.

2. “— je ne vous connais plus, vous n'êtes plus mon ami, vous n'êtes plus *мой верный раб*, comme vous dites” (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7).

This is an intra-sentential phrase-switch where French is the base language. *Мой верный раб* means ‘my faithful slave.’ In French it is ‘mon esclave loyal.’ First of all, it is a noun phrase.

The word *раб* is not just a ‘slave/esclave’, but it is also a free person who loves you so much that he does your every wish (Кузнецов, 2014). The French word *esclave* does not have the same meaning. The primary reason to use the Russian phrase in the French sentence, would appear to

be because there was no substitute in French language for the same phrase. This is an unmarked choice, because there is no equivalent of this phrase, and it has a referential function, which refers to a lack of language. This is a metaphorical switch, because the speaker changes the conversation from formal to more friendly in tone.

3. Ну, здравствуйте, здравствуйте (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7).

‘Well, hello, hello’. This is an interjection and an inter-sentential code-switch. This is a marked choice, because the speaker called for a new situation. The whole conversation was in French, but it was switched into Russian in order to change the tone of the conversation from official into friendly. This code-switch has a phatic function. This is a metaphorical switching, because the speaker switches the context.

4. Je vois que je vous fais peur, *садитесь и рассказывайте* (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch, with the second clause being in the imperative mood. The imperative mood forms a command or a request. It implies a subject, but does not articulate it. The speaker used it to put somebody at ease. *Садитесь и рассказывайте* are equal to the French ‘vous form.’ The word *рассказывайте* covers two meanings: ‘dites-moi’, and ‘racontez-moi’. To avoid using both of them, Tolstoy used the Russian word *рассказывайте*. In French, *dites-moi* and *racontez-moi* usually require a direct object, while the Russian verb *рассказывайте* can be used without it. This is a marked choice with a phatic function, because the speaker switches the tone of the conversation into a friendly one, which means it is a metaphorical switch, because the speaker causes the context to change.

5. В записочках, разосланных утром с красным лакеем, было написано без различия во всех: «Si vous n'avez rien de mieux à faire, Monsieur le comte (или mon prince), et si la

perspective de passer la soirée chez une pauvre malade ne vous effraye pas trop, je serai charmée de vous voir chez moi entre 7 et 10 heures. Annette Scherer » (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 7-8).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch, which happened in between the narration and the correspondence. This switch happens in order to show the ethnicity associated with the letter. According to Figes (2002), the noblewomen wrote their correspondence only in French. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected by the addressee. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because this is a direct quote. It is hard to decide the motives for this code-switching.

6. — Dieu, quelle virulente sortie! — отвечал, нисколько не смутясь такою встречей, вошедший князь (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 8).

This is another example of an inter-sentential code-switch, which happened between a dialogue and a narrative, between a speech of the person and the author. This is an unmarked choice, because Tolstoy intended the novel for Russian speakers, so the narrator is expected to tell the story in Russian. It is a discourse contextualization switch, because Tolstoy is quoting what somebody says.

7. — Avant tout dites-moi, comment vous allez, chère amie? Успокойте меня (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 8).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch, which happens in direct speech. It is operated by the same person in a conversation. The prince “spoke in that refined French in which our grandfathers not only spoke but thought” (Tolstoy, 2005). He initially adhered to formality and asked the cultural question “how do you do?” but then he added a Russian sentence to show indifference toward the person he was addressing. This is a marked choice in order to call for a

new situation. This switch has a phatic function; it changes the tone of the conversation from official into insignificant. And it is a metaphorical switch, because the speaker changes the context.

8. — Ежели бы знали, что вы этого хотите, праздник бы отменили, — сказал князь по привычке, как заведенные часы, говоря вещи, которым он и не хотел, чтобы верили.  
— Ne me tourmentez pas. Eh bien, qu'a-t-on décidé par rapport à la dépêche de Novosilzoff ?  
Vous savez tout (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 8-9).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch, which happen between two speakers. The prince speaks Russian, but Anna Pavlovna responds in French. According to Figes (2002), Russian aristocratic ladies were supposed to converse in French. This is an unmarked choice for code-switching, because the speaker follows the rules of the community.

9. А propos, — прибавила она, опять успокоиваясь, — нынче у меня два очень интересные человека, *le vicomte de Mortemart, il est allié aux Montmorency par les Rohans* одна из лучших фамилий Франции. Это один из хороших эмигрантов, из настоящих. И потом *l'abbé Morio*; вы знаете этот глубокий ум? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 10).

*Le vicomte de Mortemart* and *l'abbé Morio* are intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switches with Russian as a base language. This is an unmarked choice, because the speaker does not offend conversational rules. It has a referential function, because it involves proper names, which are easier to use in the language of origin. This is a discourse contextualization switch, because the original language is French, so the speaker converts it in French.

*Il est allié aux Montmorency par les Rohans* is an inter-sentential code-switch. This is an unmarked choice; the speaker did not violate conversational rules. This is a discourse contextualization switch as well, for the same reasons.

10. Правда, что *l'impératrice-mère* желает назначения барона Функе первым секретарем в Вену? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 10).

*L'impératrice-mère* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch, with Russian as a base language. *L'impératrice-mère* is a title, which means 'The Empress – mother,' and in Russian it means 'Императрица – мать.' Tolstoy decided to use the title in French. We can speculate and say diplomacy and politics were easier to discuss in French, because Russian aristocracy gained political views through French newspapers. The markedness is not clear, it is an exploratory choice.

11. — Вы знаете, я сделал для их воспитания все, что может отец, и оба вышли *des imbéciles* (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 12).

This is an intra-sentential code-switch with Russian as a base language: *des imbéciles* 'imbeciles' is a masculine noun in plural form preceded by its determiner, inflected for agreement of plurality. In Russian there are no articles, so in this particular case, the code-switch fills the slot of a single word in Russian. There is a word in Russian, *дураки*, bearing a meaning similar to *imbéciles*. Presumably it was not used here because the word *imbéciles* sounds more proper than the Russian word *дураки*, which has a very negative connotation. This is a marked choice, because this is an unexpected language switch. It has a referential function, because of the lack of precision in another language. This is a discourse contextualization switch, because it was easier to use the word in the original language.

12. — Je suis votre *верный раб*, et à vous seule je puis l'avouer. *Mou дети* — ce sont les entraves de mon existence. Это мой крест. Я так себе объясняю. Que voulez-vous ? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 12).

There are two intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switches with French as a base language.

Concerning the first one, *верный раб*, we already discussed the meaning of it in the example # 2.

But in this case, the modifier is in French. This is a marked choice for code-switching, because the switch was unexpected.

*Mou дети* means 'my children'. *Mou дети* consists of a possessive pronoun in a plural form *mou* and a noun in a plural form, *дети*. In the novel, Tolstoy portrayed families that were closer to each other as usually speaking Russian among themselves; for example, the Rostovs used Russian at home, but French with other noblemen, to be proper, and in a way to maintain distance. The Kuragins used mostly French among themselves and with other people. Prince Vasili Kuragin is a very polished politician, who knows the conventions of etiquette, but he loves his children. Tolstoy showed family intimacy by using Russian, so this may be why prince Kuragin switches to Russian. This is a marked choice with a referential function, because the speaker deliberately switched the languages.

13. Говорят, — сказала она, — что старые девицы *ont la manie des mariages*. Я еще не чувствую за собою этой слабости, но у меня есть одна *petite personne*, которая очень несчастлива с отцом, *une parente à nous, une princesse* Болконская (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 12).

*Ont la manie des mariages* means have a mania for matchmaking. This is an intra-sentential predicate phrase code-switch. This is an unmarked choice, because these topics were usually

discussed in French. It has a directive function, because the speaker wants to make sure the listener understands the meaning.

Petite personne means ‘a little person.’ This is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch, which consists of an adjective in a singular feminine form, and a feminine noun in a singular form. Tolstoy used the identifier ‘одна’ in Russian, but the noun and the adjective in French. He switched in the middle of the noun phrase. The French number ‘une’ is similar to the indefinite article ‘une.’ In this case, Tolstoy wanted to make sure that the listener understands that is not just ‘a little person,’ but ‘one little person.’ This code-switch is in the middle of the phrase, it helped Tolstoy to reveal the real meaning that he wanted to portray. This is a marked choice, because this is an unexpected switch. The translation of this phrase is ‘маленький человек,’ which means ‘little person,’ but the word человек is masculine gender, while the French word ‘personne’ is feminine gender. The conversation is about a lady, so the French phrase sounds more proper, that’s why this switch has a referential function.

Une parente à nous means our relative. This is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switching. It is hard to define markedness for this code-switch. Anna Pavlovna Scherer speaks mostly French, but sometime she switches to Russian. She is a confidante of the Empress-mother. I think the code-switching for her has mostly expressive function, because it emphasizes her bilingual identity, at least in for this instant.

Une princesse Болконская means ‘princess Bolkonskaya.’ This is an intra-sentential single-word code-switching. It includes a proper name, which consists of a title, princess, and a personal name, Bolkonskaya. This is a marked choice, because the switch is unexpected. Tolstoy divided the noun phrase with the code-switch. The title is in French, but the last name is in Russian. It has expressive function.

14. У нее брат, вот что недавно женился на *Lise* Мейнен, адъютант Кутузова (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 13).

*Lise* is a proper name. It is an intra-sentential single word switch with Russian as a base language. It shows that Russian nobility used French names with French pronunciation. There is a Russian name, Лиза, which is equivalent to the French name, *Lise*, but it is pronounced differently. The French name *Lise* sounds more elegant and romantic in comparison to Russian name *Лиза*, which sounds like a simple peasant name. Karamzin used this name for his main character when he wrote the story *Poor Liza*, which was published in the late eighteenth century. It was a story of a peasant girl falling in love with a young nobleman who later seduced her and then betrayed her (Segel, 1967).

Usually, when Tolstoy used the Roman alphabet for a French proper name, it means that the name was pronounced as in French. Throughout the novel, there are a lot of examples of intra-sentential single-word code-switching for a proper name. Tolstoy used personal names in French, even in narrative. This is an unmarked choice, because of the expectation that the pronunciation of names would correspond to the language in which they originated. The function of the clause is referential. This is a discourse contextualization switch, because of the inclusion of the name in French.

15. — Вы не видели еще, — или: — вы не знакомы с *ma tante*? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 14).

*Ma tante* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Ma tante* means ‘my aunt.’ This phrase consists of a possessive pronoun ‘ma’ and a feminine noun in a singular form ‘tante.’ This is the opposite of example number 12, where the phrase *my children* was used in Russian. The explanation could be that she was always formal with her

aunt; they were never close to each other. The Russian language has *вы* and *ты*, which are the equivalents of French *vous* and *tu*. Maybe she was always at *вы*-level with her aunt, and French will be the best language to show the distance, because it is a formality. Maybe her aunt spoke only French, so it was very usual to address her in French. It is an unmarked choice of code-switching, with discourse contextualization function, because it was a behavioral rule to call her *ma tante*. The motive of this code-switch is expressive, because it emphasizes a mixed identity of Anna Pavlovna Scherer through the use of two languages.

16. Маленькая княгиня, переваливаясь, маленькими быстрыми шажками обошла стол с рабочей сумочкой на руке и, весело оправляя платье, села на диван, около серебряного самовара, как будто все, что она ни делала, было *partie de plaisir* для нее и для всех ее окружавших (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 15).

*Partie de plaisir* means ‘pleasure.’ This phrase consists of two nouns connected by a preposition. *Partie*, which means ‘part,’ is a feminine noun, Tolstoy omitted its modifier ‘une.’ *Plaisir* is a masculine noun. *Partie de plaisir* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. It is used in narration by author to convey the untranslatable expression. This is an unmarked choice with a referential function, because this phrase is rich in meaning and cultural implication, therefore Tolstoy used it in the original language. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because it frames the cues.

17. — Ah! voyons. ConteZ-nous cela, vicomte, — сказала Анна Павловна, с радостью чувствуя, как чем-то *à la Louis XV* отзывалась эта фраза, — conteZ-nous cela, vicomte (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 18).

The first code-switch is an inter-sentential between the narrator and the dialogue. It is an unmarked choice, because it was common. It is a discourse contextualization switching.

The second code-switch is a noun phrase intra-sentential with Russian as a base language. *À la Louis XV* is very authentic to French language, like *à la mode* or *à la carte*. It is one of those expressions that people use in original, so it does not lose its charm. This is an unmarked choice with a referential function, because of lack of a similar expression in Russian. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because the phrase was originally in French.

18. — Средство — европейское равновесие и *droit des gens*, — говорил аббат (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 21).

*Droit des gens* means ‘rights of people.’ This is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. It is one of the new concepts brought into Russia from Revolutionary France. French philosophers inspired this idea through their books, and newspapers. This concept was picked up by the Freemasons and Decembrists (Barratt, 1974). This is an unmarked choice with a referential function, and it is a discourse contextualization switching, because the original language is French, so the speaker uses French.

19. — Но как вы находите всю эту последнюю комедию *du sacre de Milan*? — сказала Анна Павловна (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 26).

*Du sacre de Milan* is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Du sacre de Milan* refers to Napoleon’s coronation in Milan, 26 May, 1805 (Gregory, 2001). It seems natural to mention the event in the original language. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected. The function is directive, because the speaker makes sure the listeners understand the topic of the conversation. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because the speaker cites the event happened in French.

20. — *Monsieur le vicomte* совершенно справедливо полагает, что дела зашли уже слишком далеко. Я думаю, что трудно будет возвратиться к старому (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 28).

*Monsieur le vicomte* means ‘viscount.’ This is an intra-sentential phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Monsieur le vicomte* is a title, that’s why it is an unmarked choice, which happened by default (Myers-Scotton, 1995). This switch is predictable, it is the way that *monsieur le vicomte* is called. This code-switch has a directive function, because it involves the hearer directly, the speaker wants to make sure that viscount understands that he is mentioning the remark made earlier by *monsieur le vicomte*. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because the name is in French.

21. Ей нужно было иметь два *valets de pied* за карета (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 32). This is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch. The modifier is in Russian, but the noun is in French. The code-switching is dividing the nouns phrase. The majority of similar code-switches in *War and Peace* happened from Russian to French, and only few were in the opposite direction (Timm, 1978). According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981), this is a hard code-switch, because it is in the middle of the phrase. Their proposed model of code-switching shows the switches after a verb right before the direct object. It has an expressive function to emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages. There is a Russian word for *valets de pied* (footmen) in Russian that was used earlier in the novel, *лакеи*. But Tolstoy wanted to show Prince Hippolyte Kuragin, the oldest son of Prince Vasili Kuragin, being more French than Russian. When he speaks Russian, he makes a lot of mistakes, but his French is good. This is an unmarked choice, because Prince Hippolyte spoke more French, so his switch to French was

expected. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because having *valets de pied* (footmen) is French way of living, so it was easier for Hippolyte to express it in French.

22. Поблагодарив Анну Павловну за ее *charmante soirée*, гости стали расходиться (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p.33).

This is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Charmante soirée* means ‘lovely evening.’ This phrase consists of an adjective in feminine form singular, and a feminine noun in a singular form. The modifier is a possessive pronoun, and Tolstoy used it in Russian. He divided the indirect object with the code-switch in the middle. According to the rules of the etiquette, the phrase ‘charmante soirée’ is a usual formality to say to the hostess. Bailey (1999) calls it a discourse contextualization, because the speaker mentions a direct quotation. This is an unmarked choice, with a referential function.

23. — С отцом и сестрой, не забудь, — тихо сказал князь Андрей.

— Все равно одна, без моих друзей... И хочет, чтоб я не боялась.

— Все-таки я не понял, *de quoi vous avez peur*, — медлительно проговорил князь Андрей, не спуская глаз с жены.

— Non, André, je dis que vous avez tellement, tellement changé... (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 39).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. The conversation was in Russian, and Prince Andrew switched it into French. His wife continues the conversation in French. This is a marked code-switch to show annoyance, and maybe anger of Prince Andrew toward his wife. It has a phatic function, because it changes the tone of conversation. This is a metaphorical switching, because the speaker is changing the situation.

24. *Je suis très aimable et très caustique*, — продолжал князь Андрей, — и у Анны Павловны меня слушают (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 42).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. *Je suis très aimable et très caustique* means ‘I am very friendly and very caustic.’ The conversation was in Russian, but Prince Andrew switched to French to describe his attributes. This is an unmarked choice. In this novel, Tolstoy lets his characters use French for personal descriptions, in order to show their incompetence in the Russian language and to illustrate their conception of the French language as a more precise one. This code-switch has a referential function caused by lack of language competence.

25. — *Не понимаю*, — отвечал Андрей. — *Les femmes comme il faut, это другое дело; но les femmes Курагина, les femmes et le vin, не понимаю!* (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 43).

This is a very interesting sentence. The addressee of this sentence was speaking in French, so Prince Andrew decided to emphasize that he does not understand women by switching to Russian: *Не понимаю* means ‘I don’t understand,’ in French, ‘*je ne comprends pas*’. Then he finished with the same phrase to underline his complete confusion toward this subject. The first *не понимаю* is an inter-sentential code-switch. This is a marked choice, because the speaker wants to show his indignation. This is a metaphorical switch with phatic function, because it changes the context, it changes the tone of the conversation.

*Это другое дело* means ‘that’s a different matter.’ This is an inter-sentential code-switch. This is a marked choice, as well, because, the speaker shows his indignation again. It is a metaphorical switch with phatic function.

Но means ‘but.’ It is a conjunction, which starts the next clause. This is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch. This is a marked choice, because the speaker wants to show his dissatisfaction.

Курагина is a proper noun used in Genitive case, the meaning is ‘Kuragine’s.’ This is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with French as a base language. In War and Peace, Tolstoy usually used Russian names in Russian. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected. It has referential function. This is a discourse contextualization switch, because the speaker quotes a personal name.

Не понимаю is the last code-switch, which is a tag. This is a marked choice, because the speaker emphasizes his annoyance with this matter. This is a metaphorical switch with phatic function, because the speaker changes the tone of the conversation from pleasant into more indignant.

26. — Да, но *entre nous*, — сказала княгиня, — это предлог, он приехал, собственно, к графу Кириллу Владимировичу, узнав, что он так плох (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 54).

*Entre nous* is an intra-sentential pronoun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. This phrase is used in French to show intimacy. We can read between the lines that it is a secret that “only you and I know.” This is a marked choice, a metaphorical switching, because the speaker calls for a new situation. It has directive function, because it involves a hearer directly.

27. Я знаю, что я всегда буду первою *confidente* моих дочерей и что Николенька, по своему пылкому характеру, ежели будет шалить (мальчику нельзя без этого), то все не так, как эти петербургские господа (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 59).

This is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language. In Russian, the word *confidente* (close friend, the person you tell your secrets to) has to be translated with a phrase *доверенное лицо*. By switching to French, Tolstoy was able to express the thought in a quicker way. This code-switch has a referential function.

28. — Ну, графинюшка! Какое *sauté au madère* из рябчиков будет, *ma chère!* (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 78).

*Sauté au madère* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. It is a gastronomic term. The language of origin is French. Tolstoy divided a subject with a code-switch. He used a modifier in Russian, but the phrase, in French. *Какое* means *what a ...!* It is used to show the excitement toward a dish. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected to pronounce French culinary terms in French. This code-switch has a referential function, because of lack of facility in Russian on a certain subject. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because this is a quotation of a French dish.

*Ma chère* is an intra-sentential noun phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language to show affection. This is an unmarked choice, because Tolstoy uses similar phrases throughout the whole novel. It has a directive function, because it involves the hearer directly. This is a situational switching, because the situation effects switching of languages.

29. Ждали Марью Дмитриевну Ахросимову, прозванную в обществе *le terrible dragon*, даму знаменитую не богатством, не почестями, но прямою ума и откровенною простотою обращения (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 80).

*Le terrible dragon* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. This is a nick name that was given to Marya Dmitrievna Akhrosimova. Nick names are treated like personal names, and usually they stay in the original language. *Dragon* can be

translated as a dragon or a dragoon (a cavalry soldier). In Russian version of *War and Peace*, *le terrible dragon* was translated as terrible dragoon, while in English version the translator translated this phrase as a terrible dragon. In Russian, the phrase can be interpreted as Marya Dmitrievna Akhrosimova was a very harsh, well-disciplined person, who shows minimum emotions. The English version gives impression that Marya Dmitrievna Akhrosimova reminds of a monster or a brute. Or it can be also understood that she is a shrew, an amazon-woman. This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switching, because it was her nickname. This code-switch has a referential function.

30. — Ну, как же, батюшка, *mon très honorable* Альфонс Карлыч, — говорил Шиншин, посмеиваясь и соединяя (в чем и состояла особенность его речи) самые простые народные русские выражения с изысканными французскими фразами. — *Vous comptez vous faire des rentes sur l'état, с роты доходец получить хотите?* (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 81).

*Mon très honorable* is an intra-sentential phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *С роты доходец получить хотите* is an inter-sentential code-switch. Tolstoy described Shinshin as a bilingual who likes constantly to switch from one language to another. Both code-switches are exploratory choice, because the markedness is not clear. They both have metalinguistic function in order to impress others with his language skills.

31. — Connaissez vous le proverbe: «*Ерема, Ерема, сидел бы ты дома, точил бы свои веретёна*», — сказал Шиншин, морщась и улыбаясь (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 87).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. Shinshin used a Russian proverb, so he had to switch to Russian. This is an unmarked choice with the referential function. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because the speaker uses a direct quote.

32. Как ты нагрела, однако, — сказал он, — ну, садись сюда, *causons* (Vol. 4, p. 98).

It is an inter-sentential code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Causons* is used in imperative mood. It is a less formal word. Tolstoy uses it to demonstrate that they are family and at this particular moment became friends. This is a marked choice, because the speaker wants to show solidarity. It has a directive function. This is a metaphorical switching, because the speaker changes the situation from formal into more informal.

33. Пьер не понимал, в чем дело, и еще меньше, что значило *veiller à vos intérêts*, но он понимал, что все это так должно быть (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 105).

*Veiller à vos intérêts* is intra-sentential verbal phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. This phrase was said earlier in the conversation which was in French, so the author just repeated the same phrase without translating it into Russian. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected. This is a discourse contextualization switching to mark quotations.

34. А мост, и знаменитый *tête de pont*, и князь Ауэрсперг? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 211).

This is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Tête de pont* means ‘bridgehead.’ This is a military term. Russian aristocracy learn maneuvering and army conduct from Frenchmen, because they were considered masters in this area (Riasanovsky and Steinberg, 2011). There is no proper term in Russian to explain the same connotation. This is also a reference to a famous moment associated with *tête de pont*, by mentioning this phrase, everybody knew the cited moment. This is an unmarked choice and a discourse

contextualization switch, because the speaker refers to the well-known notion. It has a referential function.

35. — А он, Ипполит, тебе не говорил? — сказал князь Василий, обращаясь к сыну и хватая за руку княгиню, как будто она хотела убежать, а он едва успел удержать ее, — а он тебе не говорил, как он сам, Ипполит, иссыхал по милой княгине и как она *le mettait à la porte*? (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 301).

This is an intra-sentential phrase-switch with Russian as a base language. Timm (1978) gives this example as pronoun-verb sequence. It is a very clever example of code-switching. The phrase *le mettait à la porte* sounds much better than its Russian equivalent *выгоняла его из дома*. It has more farce and attitude in it. Even English phrase *showed him the door* does not carry the same significance. It is more than to show the door, it is more than to make him leave, it is all of the above, which put him at the door step. This is a great example of a code-switching used by Tolstoy. It showed the beauty of French language. This is an unmarked choice with referential function. This is a discourse contextualization switch.

36. «Очень недурна! — думал он, оглядывая ее. — Очень недурна эта *demoiselle de compagnie*» (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 302)

This is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. The modifier *эта*, which means “this,” is in Russian, but the phrase is in French. *Demoiselle de compagnie* is a personal assistant to the queen, or any other noble woman who came as well from a noble family, but from a lower rank (Архипова, Румянцева, & Сенин, 1999). Rich aristocratic families in Russia had governors for boys and governesses for girls. When the children grew up, the governesses for girls were replaced by *demoiselle de compagnie* (Figes, 2002). Tolstoy used French phrase to indicate a non-existent term. This is an unmarked choice

with referential function, because of lack of term in Russian. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because it explains the concept.

37. — Главе французского правительства. *Au chef du gouvernement français*, — серьезно и с удовольствием сказал князь Долгоруков (Vol. 1 [=Vol. 4, Толстой, 1983], p. 340).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. *Au chef du gouvernement français* (To the Head of the French Government) is a translation of the first sentence. This is a discourse contextualization code-switch to show quotation. The speaker made sure that everyone understood what he meant. The original phrase was in French, so he repeated himself in French to emphasize the accuracy of translation. This is a marked choice with metalinguistic function.

38. И повторив десятый раз этот вопрос, ему пришло в голову Мольерово *mais que diable allait il faire dans cette galère?*, и он засмеялся сам над собою (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 36).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch with the modifier for the clause in the previous clause, and it is in Russian. Tolstoy used the word *Мольерово*, which means Molière's. A personal noun *Мольер* was used in Genitive case of Empire Period Russian (Vinokur, 2010). It is a direct quote of Molière's comedie, *Les Fourberies de Scapinone* (Molière, 1964). This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switching, because the direct quotes are used in the language of origin. It has an expressive function, because it shows a mixed identity through the use of two languages.

39. *La crème de la véritable bonne société* состояла из обворожительной и несчастной, покинутой мужем Элен, из *Mortemart'a*, обворожительного князя Ипполита, только что приехавшего из Вены, двух дипломатов, тетушки, одного молодого человека, пользовавшегося в гостинной наименованием просто *d'un homme de beaucoup de mérite*,

одной вновь пожалованной фрейлины с матерью и некоторых других менее заметных особ (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 98).

First code-switching is an intra-sentential noun-phrase, with Russian as a base language, for the narrator to convey an expression that was used mostly in French. *La crème de la véritable bonne société* means ‘the cream of the crop,’ the word for word translation is ‘the cream of the truly good company.’ This is an unmarked choice with a referential function. This is a discourse contextualization switching.

*Mortemart'a* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch, with Russian as a base language. Timm (1978) calls this a switch at the morphological level, which results in a semi-integrated French loan. The suffix *-a* is added to the French proper name *Mortemart*, to indicate the genitive case which is required in Russian (Klobukov, 1986). Tolstoy used a code-switch for the proper name, and he used the suffix *-a* out of conformity with normal Russian morphological processing. The phrase ‘из *Mortemart'a*’ is very short, it consists of a preposition, из ‘from’, and a noun. This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switch because this is a proper name. It has a referential function.

The third case is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch, with Russian as a base language. *D'un homme de beaucoup de mérite* became a proper name in this case, because that's the nickname the author gave him. A proper name is usually used in the language of its origin. This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switch because this is a nickname. It has a referential function

40. — Я почитатель *Montesquieu*, — сказал князь Андрей. — И его мысль о том, что *le principe des monarchies est l'honneur, me paraît incontestable* (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 186).

The first code-switch is an intra-sentential single-word with Russian as a base language.

*Montesquieu* is a personal name; it is easier to use personal names in the original language. This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switching because this is a proper name. It has a referential function

The second code-switch is an inter-sentential, between the speaker and the author. This is the most common code-switching in the novel. It is an unmarked choice, which shows a discourse contextualization, because the author is quoting a speaker.

The third code-switching is an inter-sentential that was made by the speaker. Montesquieu was a French lawyer, a man of letters, and a political philosopher who lived during the Age of Enlightenment. He was famous for his theory of separation of powers, which was applied in many constitutions throughout the world (Althusser, 1972). His ideas were in French, so the author switched to French, to avoid mistranslation or misconceptions. The clause starts with a Russian conjunction *что*, that. This conjunction demonstrates that Tolstoy really wanted to cite Montesquieu. This is an unmarked choice, a discourse contextualization switching because this is quotation.

41. Мундир, шпоры, галстук, прическа Бориса — все это было самое модное и *comme il faut* (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 212).

*Comme il faut* is an inter-sentential code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Comme il faut*, one of popular French phrases, became an adjective describing uniform, spurs, tie, and his hair. *Comme il faut* means *how it should*, can be replaced with one word *correct*. The narrative talked about fashion and looks, French is the best language to describe fashion and looks (Offord et al., 2015). This is a marked choice, which carries some extra meaning. It has a metalinguistic function in order to impress the reader with the language skills.

42. — Я думаю, никто так не был *courtisée*, как она, — говорила Вера, — но никогда, до самого последнего времени никто серьезно ей не нравился. Вот вы знаете, граф, — обратилась она к Пьеру, — даже наш милый *cousin* Борис, который был, *entre nous*, очень и очень *dans le pays du tendre*.... (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 242).

*Courtisée* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language.

Courting sounded more elegant in French, and it has more romanticism, plus courtship was associated with France. French was the language of polite society (Figs, 2002). This is an unmarked choice with referential function, because there was no similar expression in Russian.

*Cousin* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Cousin* shows belonging to the family. This is the most common single-word code-switch in the novel.

There was never a Russian equivalent of the word *cousin* used in *War and Peace* by Tolstoy.

This is an unmarked choice with a referential function.

*Entre nous* is an intra-sentential pronoun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language.

Vera was trying to make their conversation more personal, so she used the phrase *entre nous* to get Prince Andrew's attention by switching to another language. This is a marked choice with a directive function, because it involves the hearer directly. This is a metaphorical switching, because the speaker is trying to change the context.

*Le pays du tendre* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language.

According to Russian aristocracy, French language expressed feelings of love better than Russian (Offord et al., 2015). This is an unmarked choice, because it was accepted by the society, and in the novel, to talk about love in French. The Orthodox Church essentially did not recognize romantic love. Karamzin, through his *Letters of a Russian Traveler* (1791–92) and *Poor Liza* (1792), introduced the new vocabulary to express the concept of love in Russian

(Ключевский, 1991). It has a referential and directive function, in order to make sure the listener understand what is said.

43. — Теперь чтобы понравиться московским девицам, *il faut être mélancolique* (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 342).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. *Mélancolique* is emotion. Later on, it become a borrowing into Russian language. Russian language at that time did not have all the shades of emotions, so it was normal to use French words (Offord et al., 2015). This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected to use French for emotions. This switch has a referential function, because of the lack of the equivalent of the same emotion in Russian language. This is a discourse contextualization switch.

44. Анатолий пригласил Наташу на вальс, и во время вальса он, пожимая ее стан и руку, сказал ей, что она *ravissante* и что он любит ее (Vol. 2 [=Vol. 5, Толстой, 1983], p. 377).

*Ravissante* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language, in narration. The lack of similar expression in Russian led Tolstoy to switch to French. *Ravissante* means bewitching, delightful, ravishing, charming, and beautiful. There are so many words to describe the meaning of one word in French. This code-switching was out of necessity. This is an unmarked choice with a referential function.

45. Наполеон, несмотря на то, что ему более чем когда-нибудь, теперь, в 1812 году, казалось, что от него зависело *verser* или не *verser le sang de ses peuples* (как в последнем письме писал ему Александр), никогда более как теперь не подлежал тем неизбежным законам, которые заставляли его (действуя в отношении себя, как ему казалось, по своему произволу) делать для общего дела, для истории то, что должно было совершиться (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 11).

*Verser* means ‘shed.’ This is an intra-sentential single-word, with Russian as a base language.

*Verser le sang de ses peuples* means ‘shed the blood of his people.’ This is an intra-sentential verbal phrase code-switch. According to Timm, this is one of the rarest types of code-switching, and there are only two examples in the whole novel, *War and Peace* (Timm, 1978). The author indicates indirect quotes. Quotation is a well-documented reason for bilinguals to switch languages. Both code-switches are unmarked choices, they are discourse contextualization switches.

46. Ввечеру Наполеон между двумя распоряжениями — одно о том, чтобы как можно скорее доставить заготовленные фальшивые русские ассигнации для ввоза в Россию, и другое о том, чтобы расстрелять саксонца, в перехваченном письме которого найдены сведения о распоряжениях по французской армии, — сделал третье распоряжение — о причислении бросившегося без нужды в реку польского полковника к когорте чести (*Legion d'honneur*), которой Наполеон был главою (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 16),

This is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Legion d'honneur* is a military or civil order of merit, created by Napoleon in May 1802, with no regard to birth or religion (Thibaudeau, 1927). Because it is a name of the order/legion, Tolstoy did not translate it into Russian, but simply treated it as a proper name without translation. The most common noun-phrase code-switching in the novel is the use of proper names. This is an unmarked choice, because it was expected. This is a discourse contextualization switch, because it is a reference.

47. — Вы знаете, что я в самом деле думаю, что она *un petit peu amoureuse du jeune homme* (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 204).

This is an intra-sentential example in the middle of the clause, embodying code-switching with Russian as a base language. *Un petit peu amoureuse du jeune homme* means ‘a little bit in love with the young man.’ The code-switching happened between a subject (in this case it was a pronoun, she) and a verbless predicate (Timm, 1978). According to Sankoff and Poplack’s model, code-switching can happen between the subject and the verb, but in this case there is no verb (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981). In Russian language, the verb to be is often omitted, so for the Russian speakers, there is nothing uncommon. The reason for code-switching is explained by the author himself in the next sentence. Но как же это по-русски сказать?. / "But how could one say that in Russian?" The nobility was more competent to express their feelings in French than in Russian. This is an unmarked choice with a referential function, because it is caused by a lack of language competence on this subject.

48. Вся армия: французы, итальянцы, немцы, поляки — голодные, оборванные и измученные походом, — в виду армии, загоразживавшей от них Москву, чувствовали, что *le vin est tiré et qu'il faut le boire* (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 252).

This is an inter-sentential code-switch. *Le vin est tiré et qu'il faut le boire* means ‘when you open the wine, you have to drink it,’ it is a French proverb, which means you have to finish what you started, there is no turning back. It is hard to translate idioms and proverbs, which might not mean the same in another language. In Russian this proverb will not make sense if it was translated word for word. So it is easier to use it in the original language. The clause is started with the conjunction что (that), which is in Russian. This is an unmarked choice, because it was a normal behavioral rule. This is a discourse contextualization switching, because this is a quote.

49. Все те прежние приемы, бывало неизменно увенчиваемые успехом: и сосредоточение батарей на один пункт, и атака резервов для прорывания линии, и атака кавалерии *des*

*hommes de fer* — все эти приемы уже были употреблены, и не только не было победы, но со всех сторон приходили одни и те же известия об убитых и раненых генералах, о необходимости подкреплений, о невозможности сбить русских и о расстройстве войск (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 276).

This is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. Napoleon used propaganda, such as the press for his own purposes. *Des hommes de fer* (man of iron) was one of the descriptions used for Napoleon's army (Hanley, 2005). Tolstoy code-switched to use a direct quote from the newspapers. This is an unmarked choice with a referential function. This is a discourse contextualization switching.

50. Потом он рассказал один эпизод, в котором муж играл роль любовника, а он (любовник) роль мужа, и несколько комических эпизодов из *souvenirs d'Allemagne*, где *asile* значит *Unterkunft*, где *les maris mangent de la choux croûte* и где *jeunes filles sont trop blondes* (Vol. 3 [=Vol. 6, Толстой, 1983], p. 420).

*Souvenirs d'Allemagne* is an intra-sentential noun-phrase code-switch with Russian as a base language. This is a very interesting incident where the modifier of the phrase is missing.

Russian language does not use definite or indefinite articles, so there is no need of an article in Russian, but the French language requires a definite article in front of this phrase. In French the preposition 'de' plus definite plural article 'les' make together 'des.' Tolstoy used Russian preposition 'из' (de/from) and left the modifier out, by making the change very smooth between two languages.

*Asile* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language. *Unterkunft* is an intra-sentential single-word code-switch with Russian as a base language, but it switches

into German. *Les maris mangent de la choux croute* is an inter-sentential code-switch. *Jeunes filles sont trop blondes* is an inter-sentential code-switch.

Timm mentioned this sentence as a good example for the contrastive effect. Tolstoy used Russian subordinators, and mainly French clauses to compare the differences between cultures. To make his distinction even more dramatic, Tolstoy used three languages, Russian, French and German. Tolstoy was not afraid to break the bond between a relative subordinator and its clause, instead he embraced it, by making the comparison more powerful (Timm, 1978). All code-switches are unmarked choices, and they are discourse contextualization switching, because all of them were in order to mark off quotations.

51. — Да разве ты думаешь, что я тебя сейчас и женю. *Il y a manière et manière*, — сказала губернаторша (Vol. 4 [=Vol. 7, Толстой, 1983], p. 27).

This is inter-sentential code-switching. This is a French phrase, which was very important to use at this juncture, since the conversation is about marriage. Marriage is a delicate thing, and French is the best language in which to express it. *Il y a manière et manière* means there are right ways of doing things. There are ways and manners which people should follow. Courtship and love are the topics that were usually discussed in French in *War and Peace*. This is a marked choice, because the governor's wife wanted to call for a new situation. This is a metaphorical switch, because the speaker is changing the situation into a more delicate state. It has more of an expressive function, because the governor's wife had a bilingual identity, and easily slips from one language into another.

52. Офицер этот, вероятно штабный, с списком в руках, сделал переключку всем русским, назвав Пьера: *celui qui n'avoue pas son nom* (Vol. 4 [=Vol. 7, Толстой, 1983], p. 44).

This is inter-sentential code-switching. Pierre (Пьер) was a prisoner in the French army. He was accused of starting the fire in Moscow, which he did not do. So Pierre refused to tell his name. The Frenchmen started calling him *celui qui n'avoue pas son nom*, which means 'the one who doesn't reveal his name.' Tolstoy used it as a personal name that French soldiers called Pierre. This is an unmarked choice, because it was normal to use personal names, or nicknames in the language of origin. This is a discourse contextualization switch.

## CHAPTER VI

### RESULTS

According to Tolstoy's literary mimesis, the topics that are portrayed as being discussed mostly in the French language by the Russian aristocracy of the nineteenth century are multiple: politics, military maneuvering and army jargon, expressions of love, affection, admiration and intimacy, physical appearances, court formalities, culinary terminology, personal names, and quotations of famous people. These are similar topics to the ones cited by the authors of *French and Russian in Imperial Russia: Language Attitudes and Identity* (Offord, et al., 2015). A lot of correspondence in *War and Peace* was conducted in French as well. Much of that correspondence consists of woman's letters to each other, but there were also letters of political significance. As Figes (2002) mentioned, the nobleman spoke to the Tsar and to other noblemen in French. The women wrote their correspondence only in French, because it was a language of a polite society.

The use of the French language changes toward the end of the novel. French is used in the first volume, at every ball, at every social gathering, and in every letter. There are dialogues in French with code-switching into Russian. But toward the end of the novel, I notice less French use. The third volume is often centered on the French War, so there are a lot of incidents of French speech, but they are conducted mostly by the French, or in the presence of the French. There are letters written in the third volume in Russian, by an aristocratic lady, Princess Julie,

but as I mentioned above, this was a formerly rare practice. However, it is a kind of metaphor pointing to the revival of the Russian spirit (Figs 2002).

“Gradually, in the course of *War and Peace*, French emerges as the language of artifice and insincerity, the language of the theater and deceit; Russian as the language of sincerity, honesty, and seriousness” (Figs, 2007). Tolstoy shows the relief from foreign domination through the language the Russian aristocracy uses in the novel. In the beginning, it is French, but as the occupation of French army progresses, the Russians try to free themselves from everything foreign, including the French language, which almost disappears from the novel (Figs, 2007). It is precisely for such reasons that, as the novel evolves, literary license may eventually trump reality in the portrayal of code-switching.

The most common base language in code-switching is Russian. The French language is also used as a base language, but much more rarely. I found 1196 occurrences of code-switching in the four volumes of the whole novel. I did not count the base language for the inter-sentential code-switches, because in some cases it was hard to define. There is a total of 609 single-word switches, phrasal switches, tag switches and interjectional switches. Russian is a base language in 573 cases, which constituted 94% of the total.

The most extensive use of code-switching is in the first volume of the book, where I found 473 places where Tolstoy switched from French into Russian, or Russian into French, to create inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching.

The second volume is mostly dedicated to provincial life, where the Russian aristocracy spoke mostly Russian. The code-switching significantly dropped to 228 code-switching cases, out of which 127 are intra-sentential single-word switches or phrasal switches. Many of the

switches involve personal names (*Lise, Marie, m-lle Bourienne, and Nicole*), titles (*le vicomte de Mortemart*), and expressions of affection (*ma chère, cher ami*).

The third volume is often preoccupied with the French troops advancing in Russian territories. The use of French language and code-switching increased because there were many portrayals of Frenchmen speaking their language. Additionally, military terms were French, since the nobility learned warfare in Europe. There were 334 cases of code-switching between French and Russian.

The fourth volume is about the end of the war of 1812, and the new life after the war. There are still portrayals of members of the French military, both commanders and the French soldiers under their command. However, the Russian nobility is now scattered; there are no more elaborate balls, and there is a rule against the use of French. Moreover, Princess Helene is dead, and it appears that there is much diminished recourse to the use of French. There are only 161 instances of code-switching in the fourth volume, this is the least number of cases in comparison to the rest of the book.

Pushkin and his contemporaries synthesized the Russian language into a modern literary language in the first third of the nineteenth century (Vinokur, 2010). The Russian aristocracy started to learn and speak Russian (Tolstoy). Some noblemen, like Pierre Bezukhov, who were forced to spend some time with Russian peasants, during his imprisonment, realized the value of the Russian man.

There are totals of 587 cases of inter-sentential code-switching and 571 cases of intra-sentential code-switching in *War and Peace*. Intra-sentential code-switching consists of 193 single word code-switches and 378 phrasal code-switches, whereas the frequency for tag and interjectional code-switches was not very significant. Out of all types of code-switches, the least

common is the tag switch, at an incidence of less than 1%. This is one probable indicator that the code-switching in *War and Peace* is more accurately portrayed than in American “local color” literature from the same time period. For example, the restrained use of tag switches by Tolstoy is completely opposite to the use of code-switching in Louisiana literature of the nineteenth century, where one of the most popular switches is the tag switch to French. However, this is most likely a case of literary license, because the “token” tag switch to French can be used to convey an impression of authenticity while not compromising comprehension on the part of the Anglophone readership (Picone, 2014).

Inter-sentential code-switching has the highest incidence in the novel *War and Peace*. It is the easiest code-switching occurrence to operate, because there is no grammatical interference. One full sentence or clause in Russian can be followed by another in French. There are also instances of inter-sentential code-switching between different speakers; in a conversation, some characters prefer to use French, while others Russian. And the most frequent appearances of inter-sentential code-switches are between the narrator and a character.

Intra-sentential phrasal code-switching ranks second in frequency. As I mentioned above, Tolstoy used code-switching for personal names with honorifics (*m-lle Bourienne*), multi-word nicknames, untranslatable phrases, and expressions of endearment.

Intra-sentential single-word code-switch cases rank third in frequency. The majority of the examples of single-word code-switches are personal names, such as *Nicolas, André*, and untranslatable words having no ready equivalent in Russian, such as *ravissante, protégée*.

After reading the whole novel, I attempted to define the markedness of the language in *War and Peace*. The markedness depends on norms and rules of the community using code-switching. It became apparent that markedness changed from one situation to another. There

were some instances that were hard to assign markedness. Overall there were more unmarked choices in the novel than marked; there were also few exploratory choices.

I found some examples of all five functional motives for code-switching defined by René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987). There were also some cases where it was hard to decide on the function of that code-switch. There were also instances that seemed to match simultaneously two or three functions. Ultimately, of course, the functions are a matter of conjecture, and only the author could give a more definitive explanation.

The most popular code-switching function in the novel is referential, which is caused by lack of language competence on a certain subject. The untranslatable phrases or words also belong to this category. The phatic function and the directive function ranked second. The phatic function changes the tone of the conversation, which is very close to the function of the metaphorical switch according to the model established by Bailey (1999). The directive function involves the hearer directly, but there were few instances where the speaker switches to French to make sure the listener understands what is said. I did not find any examples of code-switching for the purpose of excluding a certain person from a conversation. The expressive function and the metalinguistic function were rare. There were not many illustrations of emphasizing a mixed identity nor impressing others with language skills. However, another interpretation is possible if in fact the cases that I counted toward referential function are examples of expressive function, displaying a mixed identity through the use of two languages. Almost every character in the novel uses code-switching, and there usually seems to be a discernable reason for it.

The functional types of code-switching discussed by Bailey (1999) were the easiest to assign. However, Bailey's model of three types of code-switching seems to be overly reductionist; there are more than three categories for switching in *War and Peace*. Going by

Bailey's system, the many discourse contextualization switches ranked first in incidence. The metaphorical switching ranked second. These switches, in order to change the tone of the conversation, are similar to the phatic function posited by René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987). But not every metaphorical switch has a phatic function. Example # 2 contains a metaphorical switch, but it has a referential function, because there is no exact equivalent in French having the same meaning. The situational switches ranked third in incidence.

The tables below summarize the incidence of the different switch types (but not of the different projected functional motivations; such a tally would be a task too burdensome for the present study and likely too open to conjecture, especially since some switches arguably serve multiple functions simultaneously, as mentioned earlier). Unlike single word switches and phrase switches, tag switches and interjectional switches are not intra-sentential, but neither do they fit neatly into the inter-sentential category, since they are typically too fragmentary or abbreviated to be clausal. Hence, they are not tallied in the overall totals for each volume in the tables below. On the other hand, as is the case for the intra-sentential switches, tag switches and interjection switches lend themselves to an uncomplicated determination of the base language, which is in contrast to inter-sentential switches, where the base language is not always apparent.

#### INCIDENCE OF TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING

The most convenient presentation of the incidence of the different types of code-switching takes the form of the following set of tables. Each volume of the novel corresponds to a table. A composite table is also included. In the tables below, tag switches and interjection switches are not included in the subtotals for either inter-sentential switches or intra-sentential switches. This is because tags and interjections do not conform completely to either category;

that is, they are not always full clausal in their own right, but neither are they embedded in other clauses.

**Table 1. First Volume of *War and Peace***

<b>Types</b> <b>Incidence</b>	Inter-sentential switch	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjection switch
How many times total	231	74	149	2	15
How many times French is the base language	5	3	9	1	4
How many times Russian is the base language	23	71	140	1	9
Indeterminate base language	203				
<b>Total:</b> 473 (including inter-sentential: 231; intra-sentential: 223)					

**Table 2. Second Volume of *War and Peace***

<b>Types</b> <b>Incidence</b>	Inter-sentential switch	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjection switch
How many times total	94	52	75	3	4
How many times French is the base language	0	2	2	1	0
How many times Russian is the base language	0	50	73	2	4
Indeterminate base language	94				
<b>Total:</b> 228 (including inter-sentential: 94; intra-sentential: 127)					

**Table 3. Third Volume of *War and Peace***

<b>Types</b>	Inter-sentential switch	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjection switch
<b>Incidence</b>					
How many times total	182	37	105	0	10
How many times French is the base language	0	1	0	0	0
How many times Russian is the base language	0	36	105	0	10
Indeterminate base language	182				
<b>Total:</b> 334 (including inter-sentential: 182; intra-sentential: 142)					

**Table 4. Fourth Volume of *War and Peace***

<b>Types</b>	Inter-sentential switch	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjection switch
<b>Incidence</b>					
How many times total	80	30	49	0	2
How many times French is the base language	0	0	0	0	0
How many times Russian is the base language	0	30	49	0	2
Indeterminate base language	80				
<b>Total:</b> 161 (including inter-sentential: 80; intra-sentential: 79)					

**Table 5. Combined Volumes of *War and Peace***

<b>Types</b>	Inter-sentential switch	Single word switch	Phrase switch	Tag switch	Interjection switch
<b>Incidence</b>					
How many times total	587	193	378	5	31
How many times French is the base language	5	6	11	2	4
How many times Russian is the base language	23	187	367	3	27
Indeterminate base language	559				
<b>Total:</b> 1196 (including inter-sentential: 587; intra-sentential: 571)					

Russian is a base language 607 times out of all the examples that were found, in cases where it was possible to determine the base language. French is a base language 28 times out of all the examples that were found, in cases where it was possible to determine the base language. For the majority of inter-sentential switches, it was hard to determine the base language. We can draw a conclusion that the Russian language is used as a base language in 95% of the total incidence of code-switches, and accordingly, the French language is used as a base language 5%.

#### FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES REPRESENTED

Concerning the functional categories of code-switching surfacing in the novel, no tallies were kept because of the overlapping nature of the various categories in their actual application when analyzing the instances of code-switching. However, some reasons to use French surfaced repeatedly, such as the following: to show the ethnicity of the speaker; to mimic reality; for formulaic expressions and formalities of the type “How do you do?”; to discuss politics; to

discuss family; to indicate kinship (ex. 'cousin'); to show affection; to describe physical appearance; to show intimacy; to convey accuracy; to indicate proper names; to indicate military terms; for clarity; to convey what does not exist in another language; out of necessity due to the lack of appropriate vocabulary in the original; to quote someone in the original language; to use proverbs, idioms and other fixed expressions in the original language; the nobility was more competent to express their feelings in French than in Russian.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **CONCLUSION**

This study has shown that the Russian aristocracy used French in particular spheres of life. Tolstoy portrayed some families as more French speaking, others as more Russian speaking. Prince Kuragin's family was from Saint Petersburg where the use of French was greater. The Kuragins were associated with beauty, but at the same time with artificial love. They were not capable of real love, and yet Princess Helene, the daughter of Prince Vasili Kuragin, was described as the prettiest woman. The Rostov's family was from Moscow. They spoke mostly Russian among themselves, but French with other noblemen. Tolstoy portrayed sincerity with the use of Russian. Princess Mary Bolkonskaya, who stayed in the village with her father still continued to speak and write in French. But when she took care of some poor religious people, she always spoke in Russian. Even though this novel was intended for predominantly Russian readers, the use of French helped Tolstoy to represent the Russian high society of the nineteenth century.

Through the analysis of the code-switching we can conclude that the Russian nobility was more fluent in French than Russian, so they used French in every occasion when they could not express themselves in Russian. The analysis corroborates the notion that Russian nobility used French to express feelings, because the Russian language at that time was considered to be underdeveloped and not possessing a sufficiently expressive vocabulary (Offord et al., 2015). The analysis must be tempered, however, by the following observation. Tolstoy "took some

liberties in portraying the speech of his characters, and in using code-switching as a literary device” (Timm, 1978).

Some of the limitations of this study are the following. There are other languages that Tolstoy used besides Russian and French, and these instances are not analyzed. I did not look into the percentage of the French language in comparison to the Russian language in the novel. The functional motivations for code-switching are debatable in many cases. *War and Peace* is a very long novel; it goes without saying that there is much more that can be done.

## REFERENCES

- Althusser, Louis. (1972). *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Marx*. London and New York: New Left Books.
- Appel, R, and Muysken, P. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Архипова Т. Г., Румянцева М. Ф., Сенин А. С. (1999). *История государственной службы в России XVIII—XX века*. Москва: Современник.
- Bailey, Benjamin. (1999). Switching. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9, 1/2 (241-243).
- Barratt, G. R. V. (1974). *Voices in Exile*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Bloom, Harold. (1988). *Leo Tolstoy's War and Peace*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers.
- Cantone, Katja F. (2007). *Code-switching in Bilingual Children*. Germany: Springer.
- Claridge, Henry & Olga. (2001). Introduction. *War and Peace*. Wordsworth Editions: Hertfordshire.
- Crosjean, F. (1982). *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Feuer, Kathryn B., Miller, Robin Feuer, Orwin, Donna Tussing. (1996). *Tolstoy and the Genesis of War and Peace*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Figes, Orlando. (2002). *Natasha's Dance*. New York: Picador.
- Figes, Orlando. (2007). Tolstoy's Real Hero. *The New York Review of Books* 54, 18 Retrieved from <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2007/11/22/tolstoys-real-hero/?pagination=false>. Accessed April 29, 2016.
- French Proverbs. (n.d.). In *Language Realm*. Retrieved from <http://www.languagerealm.com/french/frenchproverbs.php>. Accessed January 23, 2016.
- Greensberg, Joseph H. (1971). *Language, Culture, and Communication*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Gregory, Desmond. (2001). *Napoleon's Italy*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

- Gumperz, J.J. and Hernández-Chavez, E. (1975). Cognitive aspects of bilingual communication. *El lenguaje de los Chicanos*, ed. Hernández-Chavez, E., Cohen, A., and Beltramo, A. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics. (154-163).
- Hall, Joan Kelly. (2012). *Teaching and Researching Language and Culture*. Edinburgh, UK: Pearson Education Limited.
- Hamers, J. F., and M. H. A. Blanc. (1989). *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanley, Wayne (2005). *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda 1796-1799*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hughes, Lindsey. (2004). *Peter the Great: A Biography*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
- Khvoshchinskaia, E. (1898). *Vospominaniia, Russkaia starina* 89 (518).
- Klobukov E. V. (1986). *Семантика надежных форм в современном русском литературном языке. (Введение в методику позиционного анализа)*. Moscow: Moscow State University Press.
- Ключевский, В.О. (1991). *Исторические портреты (О Болтине, Карамзине, Соловьёве)*. Москва: Правда (487-489).
- Кузнецов, С. А. (2014). *Большой толковый словарь русского языка*. Retrieved from <http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/info/bts/>. Accessed January 23, 2016.
- Lelong, A.K. (1914). *Vospominaniia, Russkii arkhiv*. 2, 6/7 (393).
- Лотман Ю.М. (1994). *Беседы о русской культуре: Быт и традиции русского дворянства (XVIII — начало XIX века)*. St Petersburg.
- Mazour, Anatole G. (1937). *The First Russian Revolution, 1825*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Molière. (1964). *Les fourberies de Scapin: comédie*. Paris: Larousse.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1995). *Social motivations for codeswitching : evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Noyes, George Rapall. (1968). *Tolstoy*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Offord, D., Ryazanova-Clarke, L., Rjéoutski, V., and Argent, G. (2015). *French and Russian in Imperial Russia: Language Attitudes and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Palacios, Jorge Fernando. (2001). *The Use of Language in Before Night Falls: Analysis of Artistic Codemixing*. Ms., Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama.
- Pfaff, Carol W. (1979). Constraints on Language Mixing: Intrasentential Code-Switching and Borrowing in Spanish/English. *Language* 55(2).
- Picone, Michael D. (2002). Artistic Codemixing. *Working papers in Linguistics* 8/3 (191-207).
- Picone, Michael D. (2014). Literary Dialect and the Linguistic Reconstruction of nineteenth-century Louisiana. *American Speech* 89/2 (143-169).
- Poplack, Shana. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18 (581 -618).
- Poplach, Shana and Meechan, Marjorie. (1995). Patterns of language mixture: nominal structure in Wolof-French and Fongbe-French bilingual discourse. In Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken (eds.) *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code Switching*, (199-232). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Пьер Безухов. (n.d.). In *Bobych*. Retrieved from <http://bobych.ru/encycl/938.html>. Accessed February 6, 2016.
- Révolution française. (n.d.). In *Larousse*. Retrieved from [http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/R%C3%A9volution\\_fran%C3%A7aise/140733](http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/R%C3%A9volution_fran%C3%A7aise/140733) . Accessed February 6, 2016.
- Riasanovsky, N.V and Steinberg, M.D. (2011). *A history of Russia*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Romaine, Suzanne. (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sankoff, David and Shana Poplack. (1981). A formal grammar for code switching. *Papers in Linguistics* 14 (3-46).
- Segel, Harold B. (1967). *The Literature of Eighteenth-century Russia: An Anthology of Russian Literary Materials of the Age of Classicism and the Enlightenment from the Reign of Peter the Great, 1689-1725, to the Reign of Alexander I, 1801-1825* (Vol. 1), 76-105. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.
- Smith, Alfred N. (1995). Prerequisites to Teaching and Learning Culture. In *Broadening the Frontiers of Foreign Language Education*. Ed. Gale K. Crouse. Lincolnwood, Illinois: National Textbook Company.
- Sturman, Marianne. (1999). *War and Peace: Notes*. Nebraska: Cliffs Notes.

- Thibaudeau, Antoine Claire (1827). *Mémoires sur le Consulat. 1799 à 1804*. Paris: Chez Ponthieu et Cie.
- Timm, Lenora A. (1978). Code-Switching in *War and Peace*. In *Aspects of Bilingualism*, Michel Paradis (ed.), 302-315. Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.
- Tolstoy, Leo. (2005). *War and Peace*: New York: Penguin Group.
- Tolstoy, Leo. (n.d.). *War and Peace*. Retrieved from [http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/war\\_and\\_peace/1/](http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/war_and_peace/1/) . Accessed February 6, 2016.
- Толстой, Л. Н. (2008). *Несколько слов по поводу "Войны и мира."* Retrieved from [http://rvb.ru/tolstoy/01text/vol\\_7/0030\\_6.htm](http://rvb.ru/tolstoy/01text/vol_7/0030_6.htm) . Accessed February 6, 2016.
- Толстой, Лев. (1983). *Война и мир. Собрание сочинений* (Том 4-7). Moscow: Наука.
- Толстой, Лев. (n.d.). *Война и мир*. Retrieved from <http://ilibrary.ru/text/11/p.1/index.html> . Accessed February 6, 2016.
- Виноградов, В. (n.d.). *О Языке Толстого*. Retrieved from <http://feb-web.ru/feb/litnas/texts/l35/t35-117-.htm> . Accessed February 3, 2016.
- Vinokur, G. O. (2010). *The Russian Language: A Brief History*. James Forsyth and Mary A. Forsyth (eds.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winford, Donald. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

## APPENDIX: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF EXAMPLE TEXTS

For the accuracy of the translation, I used two different copies of Leo Tolstoy *War and Peace*, one was published by Penguin Group (New York) in 2005, and the second one I retrieved from [http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/war\\_and\\_peace/1/](http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/war_and_peace/1/)

"Well, Prince, so Genoa and Lucca are now just family estates of the Buonapartes. But I warn you, if you don't tell me that this means war, if you still try to defend the infamies and horrors perpetrated by that Antichrist- I really believe he is Antichrist- I will have nothing more to do with you and you are no longer my friend, no longer my 'faithful slave,' as you call yourself! But how do you do? I see I have frightened you- sit down and tell me all the news" (Tolstoy, 2005).

1. Well, Prince, so Genoa and Lucca are now just family estates of the Buonapartes.
2. I will have nothing more to do with you and you are no longer my friend, no longer my 'faithful slave,' as you call yourself!
3. But how do you do? / Well, hello.
4. I see I have frightened you- sit down and tell me all the news.
5. All her invitations without exception, written in French, and delivered by a scarlet-liveried footman that morning, ran as follows: "If you have nothing better to do, Count [or Prince], and if the prospect of spending an evening with a poor invalid is not too terrible, I shall be very charmed to see you tonight between 7 and 10- Annette Scherer."
6. "Heavens! What a virulent attack!" replied the prince, not in the least disconcerted by this reception.

7. "First of all, dear friend, tell me how you are. Set your friend's mind at rest,"
8. "If they had known that you wished it, the entertainment would have been put off," said the prince, who, like a wound-up clock, by force of habit said things he did not even wish to be believed.  
  
"Don't tease! Well, and what has been decided about Novosiltsev's dispatch? You know everything."
9. A propos," she added, becoming calm again, "I am expecting two very interesting men tonight, le Vicomte de Mortemart, who is connected with the Montmorencys through the Rohans, one of the best French families. He is one of the genuine emigres, the good ones. And also the Abbe Morio. Do you know that profound thinker?"
10. "Is it true that the Dowager Empress wants Baron Funke to be appointed first secretary at Vienna?"
11. You know I did all a father could for their education, and they have both turned out fools.
12. "I am your faithful slave and to you alone I can confess that my children are the bane of my life. It is the cross I have to bear. That is how I explain it to myself. It can't be helped!"
13. "They say old maids have a mania for matchmaking, and though I don't feel that weakness in myself as yet, I know a little person who is very unhappy with her father. She is a relation of yours, Princess Mary Bolkonskaya."
14. She has a brother; I think you know him, he married Lise Meinen lately.
15. "You have not yet seen my aunt?"
16. The little princess went round the table with quick, short, swaying steps, her workbag on her arm, and gaily spreading out her dress sat down on a sofa near the silver samovar, as if all she was doing was a pleasure to herself and to all around her.

17. "Ah, yes! Do tell us all about it, Vicomte," said Anna Pavlovna, with a pleasant feeling that there was something a la Louis XV in the sound of that sentence: "Contez nous cela, Vicomte."
18. "The means are... the balance of power in Europe and the rights of the people," the abbe was saying.
19. "And what do you think of this latest comedy, the coronation at Milan?" asked Anna Pavlovna.
20. "Monsieur le Vicomte quite rightly supposes that matters have already gone too far.
21. She must have two footmen behind her carriage.
22. Having thanked Anna Pavlovna for her charming soiree, the guests began to take their leave.
23. "With my father and sister, remember," said Prince Andrew gently.
- "Alone all the same, without my friends.... And he expects me not to be afraid."
- "I still can't understand what you are afraid of," said Prince Andrew slowly, not taking his eyes off his wife.
- "No, Andrew, I must say you have changed. Oh, how you have..."
24. "I am very amiable and have a caustic wit," continued Prince Andrew, "and at Anna Pavlovna's they listen to me.
25. "I don't understand it," replied Prince Andrew. "Women who are *comme il faut*, that's a different matter; but the Kuragins' set of women, 'women and wine' I don't understand!"
26. "Yes, but between ourselves," said the princess, that is a pretext. The fact is he has come to see Count Cyril Vladimirovich, hearing how ill he is."

27. "I know I shall always be my daughters' first confidante, and that if Nicholas, with his impulsive nature, does get into mischief (a boy can't help it), he will all the same never be like those Petersburg young men."
28. "Well, little countess? What a saute of game au madere we are to have, my dear!"
29. They were expecting Marya Dmitrievna Akhrosimova, known in society as le terrible dragon, a lady distinguished not for wealth or rank, but for common sense and frank plainness of speech.
30. "Well, then, old chap, mon tres honorable Alphonse Karlovich," said Shinshin, laughing ironically and mixing the most ordinary Russian expressions with the choicest French phrases- which was a peculiarity of his speech. "Vous comptez vous faire des rentes sur l'etat;\* you want to make something out of your company?"
31. "Connaissez-vous le Proverbe:\* 'Jerome, Jerome, do not roam, but turn spindles at home!'" said Shinshin, puckering his brows and smiling.
- \*Do you know the proverb?
32. "Well, sit down: let's have a talk."
33. Pierre could not make out what it was all about, and still less what "watching over his interests" meant, but he decided that all these things had to be.
34. What of the bridge and its celebrated bridgehead and Prince Auersperg?
35. "And didn't Hippolyte tell you?" asked Prince Vasili, turning to his son and seizing the little princess' arm as if she would have run away and he had just managed to catch her, "didn't he tell you how he himself was pining for the dear princess, and how she showed him the door?"
36. "Not at all bad!" he thought, examining her, "not at all bad, that little companion!"

37. "To the Head of the French Government... Au chef du gouvernement francais," said Dolgorukov, with grave satisfaction."
38. And when he had said it for the tenth time, Moliere's words: "Mais que diable alloit-il faire dans cette galere?" occurred to him, and he began to laugh at himself.
39. The "cream of really good society" consisted of the fascinating Helene, forsaken by her husband, Mortemart, the delightful Prince Hippolyte who had just returned from Vienna, two diplomatists, the old aunt, a young man referred to in that drawing room as "a man of great merit" (un homme de beaucoup de merite), a newly appointed maid of honor and her mother, and several other less noteworthy persons.
40. "I am an admirer of Montesquieu," replied Prince Andrew, "and his idea that le principe des monarchies est l'honneur me parait incontestable.
41. Boris' uniform, spurs, tie, and the way his hair was brushed were all comme il faut and in the latest fashion.
42. "I think no one has been more courted than she," she went on, "but till quite lately she never cared seriously for anyone. Now you know, Count," she said to Pierre, "even our dear cousin Boris, who, between ourselves, was very far gone in the land of tenderness..."
43. "To please Moscow girls nowadays one has to be melancholy."
44. Anatole asked Natasha for a valse and as they danced he pressed her waist and hand and told her she was bewitching and that he loved her.
45. Though Napoleon at that time, in 1812, was more convinced than ever that it depended on him, verser (ou ne pas verser) le sang de ses peuples\*- as Alexander expressed it in the last letter he wrote him- he had never been so much in the grip of inevitable laws, which compelled him, while thinking that he was acting on his own volition, to perform for the hive life- that is to say, for history- whatever had to be performed.

\*"To shed (or not to shed) the blood of his peoples."

46. That evening, between issuing one order that the forged Russian paper money prepared for use in Russia should be delivered as quickly as possible and another that a Saxon should be shot, on whom a letter containing information about the orders to the French army had been found, Napoleon also gave instructions that the Polish colonel who had needlessly plunged into the river should be enrolled in the Legion d'honneur of which Napoleon was himself the head.

47. "Do you know, I really believe she is un petit peu amoureuse du jeune homme."\*

\*"A little bit in love with the young man."

48. The whole army- French, Italian, German, Polish, and Dutch- hungry, ragged, and weary of the campaign, felt at the sight of an army blocking their road to Moscow that the wine was drawn and must be drunk.

49. All the old methods that had been unfailingly crowned with success: the concentration of batteries on one point, an attack by reserves to break the enemy's line, and a cavalry attack by "the men of iron," all these methods had already been employed, yet not only was there no victory, but from all sides came the same news of generals killed and wounded, of reinforcements needed, of the impossibility of driving back the Russians, and of disorganization among his own troops.

50. Then he recounted an episode in which the husband played the part of the lover, and he- the lover- assumed the role of the husband, as well as several droll incidents from his recollections of Germany, where "shelter" is called Unterkunft and where the husbands eat sauerkraut and the young girls are "too blonde."

51. "But you don't suppose I'm going to get you married at once? There is always a right way of doing things," replied the governor's wife.

52. This officer, probably someone on the staff, was holding a paper in his hand, and called over all the Russians there, naming Pierre as "the man who does not give his name."