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**Multilingualism in Sindh, Pakistan: the functions of code-switching used by educated,  
multilingual Sindhi women and the factors driving its use.**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Sussex in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, School of English**

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**Co-supervisor:     Justyna Robinson**

**May 2018**

**Declaration**

Declaration I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to the loving memories of my dearest brothers Akbar Ali and Aamir Ali, who wanted me to pursue a PhD abroad but their untimely deaths did not allow them to see me achieve my doctorate.

## **Abstract**

The present study explores the functions of code-switching and the factors which motivate speakers to use it in the context of informal conversations among educated, multilingual Sindhi women at four colleges in Hyderabad and Kotri, Pakistan. Following on from such scholars as Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), Myers-Scotton (1993a), Poplack (1980), this study uses a qualitative methodology consisting of audio recordings of informal interactions, the questionnaires filled in by the participants, which reveal their demographic information and observation notes by the researcher during the audio recordings. The data is then analysed using an interpretive approach.

The findings provide evidence that code-switching is employed as a language strategy to achieve particular social goals. Multilingual code-switching into Sindhi, Urdu and English and a few instances of Arabic and other local languages provide sufficient evidence of participants' linguistic competence. The majority of participants use Sindhi as their L1 and English as their preferred language for code-switching. However, some participants who are Sindhi by ethnicity but acquired Urdu (their academic language) as their L1 predominantly use Urdu.

The findings suggest that the participants use code switching to achieve particular social goals, such as to construct multiple identities, to express anger and humour, to discuss taboo issues and for specific textual functions such as recycling, self-repair, quotation, and idiomatic expressions. In the current study, the motivational extra-linguistic factors for the use of code-switching are historical-socio-economic factors, participants' social networks, conversational topics, and the social status of their interlocutor(s). The intra-linguistic factors consist of speakers' expression of their emotions and their linguistic competence. The most significant factor involved in the presence and absence of the use of codeswitching is the socioeconomic status of the participants.

The results show the use of a huge number of English loanwords to fill lexical gaps which exist in Sindhi and Urdu. However, some instances of core borrowing (widespread borrowing in presence of equivalent in native language) from English are also used.

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Sincere thanks are due to my family, particularly my sisters, Shahida, Mehro and Qamar and my brother in law, Shams, for their unconditional moral and financial support. They encouraged and supported me to persevere with my study at a time when my family was grieving the untimely deaths of my two brothers Akbar and Aamir, and my brother-in law Mir Mushtaque Talpur. And above all, sincere thanks are due to my husband Nisar Khokhar who handled everything in my absence. Without his encouragement and support, this research would have never materialised.

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**List of abbreviations**

|             |                               |
|-------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>CA</b>   | Conversational analysis       |
| <b>EL</b>   | Embedded language             |
| <b>ELT</b>  | English language teaching     |
| <b>EFL</b>  | English as a foreign language |
| <b>Govt</b> | Government                    |
| <b>H</b>    | High-status language variety  |
| <b>L</b>    | Low-status language variety   |
| <b>ML</b>   | Matrix language               |
| <b>SLA</b>  | Second language acquisition   |
| <b>SLL</b>  | Second language learning      |
| <b>*</b>    | Ungrammatical sentence        |



## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Pakistan is a socially close-knit, multilingual society where a major proportion of the population is either bilingual or multilingual. A large percentage of the population speaks Sindhi as well as local languages such as Punjabi, Sarieki, Dhatki and Pashtu as their mother tongues; Urdu as the national language, and one or two other indigenous languages. In the Pakistani context speakers tend to switch between these different languages as a communicative strategy. More educated Pakistanis also tend to speak English well, which is the language of academia in Pakistan and prefer to switch into English because, in the Pakistani context, English is the symbol of power and social status (Rahman, 2006).

The current study is based on the hypothesis that within the multilingual Sindh society, the second largest province of Pakistan, multilingual speakers shift from one language to another to achieve some social functions. This shift from one language to another in a single speech turn is known as *code-switching* (Gumperz, 1957, Auer, 1995). The same phenomenon is called *code mixing* by Auer (1988). The present study explores the functions of code-switching and speaker's motivations for using it in informal conversations among educated multilingual Sindhi females.

This chapter briefly describes the background the aims and scope of the current study. This is followed by an explanation of its research questions and research rationale. Next, the research methodology of the current study is introduced. Finally, the structure of this thesis is presented, followed by a summary of this chapter.

#### **1.2 Background of the study**

Before moving to a detailed explanation of the current study, I would like to situate myself as a researcher in terms of my own motivation for conducting this research. I am a native Sindhi

speaker from Kotri in Sindh, Pakistan, a country with great cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. After completion of my schooling at a local Sindhi government school, I undertook higher education in Hyderabad. At present, I teach at the University of Sindh, Jamshoro. Sindhi is my L1, although I am just as fluent in my L2, Urdu, the national language and *lingua franca* of Pakistan. Due to my wide social network, which includes friends and colleagues who speak Urdu, Seraiki, Kachhi, Dhatki, Gujarati, Baluchi and Punjabi, I am also fluent in these languages. I am also fluent in English which I studied in EFL classes as a compulsory subject at school. Here, the English teachers focused on reading, writing and grammar; focusing less on productive speaking skills. Therefore, in my school days, like other students from government schools, I lacked spoken fluency in English. However, despite this, I consciously switched to English with siblings, friends and classmates, in an attempt to display my educated, urban status.

Upon reflection, consciously or unconsciously, as children, my sisters and I tended to exploit our linguistic competence in English for various reasons. For instance, in the presence of our house-staff, we switched into English so they could not understand what we were saying. When we visited our village, we switched into Urdu to impress our relatives who were illiterate in Urdu. It was pleasing when people around me noticed and appreciated my different language style. My linguistic competence has bestowed me with a multilingual identity, however, the unanswered question remained - ‘why do I switch from one language to another?’

When I joined the Institute of English at Sindh University, Jamshoro, Pakistan, as a lecturer, my area of interest was the use of code-switching by multilingual speakers. I was fascinated by the possibility of exploring the external and internal factors which determine when code-switching is chosen by multilingual speakers as a language strategy. Years later, when I came to the UK, the starting point for my research was the same question: ‘why does multilingual code-switch from one language to another in a single turn during spoken interactions?’ However, after some investigation, I discovered a lack of specific research on this area. Very few substantial linguistic or sociolinguistic studies have been carried out on multilinguals’ language behaviour within the Pakistani context. Therefore, this research aims to fill this gap.

The research on code-switching started in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when switching from one language to another attracted attention from linguists who wished to understand this language phenomenon. Bloomfield (1933), Weinreich (1953) and Corder (1960) related it to the interference of a speakers’ L1 on their L2 learning. This language phenomenon was elucidated

further by sociolinguistic research by Gumperz (1957) who proposed code-switching as an umbrella term defined as the use of more than one language in a single utterance with the aim of gaining specific social goals. The current study takes a sociolinguistic approach to investigate the use of code-switching as a communicative strategy to achieve particular social goals in the construction of identity in informal interactions between multilingual, educated, Sindhi women. It is hoped that the current study will shed light on the use of code-switching as a complex linguistic phenomenon used by educated multilingual Sindhi females.

### **1.3 Aims and scope of the study**

In Pakistan, sociolinguistic research on code-switching, unfortunately, is still in its infancy, despite the fact the country represents an ideal linguistic context in which to explore the interplay between English and Urdu (the official languages) and local languages such as Sindhi, and to study the language dynamic which plays a crucial role in the relationships between diversified ethnic communities. Given this, it seems important to investigate the use of code-switching among multilinguals from a sociolinguistic perspective, in order to assess the extent to which this sharp rise in the use of code-switching by Sindhi speakers is motivated by achieving particular social goals. However, code-switching among Sindhi speakers or other local language speakers has not yet captured the attention of Pakistani linguists. Hardly any studies exist at either the micro- or macro level concerning code-switching in Sindhi, English or Urdu. The work of Sindhi linguists (e.g. Baluch, 1962; Panhwar 1988; Memon, 1964 etc.) focus on recording the history of the Sindhi language and its dialects or sketching general ethnographic profiles of Sindhi. Such studies ignore code-switching or language borrowing from Urdu and English.

This is the first study focusing on the functions of code-switching by multilingual Sindhi women as a language strategy used to boost their perceived social standing with their interlocutors and thus, it aims to fill this gap in the sociolinguistic research. In so doing, the intricate, multilingual socio-linguistic topography of Sindh is uncovered providing an understanding of the social meanings and significance of code-switching as a communicative strategy.

## 1.4 Methodology and research questions

As explained in the introduction, the present research is grounded on the hypothesis that in Pakistan, multilingual educated Sindhi women utilise code-switching in order to achieve specific social functions. On this account, a qualitative methodology is applied in order to explore the following research questions:

The main research question of the current study is:

What functions does code-switching achieve in the informal interactions of the educated, Sindhi female participants?

This research question is based on the hypothesis that educated multilingual Sindhi women indeed employ code-switching as a linguistic tool to achieve particular social goals in spoken interactions with their peers. This question is then further subdivided into the following two questions:

1. How do multilingual Sindhi women use code-switching as an expression of their identities?
2. What common factors are linked to their use of code-switching?

The research subjects in the current study are female Sindhi university students of Bachelor of Arts (B.A.), Science (B.Sc.), Master of Arts (M.A.) and Science (M.Sc.) courses from four women's colleges in Hyderabad and Kotri, Pakistan. The data was collected from recordings of informal interactions between the participants from various segments of society in order to investigate how code-switching is employed as a conscious language strategy to achieve specific social functions. The study utilises three research methods for qualitative research design: (i) audio recordings of interlocutors' informal spoken interactions; (ii) observation notes made by the researcher during recordings and, (iii) a questionnaire filled out by the same group of research participants in order to gather demographic information. The data is analysed using an interpretive approach. The participants' conversations were analysed in combination with the observation notes made by the researcher. Participants' demographic information was collected via questionnaires and have been assessed during the discussion of the results in order to allow a comparison of participant's backgrounds to be taken into account.

In Pakistan, recent decades have seen a huge rise in use of the Internet as well as the introduction of a multitude of satellite TV channels broadcasting in English. Concurrently, the use of loan borrowing of lexical items from English has become a common phenomenon by speakers of local Pakistani languages due to a lack of equivalent items in these languages. In the current research, such instances will be analysed in terms of loanwords to clarify this for non-native Sindhi readers who may not be able to differentiate between code-switching and borrowing.

### **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

The remaining chapters are now briefly summarised. Chapter Two discusses the Pakistani sociolinguistic situation in detail, and, in particular, that of the Sindh province. It begins with a brief outline of the sociolinguistic characteristics of Indo-Pakistan pre-1947 before Pakistan's independence. The historical and sociolinguistic situation of Pakistan after independence in general, and the Sindh province in particular are set out, along with the impacts of Government language and education policies focusing on the status of indigenous languages. This is followed by an outline of common language patterns and the use of code-switching by multilinguals in the Sindh Province. Finally, this chapter concludes by explaining the status of educated Sindhi women in Pakistani society and the characteristic features of their language use.

Chapter Three focuses on the literature related to the phenomenon of code-switching. It begins by briefly describing the history of code-switching, before providing definitions of it and separating it from other closely related terms such as code-mixing and lexical borrowing. Next, an overview of the various sociolinguistic approaches that are employed in the current study is given. Finally, this chapter gives an account of the small amount of research into code-switching which has been conducted in the Pakistani context.

Chapter Four explains the design of the current study, and the rationale for the choice of a qualitative methodology is set out and justified. Next, the data collection tools are explained and justified as well as the procedures for participant recruitment. This is followed by an explanation of the transcription protocols. Finally, the chapter explains the researcher's position and deals with the relevant ethical considerations.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of the qualitative data using an interpretive approach. The complete data are divided into specific categories according to the code-switching functions

identified. This chapter also describes the different types of code-switching and loanword borrowing encountered in the data.

Chapter Six discusses the results of the data analysis linking them to the plausible reasons and factors that affect the use of code-switching by multilingual Sindhi women. The chapter concludes by discussing lexical borrowing and details the constraints which affect code-switching and loanword borrowing from Urdu and English.

Finally, Chapter Seven offers a conclusion on the significance of the findings and presents a detailed analysis of code-switching use in Sindh. In addition, particular concerns regarding the future of the Sindhi language are also discussed in the light of the prevalence of code-switching from Sindhi to Urdu and English. Finally, suggestions for future research on this topic and the study's limitations are discussed.

## **1.6 Concluding remarks**

The objective of this chapter is to introduce the aims and importance of the study as it represents the first research on code-switching in Pakistan. The chapter briefly discusses definitions of code-switching, the research methodology, and the study's research questions. Using a qualitative methodology, the data are collected through audio recordings, observations made during recordings; and questionnaires collecting demographic information about the participants.

## Chapter 2

### **The historical and sociolinguistic context of Pakistan and Sindh**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In order to understand code-switching as a social phenomenon in present-day multilingual Pakistan, it is essential to have an appreciation of the country's socio-political and linguistic features upon which the linguistic behaviour of individual members of this speech community depends. This will facilitate the readers' understanding of the practical significance of the presence or absence of code-switching in the context of informal, spoken interactions between the Sindhi women examined in this study. This chapter focuses on the salient features of Pakistan's political and sociolinguistic makeup, and, especially in the Sindh province where this study was conducted.

The chapter begins by briefly describing the sociolinguistic situation in the Indian Subcontinent pre-1947, followed by a brief introduction of the historical and sociolinguistic factors affecting Pakistan, pre- and post-1971 when the country was split into two independent states on linguistic grounds. The chapter evaluates Pakistan's language and education policies, focusing on the status of Sindhi in language planning. Then, it describes in detail the historical and sociolinguistic context of Sindh followed by a note on the use of code-switching and lexical borrowing in the Sindhi language. Finally, a brief analysis of the social status of women in Sindh is provided.

#### **2.2 The sociolinguistic situation in the Indian Subcontinent before 1947**

The language history of the Indian-Subcontinent, also known as Hindustan, can be traced from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC when the use of Brahmi or Gupta script was common. At this time, the Indo-Aryan languages, Dravidian and Sanskrit, were the main spoken languages (Baluch, 1962; Panhwar, 1988). Hindustan's sociolinguistic situation changed in 712 AD when the Arabs conquered the Subcontinent and began the spread of Islam and the Arabic language as the

official language of communication, education and business, thrusting aside the regional languages (Baluch, 1962; Panhwar, 1988). It is not surprising that Arabic has left a permanent trace on these local languages, and consequently, a wide variety of Arabic structural features and lexical borrowing can be seen in them (Allana, 1963). However, Arabic failed to gain the status of the dominant *lingua franca* of the Indian Subcontinent (Memon, 1964 and Panhwar, 1988). In 1530, the Persian Mughal King Baber conquered Hindustan and declared Persian as the official language (Memon, 1964). The elite class adopted Persian and many Persian lexical items and structural features were introduced into local languages (Panhwar, 1988). However, like Arabic, Persian also failed to gain the status of a *lingua franca* due to its different script and structure from local languages (Baluch, 1962).

At the same time, a new language called Urdu in Pakistan (and Hindi in India) was developing within the military where young, indigenous Hindustanis who spoke different regional languages were recruited from all parts of the region and communicated in a variety of languages (Waaz, 1920). Due to the assimilation of a range of indigenous vocabulary, Urdu emerged as the *lingua franca* of the Indian Subcontinent in a very short time (Waaz, 1920). Towards the end of the Mughal era, Urdu enjoyed the official protection of the Mughal court.

In 1832, India was colonised by the British Empire and English was declared the official language. The elite classes of India, who had previously adapted Arabic and Persian, now learnt English, registered their children in expensive English-speaking schools to indicate their social prosperity and political affiliation with the former rulers (Anchimbe, 2011). In 1835, the British Government declared literacy in English as one of the requirements for civil service employment (Mansoor, 1993). This facilitated the elite class, who were literate in English, to gain ready access to high-ranking jobs while the middle and working classes were excluded. Despite all official actions, English, like Arabic and Persian, did not qualify as the *lingua franca* of Hindustan. According to Rahman (1995), the four main reasons for this were: (i) English was the language of the colonialists, and, therefore, the masses resisted it; (ii) due to the structural, lexical and phonological differences between English and indigenous languages, local people had difficulty in learning English; (iii) English was the medium of instruction only in grammar schools, which were very expensive and affordable only to the elite class; and, (iv) Muslim religious scholars declared English to be the language of the enemies of Islam and encouraged Muslims to avoid using English. However, Hindus tended to be keen to learn English and this



enabled them to play an important role in the mainstream governance of the country (Shah, 1978). On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Hindustan was divided into two independent states; India for Hindus and East and West Pakistan for the Muslims of the subcontinent (Shah, 1978).

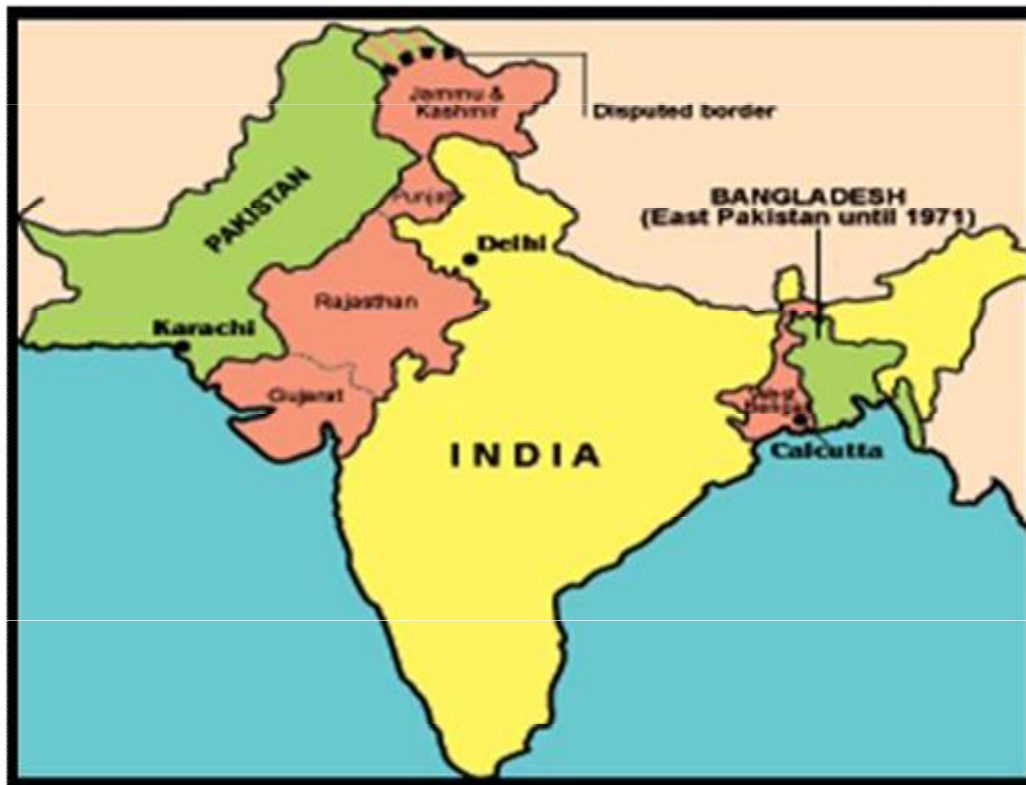
### 2.3 The sociolinguistic background of Pakistan from 1947 to 1971

Newly-born Pakistan was divided geographically into two separate states; East Pakistan and West Pakistan. West Pakistan was comprised of four provinces: Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) (Nowadays renamed as Khyber-Pakhunkhwa).

Figure 2.1 (below) presents a map of independent Pakistan before 1971.

Figure 2.1

**Map of East and West Pakistan before 1971**



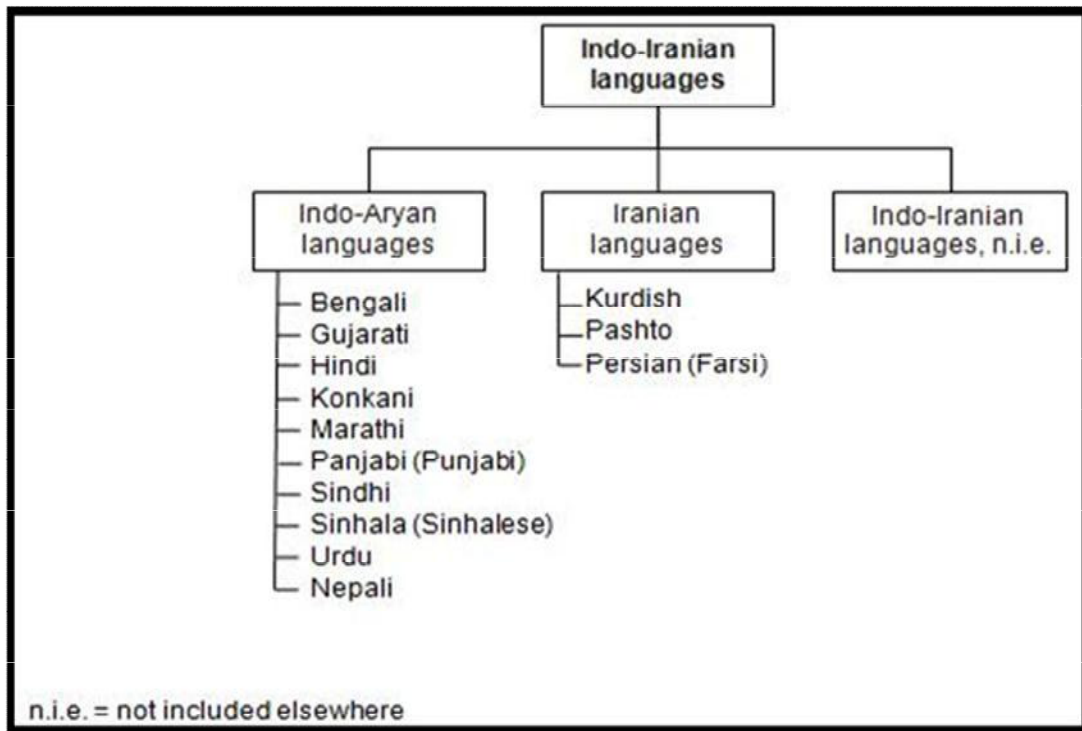
Source: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/partition1947\\_01.shtm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/partition1947_01.shtm)

(accessed on 17 April 2013)

East and West Pakistan were a blend of diverse religious, cultural, and ethnic groups. Linguistically Pakistan is a rich region where six major languages along with more than 69 other languages are spoken (Rahman, 1995). All these local languages share close similarities in grammar, phonology and vocabulary because they belong to the Indo-Aryan family, the sub-branch of Indo-Iranian family, except Pashto, belonging to the Iranian family as summarised in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2

**The linguistic family tree of Indo-Iranian languages**



Source: <https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Indo+iranian+family&rlz=1C1NHXL>

(accessed on 25 May 2016)

After the partition of Hindustan into Pakistan and India, Indian Muslims migrated to West Pakistan and Hindus in East and West Pakistan migrated to India. The majority of Muslim refugees (Nowadays called *Muhajirs*) speak Urdu and many took shelter in the Sindh province.

Pakistan's largest province Punjab refused to settle Muslim refugees, instead, encouraging them to settle in Sindh (Rahman, 1995). Simultaneously, the Punjab province adopted Urdu as its official language because Punjabi does not have a written script. Soon Muhajir refugees gained political power in this newly-born country and declared Urdu (spoken by 5% of Indian-Muslim refugees) and English to be Pakistan's official languages. This decision created widespread protests against Urdu by native language speakers, especially in Sindh and East Pakistan where Bengali was the major spoken language. "It is Urdu that the ruling elite of Pakistan has supported and ethnic nationalities have never accepted it" (Rahman, 1995, p. 1006). This decision sparked protests in Sindh and in East Pakistan. The newly-born state of Pakistan faced serious linguistic agitation from various ethnic nations from the very beginning. In light of this, the Government then backtracked in an attempt to assuage the protesters, announcing that this was merely a temporary measure and that a new commission would suggest a permanent official language. However, no commission was formed and English and Urdu retained their official status. In 1971 the Government claimed Urdu to be a symbol of national unity welding different ethnic-linguistic groups into one nation, and, therefore Urdu remains the official language along with English (Rahman, 1995). However, this linguistic bullying re-kindled riots in Sindh and East Pakistan. The Pakistani armed forces began operations against the Sindhis and Bengalis. On 21<sup>st</sup> February 1970, hundreds of Bengali students who were protesting against the declaration of Urdu as the national language at the University of Dacca were killed. The episode is known as *Bhasha Andolan* (the language movement) (Rafiq, 2010). On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1971, India intervened in West Pakistan in support of the Bengalis. Pakistan was defeated and on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1971, East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh, splitting Pakistan based on language differences. However, in Sindh, the Government was successful in crushing this language movement.

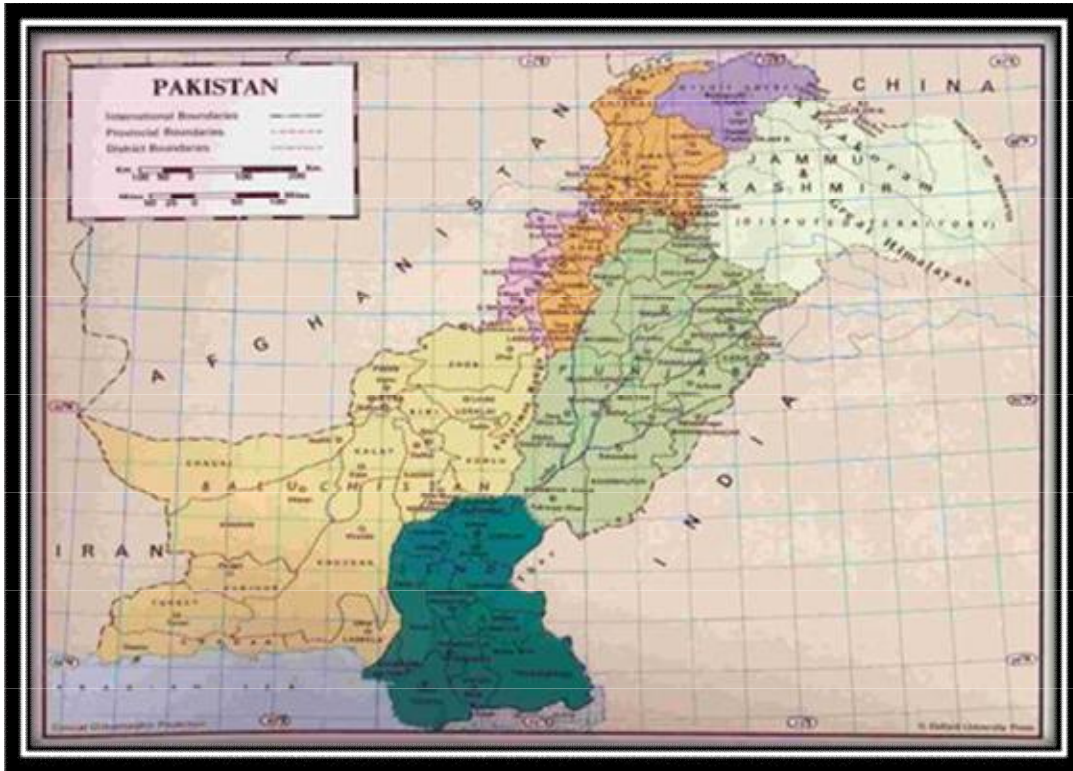
#### **2.4 The sociolinguistic background of Pakistan post-1971**

West Pakistan or the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is in south-west Asia. It borders four countries: India, China, Iran, and Afghanistan, and, to the south, the Arabian Sea. Pakistan has a population of 197.2 million, has nuclear facilities and is one of the richest areas in the region for

agriculture and natural resources (Sodhar, 2011). Below (Figure 2.3) is a current map of Pakistan:

Figure 2.3

### Map of Pakistan post-1971



Source: <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/> (accessed on 20 May 2016).

As explained earlier, Urdu and English are the national languages although official correspondence takes place only in English. Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashto and Baluchi are also spoken, although they are not used in any official correspondence. Despite all these language differences, the majority of Pakistanis – if not all – understand and speak Urdu and one or two other local languages (Rahman, 2006). For example, many Sindhi speakers can communicate in Siraiki, Baluchi, Punjabi, Urdu, Marwari and Dhatki as they are very close in terms of phonology, syntax and lexis. Figure 2.4 indicates the various languages of Pakistan and their geographical context.

Figure 2.4

### The languages of Pakistan



Source: <https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Languages+of+Pakistan>

(accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2016) (Original in colour)

## 2.5 Language and education policy in Pakistan

Three clauses in Pakistan's Constitution of 1973, Part XII, Chapter 4, Article 251, p. 150 describe the country's language policy as follows:

1. The National language of Pakistan is Urdu and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
2. Subject to clause (1) the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
3. Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national languages.

The first two clauses protect Urdu and clause 2 declares English a temporary official language. The third clause orders the provincial assemblies to take measures for the maintenance of provincial languages. However, these provincial languages “play no role in the official life of the provinces and their educational role is restricted to primary or secondary level” (Mansoor, 1993, p. 6).

A similar situation exists in Pakistan’s education policy. In government schools, Urdu is the sole medium of instruction up to grade 10<sup>th</sup>, except in Sindh, where the medium of instruction is either Urdu or Sindhi, and English is taught as a compulsory subject from grade 6<sup>th</sup>. However, in private schools, English is the language of instruction, while Urdu has been reduced to one compulsory subject and indigenous languages are neither taught nor encouraged to be spoken either in or outside the classroom. However, after grade 10<sup>th</sup>, the language of instruction shifts abruptly from Urdu/Sindhi into English. This has the effect of slashing the educational and professional careers of many who lack a mastery in English compared to their peers from elite schools where English is the dominant language of instruction. Such education policies also affect Pakistan’s literacy (57% literacy) comprised of male literacy at 58% and female literacy at 48% (UNICEF, 2015). Pakistan also has deep socioeconomic inequalities as children from poorer families attend government schools which provide free education. More well-off families’ children are usually enrolled in private English-speaking schools. Thus, there is a wide gap between rich and poor, and rural and urban Pakistanis economically and linguistically.

## **2.6 A historical profile of Sindh**

Sindh gets its name from the river Sindh (also known as the River Indus). Its population is 55,245,497 (Sindh.govt.website). It borders the Arabian Sea in the south-west; in the northwest, the natural wall of the Kheerthar Mountains separates it from Baluchistan and a long desert belt forms a natural border with India in the east. The province produces 64% of Pakistan’s natural resources (coal, gas, oil and marble stone) and generates 72% of all tax (Ministry of Finance, Pakistan, 2014-15). Figure 2.5 presents the image of the Sindh province.

Figure 2.5

### Map of the Sindh province



Source: <http://www.sindh.gov.pk/images/map>.

(accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2016).

The history of Sindh civilisation can be traced to 7000-year-old ruins of Moen Jo Daro (The mound of the dead). Historical evidence from this site shows that the community was a civilised Hindu society. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, Alexander the Great invaded Sindh. Next, the powerful Buddhist Dynasty of Morya was established in 1904 BC (Smith, 1999). In 499 AD, the local Rai Dynasty ruled for more than 150 years (Burton, 1851). In 712 AD, the Arabs conquered the Sindh and spread Islam turning the Hindu majority into a minority (Brohi, 1986). Thus, the Sindh formed two major communities; Hindu-Sindhis and Muslim Sindhis. The Hindu-Sindhis formed the prosperous and educated elite, while the majority of the Muslim Sindhis remained working-class farmers (Tekchadani, 2005). The religious scholars of both communities preached religious and cultural tolerance, and, therefore, there is no record of any serious civil unrest during this period (Shah, 1978).



In 1592 A.D., the Mughal Empire occupied Sindh and annexed it with Hindustan as an independent state (Soomro, 1977). In 1757, Hindustan was colonised and in 1836 Sindh was declared as a province of India. The Sindh's population and ruler were opposed to this and frequent uprisings against the British occurred (Soomro, 1977). On the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1843, Sir Charles Napier defeated the Sindh's Talpur rulers and in 1849, the Sindh was annexed to Bombay (Brohi, 1986). In 1930-43, another uprising, the *Hur Movement* shook the British Empire (Sodhar, et. al, 2015). However, the British crushed this uprising. The Empire then imposed the *Hur Act* which declared the Hur tribe criminals and Sindhis were banned from recruitment into the government and the military (Sodhar, et. al, 2015). After Pakistan's independence, the government followed up the *Hur Act* with an extended ban on the recruitment of Sindhis into state positions until late 1972 (Shah, 1978).

## **2.7 A sociolinguistic profile of Sindh**

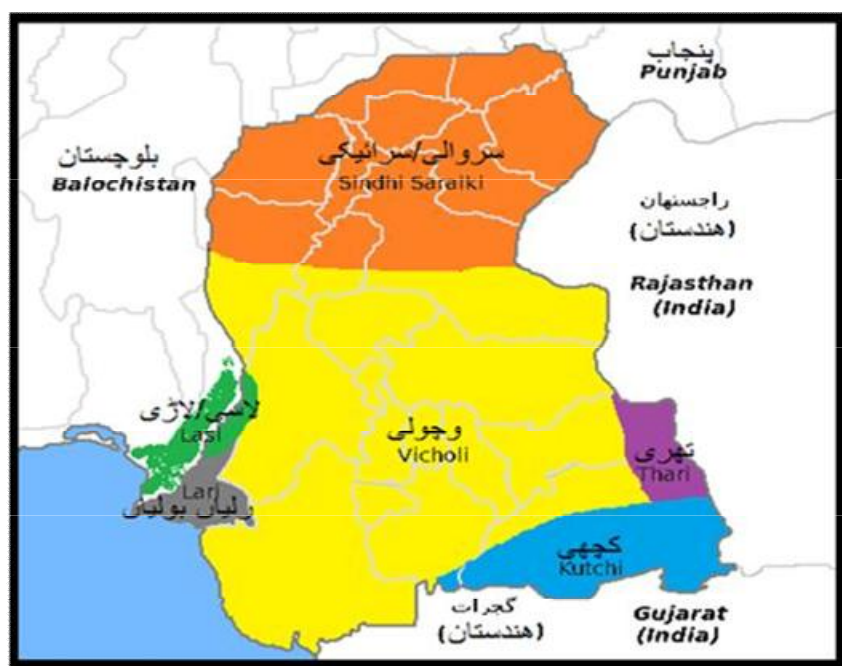
Sindhi is the second largest spoken language of Pakistan after Punjabi and the fourth in the Subcontinent (Panhwar, 1988). It is the second most common language for electronic media, literary publications, newspapers and books in Pakistan after Urdu. The Sindhi language can be traced back to inscriptions found on rocks dating from around 2500 years ago (Pirzado, 2009). Scholars believe that the Sindhi language is derived from the *Assames* branch of the Indo-Aryan group. For Trumpp (1872), Sindhi is the daughter language of Sanskrit. However, Memon (1964) disagrees and states that Sanskrit originated from the Sindhi language. The sociolinguistic situation of the Sindh was dramatically changed with the Arab arrival which left permanent marks on local religion, culture and languages (Baluch, 1962; Allana, 1963). In the Mughal Era (1530-1757) the Sindhi language was further enriched by the Persian language and literature. When the British government declared English the official language of India, it also declared Sindhi as the second official language because Sindhi religious leaders urged the Sindhi population not to learn English depriving them of access to official jobs (Rahman, 1995). Muslim Sindhis remained working in agriculture, while Sindhi Hindus learnt English and were recruited in higher-status government positions.



Modern-day Sindhi took shape during the British period (1843 to 1947) when the Viceroy of India, Lord James Bruce, appointed Sir Richard Burton to develop a Sindhi alphabet. Previously, Sindhi was written in the Devanagari script. Burton, with the help of local scholars Munshi Thanwardas and Mirza Sadiq Ali Baig, developed a 52-letter alphabet for writing with 46 distinctive consonant phonemes and 14 vowels sounds and adapted Arabic *Naksh* script (Pei and Gaynor, 1954 and Advani, 1956). Linguistically, the Sindhi language can be divided into six major spoken dialects as indicated in Figure 2.6 below:

Figure 2.6

### The dialects of Sindhi Language



Source: [https://www.google.com.pk/search?biw=1366&bih=588&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=i\\_vP%20Wor4B8b76ASzz5\\_QBw&q=Dialects+of+sindhi+languages&oq=Dialects+of+sindhi+langu%20ages&gs](https://www.google.com.pk/search?biw=1366&bih=588&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=i_vP%20Wor4B8b76ASzz5_QBw&q=Dialects+of+sindhi+languages&oq=Dialects+of+sindhi+langu%20ages&gs) (accessed on 28 June 2016)

In 1947, the Sindhi nation faced a linguistic upheaval. After the declaration of Urdu as the official language of Sindh, Sindhis were not recruited in the official jobs due to the lack of understanding of Urdu (Malik, 1963). This situation allowed the Urdu-speaking community to

gain access to careers within the Government, business, and education (Rahman, 1999). These decisions created unrest among native Sindhis. The country's power was transferred to "those who had still not developed an affinity to its soil and its people and were in the utter seriousness and hurry to establish their socio-political and economic hegemony" (Shah 1978, p. 98). Such policies created ethnic riots between natives and refugees (Mitha, 1986).

The Sindhis were "struggling to retain the regions' ethnic and linguistic identity, while Muhajirs were fighting to carve out a place for themselves as an emergent community and a political power in their newly acquired homeland" (Naeem, 2011, p. 28).

This linguistic bias was propounded by the dictators (Lodhi, 2013). In 1954 the first Marshal Law government of General Ayoub Khan declared Urdu as the sole language of the Sindh province. This decision provoked a severe reaction, and under Sindhi public pressure, Ayoub withdrew it (Shah, 1978). Again in 1971, the succeeding second Marshal Law of General Yahya Khan declared Urdu the sole language of Pakistan. In 1972, this language movement resurfaced, forcing the Government to declare Sindhi the third official language of the Sindh province along with Urdu and English (Khokhar, 2010). However, this was at odds with the wishes of the Urdu community and the country again witnessed language riots between the Sindhi and Muhajir communities, which raged for more than six months. In 1977, the third Martial Law of General Zia-ul-Haq reverted Bhutto's decision and Urdu was declared the sole official language. The Zia government faced serious resistance by Sindhis but it was crushed by the killing of thousands of Sindhis (Kennedy, 1991). The Sindh witnessed huge bloodshed between the Sindhi and Muhajir ethnic communities (Kennedy, 1991). Due to this ethnic violence, the two main cities of Sindh – Karachi and Hyderabad – were divided into language zones e. g. an Urdu-zone, and a Sindhi-zone, restricting the movements of people from one zone to another (Khokhar, 2009 and Lotbiniere, 2010).

## **2.8 Code-switching and lexical borrowing in Sindh**

This discussion reveals that despite Pakistan's highly prevalent linguistic conflicts, Urdu retains its position as Pakistan's *lingua franca*, although the use of English is growing rapidly due to its wide-spread use in electronic media and education (Khan, 2014). In urban parts of Sindh, Urdu and Sindhi are in parallel use. Areas where there is a mixed population, both Sindhi and Urdu

languages are used for communication in contexts such as markets, shopping malls, educational institutions, business, offices, etc. In rural areas of Sindh, the scant use of Urdu is a marked feature. Elderly Sindhi speakers or the uneducated can understand the regional languages but they rarely understand Urdu. However, the young, educated Sindhi generation is effectively fluent in Urdu, English and other indigenous languages due to the educational system. Thus, code-switching between Urdu, English and native local languages is a noticeable language phenomenon especially switching from English, and it is widespread in spoken and written text. Switching into Urdu and English at the lexical or phrase level is common in the speech of urban Sindhi speakers. Apart from code-switching, lexical borrowing is also a common linguistic feature in the Sindh speech community, which is caused mainly because of a lack of equivalent lexical terms in local languages. Sindhi-language speakers most often tend to borrow lexis from English; followed by Arabic. English lexical borrowing tends to be related to the latest advances in business, science, politics, and education and so on, while most Arabic lexical borrowing is related to Islamic religious vocabulary.

## **2.9 Sindhi women's social status**

Pakistan presents an image of a male-controlled society where the gender gap is wide (Ansari, 1995). Pakistan's constitution provides equal rights to women although the social reality is very different; the status of women is largely determined by Islam and the conservative male-dominated culture. This discernible male dominance, sexism, religious restrictions and culture boundaries restrict women's freedom and they are largely expected to play roles such as wife, daughter and mother, with opportunities for careers outside the home facing significant restriction (Khokhar, 2009). In Pakistan, women are presented as loyal wives who raise children, cook, clean and care for their families (Bhanbhro et al., 2013). This gender segregation and the Islamic ideology linking woman with family honour have restricted female's role in society (Khokhar, 2009). Such restrictions also tend to deprive a large proportion of the female population from education. Only 45.2% women are literate and the majority is from urban areas (UNICEF, 2015). Around 42% of girls do not attend school although they have access to Islamic religious education in their homes (UNICEF, 2015).

Pakistan is ranked 120<sup>th</sup> on the gender-sensitive development index and widespread violence is evident against women (Moihuddin, 2007). In rural Sindh, women are at risk of *karo-kari* (honour killing) if they are suspected of or proven to be engaging in emotional or illicit premarital or extra-marital relations with a man. The female is labeled a *kari* (sinner) and the male a *karo* (sinner). The family and tribe of the woman consider it a matter of family honour and they kill both the woman and the man involved. Such homicidal acts are generally committed by fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, or any other member of the tribe. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, in 2013-14 around 933 women were victims of honour killing in Pakistan; of which 602 women were of Sindhi origin. The actual number may be greater because many cases go unreported. Table 2.1 illustrates karo-kari cases in Pakistan.

Table 2.1

### Honour killings of women in Pakistan

| Year | Cases Reported | Punjab | Sindh | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Balochistan | Total |
|------|----------------|--------|-------|--------------------|-------------|-------|
| 2013 | -              | 66     | 315   | 47                 | 28          | 456   |
| 2014 | -              | 80     | 287   | 78                 | 32          | 477   |
| x    | Total          | 146    | 602   | 125                | 60          | 933   |

Source: <http://cscr.pk/analysis-and-opinions/honor-killing-pakistan>

(accessed on 20 May 2016)

In general, women's social status varies according to their socioeconomic position and locality. In Pakistan, the lifestyles of affluent and urban women tend to be very different from less-affluent and rural women. Affluent, urban women enjoy a near-equal social status to men. They tend to be well-educated, have opportunities to take on lucrative careers and play an active role

in the country's politics. In comparison, urban, middle-class women are educated to an extent and share the financial burden of her family, although their economic contribution is seldom recognised by the (male) head of her family (Khokhar, 2009 and Bhanbhro et al., 2013). Women from rural and lower socioeconomic classes are deprived of the rights to education, choice of marriage partner, ownership of property etc., although she shares the financial burden of her family by taking low-paid, agricultural jobs or within the garment industry as seamstresses, for instance.

However, women's status in Pakistan has recently experienced a shift due to the increase in the female literacy rate. Both government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are working for the betterment of women's position in society. Today, Pakistani women can be increasingly seen playing roles in religion, politics, education, the armed forces, law, education and medicine etc. The Government has increased reserved seats for women in the National and Provincial assemblies as well as in local councils by 33%. This, to some extent, has increased women's involvement in the decision-making process at local and national levels. The first Muslim female Prime Minister, Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto, and the first head of the Pakistani State Bank Dr Shamshad Akhtar were both Sindhi women. Nowadays, women from urban backgrounds are becoming increasingly involved in the public and private sectors.

Thus, women's increasing involvement in the professional arena has served to shift their social status which is ultimately causing changes in their language use. However, due to a lack of gender-based sociolinguistic research in Pakistan, the accuracy of this notion remains unclear. That said, it is the researcher's observation that the reason is that nowadays, one of the reasons why multilingual Sindhi women use code-switching in their daily interactions is due to their exposure to other languages in their academic, professional, and social lives. This is especially true of professional, urban women, because, as explained earlier, the use of code-switching in Urdu and English along with Sindhi is a demonstrable professional requirement in the current Pakistani workplace and urban environment. The linguistic repertoire of these educated, urban, professional women blends diversified linguistic communities which have deeply influenced urban Sindhi speakers as well as replacing the traditional tribal lifestyle with a more modern and linguistically diverse one. The researcher has noticed that women from rural area tend to have less access to varied linguistic choices in terms of code-switching in their monolingual rural speech communities. I have also noticed that Pakistani women of rural origin tend to

predominantly use their L1 due to their membership of these monolingual communities and their acceptance of this linguistic choice.

## **2.10 Concluding remarks**

The objective of the present chapter has been to present a detailed account of Pakistan's historical, political, and linguistic terrain; especially focusing on the Sindh. This context is vital to a fuller understanding of the role of code-switching as a social-language phenomenon in the lives of Sindhi women. This context, it is hoped, will facilitate the reader's understanding of the practical significance of the presence or absence of code-switching in spoken interactions by women from the Sindh province.

This chapter explained that prior to 1947 Sindhi and English were the official languages of the Sindh Province. However, after 1947, Urdu, the language of 5% of Indian-Muslim refugees was declared the national language, along with English. This move created much unrest and ethno-linguistically-based violence between the Sindhi and Urdu speech communities. However, currently, due to the spread of multilingualism and cultural awareness spread by the media, education and governmental language policies, code-switching has become an accepted language phenomenon. Finally, this chapter also shed light on Sindhi women's social status and the linguistic factors affecting them at present.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Literature review**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Moving on from the discussion of the historical, socio-political and linguistic context of Sindh, this chapter focuses on the phenomenon of code-switching, which, simply put, refers to switching from one language to another (Gumperz, 1982). The chapter begins with a brief historical survey of code-switching, followed by a discussion of the relevant definitions and terminology in order to distinguish code-switching from code-mixing and lexical borrowing. Next, an evaluation is presented, focusing on the sociolinguistic and structuralist approaches which are relevant to the current study. Next, this chapter focuses on the functions and factors and finally, it concludes with a review of code-switching research in Pakistan.

#### **3.2. A historical review of code-switching research**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Linguistics turned its interest from language acquisition and language learning to the study of bilingualism and multilingualism in relation to society. Bilingualism is the ability to use more than one language (Ellis, 1994 and Mackey, 1970). Similarly, multilingualism is the linguistic competence to communicate in more than two languages (Cook, 1995). In the present study, linguistic competence refers to the language proficiency of participants to communicate orally in a target language (Rubino, 2014).

The history of code-switching can be traced back to sociolinguistic research carried out by the French scholar Ronjat (1913) who studied his bilingual daughter whose mother was German. He concluded that bilingual children distinguish between two languages by using a significant person in their lives as a reference for a particular language. He elaborates further that his daughter associated French with her father and German with her mother, hence, the child successfully avoided language confusion (Ronjat, 1913 in Cook, 1995). This is similar to Leopold's findings (Leopold, 1939, and 1949, in Cook, 1995) on the speech patterns he observed

in his two daughters who spoke German with their father and English with their mother. These two early studies represent the earliest research into code-switching.

However, in the 1950s, switching from one language to another in a single turn began to be seen as a form of linguistic inadequacy within the context of second language learning. Weinreich (1953) saw code-switching as a lack of bilingual proficiency or *interference* from the speakers' L1 upon the L2. The ideal bilingual, Weinreich clarifies, "switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (1953, p. 73). Vogt coined the term *code-switching*, referring to the "interference between two languages in a bilingual society" (1954, p. 368). Haugen (1956) clarifies the use of more than one language using different terminology: *interference*, *alternation* and *integration*. *Interference* is the overlapping of two languages, *alternation* is switching between two languages and *integration* is lexical borrowing from one language into other (p. 40). However, moving from *interference* to *integration* leads to the possibility of a possible continuum as language integration progresses over time (Haugen, 1956).

Unlike previous research, where switching and mixing languages were seen as interference, Gumperz (1958) was the first to investigate switching between languages as positive language behaviour. He defined code-switching as the change of language from one code (language) to another. In a study on the usage of the standard (urban) dialect and the nonstandard (rural or village dialect) dialects of Hindi in India, Gumperz found that standard Hindi is used in the workplace or in formal settings, while rural or village dialects are used at home or in informal situations (1958).

Building on Gumperz's concept of code-switching Ferguson (1959) introduces the term *diglossia*, which involves variation within the same language. By using the French term *diglossia* used by Marçais (1930), Ferguson defines diglossia as the phenomenon according to which "in many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions" and interlocutors deploy two languages according to their functionality: one is a *high* variety (H) (e.g. Standard German language) and the other a *low* variety (L) (e.g. the Swiss-German dialect) (Ferguson, 1959, p. 232). The H variety is the more highly-valued code used in academia, literature, politics, religion and so on, while the L variety



is less worthy and used in informal interaction (Ferguson, 1959). By applying the theory of diglossia on four speech communities i.e. Arabic, Greek, Swiss, German, and Haitian Creole, Ferguson classifies the H and L varieties of these languages which Wei (2000, p. 75) represents visually in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1

### Typical cases of Diglossia according to Ferguson (1959)

| Typical cases of diglossia according to Ferguson (1959) |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| Country   | H-variety                                | L-variety   |
| German-speaking part of Switzerland                     | Standard German                          | Swiss German dialects   |
| Haiti   | French                                   | Haitian Creole (French-based creole language)                       |
| Greece  | Katharévousa (purified Greek)            | Dhimotiki (or: Demotic Greek; spoken language -> colloquial speech) |
| Arab nations  | Classical Arabic (language of the Koran) | Regional varieties of Arabic used in colloquial speech (Egyptian)   |

Source: [https://www.google.com.pk/search?q=Typical+cases+of+Diglossia+according+to+F%20erguson+\(1959\)&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHmsyw6rXaAhWJdCw%20KHUkxDQgQ\\_AUICigB&biw=1366&bih=637#imgsrc=1NvrrGPYcCMtjM](https://www.google.com.pk/search?q=Typical+cases+of+Diglossia+according+to+F%20erguson+(1959)&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHmsyw6rXaAhWJdCw%20KHUkxDQgQ_AUICigB&biw=1366&bih=637#imgsrc=1NvrrGPYcCMtjM):

(accessed on May 2015)

Ferguson (1996) explains further that a diglossic community must display nine characteristic features: (1) Acquisition; (2) Function; (3) Prestige; (4) Standardization; (5) Stability; (6) Literary heritage; (7) Grammar; (8) Lexicon and (9) Phonology.

(1) Acquisition: In a diglossic situation, L is a native code acquired by the speakers of the diglossic community, while H is learnt by formal education. (2) Function: According to Ferguson (1996, p. 30), the H and L varieties have functional distribution. The H is appropriate for formal domains such as education, religion, media and politics etc., and L is reserved for

informal domains such as family, friends etc. However, functional distribution of code is not a rigid line, rather L and H varieties overlap in some situation despite that the native speakers find it odd if anyone deploys the H varieties in an L domain, or *vice versa* (Ferguson, 1996, pp. 27-28). (3) Prestige: Ferguson believes that diglossic society often views the H variety as superior, logical and beautiful in expression compared to L variety giving it a prestigious status. (4) Standardization: Similarly in standardization H varieties are well organised and established in terms of grammars and dictionaries and pronunciation, but L varieties vary in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (Ferguson, 1996, pp. 30-31). (5) Stability: Diglossia is a stable situation where both H and L varieties have been parallel in use for several centuries (Ferguson, 1996, p. 31). If speakers choose either H or the L as the single standard dialect for some reasons and use less or abolish other varieties, then it will be the decline of diglossia and one variety will be in use as the only standard language (Ferguson, 1996, p. 31). (6) Literary heritage: H varieties have significant amount of written work in all fields of knowledge and arts contrary to L varieties which lack such heritage (Ferguson, 1996, pp. 29-30). Ferguson defines the last three features of diglossic society, (7) grammar, (8) lexicon and (9) phonology as similar in nature and therefore, discusses them together. In a diglossic society the grammar, lexicon and phonology of H and L varieties may vary or may be similar or semi-similar. In L varieties grammar is simple as certain grammatical categories and features of H varieties are lacking in L varieties. Similarly, some technical and scientific lexicon does exist in H but not in L varieties; similarly some popular expressions exist in L varieties but they lack in H varieties. Ferguson (1996, p. 34) has not given the details of diglossia with regard to phonology, but he states that in diglossia the phonology of H and L varieties may be similar or different.

Apart from features of diglossic society, Ferguson mentions three factors which affect where diglossia can be used (i) the language choice of a social group, (ii) situation and, (iii) topic of discussion. These variables are described as key factors in *situational code-switching* by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982) as discussed in section: 3.4.1.

While Ferguson explains the switching of code from one dialect to another within same language, Fishman (1967) re-defined and extended the theory of diglossia connecting it with a bilingual society. Fishman (1967) stated that diglossia is a feature of multilingual as well as monolingual societies that use different languages or dialects as H and L varieties for different functions. Quoting the example of German as H variety and Swiss-German as L variety in

Switzerland, Fishman states that German is a H variety used in main domains like, politics, education, religion, literature, etc. while Swiss-German is L variety used in informal situation (1980, pp. 6-7). Fishman explains that there are some extreme cases where the bilingualism exists without diglossia. In such a situation there is no ‘compartmentalisation’ between the H and L language varieties and therefore, one of these varieties may dominate and replace the other (Fishman, 1980, pp. 8-9).

The theory of diglossia is useful to understand the language varieties in a society. Today Ferguson’s theory of diglossia is known as ‘classical diglossia’ and Fishman’s theory as ‘extended diglossia’. Fishman’s concept of diglossia is different from Ferguson’s on two grounds: the number of varieties of languages considered, and the degree of linguistic difference between them. Ferguson’s (1967) theory describes a situation where the varieties may be related or unrelated in the same language, while Fishman’s theory relates to the situation where bilingualism as well as diglossia exists.

In the 1970s, the theory of diglossia prompted scholars to investigate code-switching from different angles and led to it being studied in relation to social functions. The theory of diglossia was more closely related to the switching of dialect or language. In diglossia the ‘H’ and ‘L’ language varieties are consciously controlled and used according to the situations and speech communities know where and when to use them; on the contrary, code-switching is a shift of language but there are no sociolinguistic norms to decide on the ‘H’ and ‘L’ code (Wardhaugh, 1986). This has led scholars to study code-switching in relation to its social functions. In 1972, Blom and Gumperz investigated the use of two dialects in Hemnesberget, Norway: Bokmål and Rannamål dialects. They concluded that both dialects have functional distribution. However, Blom and Gumperz (1972) avoided the terms H and L varieties, and suggested that social factors such as situation, setting and participants are motivational factors for the use of code-switching in a single utterance (Details in section 3.5.1.1).

In the same decade, scholars shifted their focus from code-switching to the code-switcher. In this regard Goffman (1981) introduced the notion of *footing* that focuses the relationships between speaker and hearer. Footing is defined as “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (p. 128). In other words alignment between speaker and listener is footing. The concept of production

(speaker's talk) and reception (listener's interpretation) unfolds the dense layers to clarify a talk. Goffman (1979) explains further that interaction does not contain language only but many non-verbal signals including body language, posture, gesture, glance etc. are also important and must be deciphered for comprehensive understanding of a talk. According to the notion of footing, participants align themselves through their code choices to get different positioning in the interaction. It is not only that the speaker changes footing; rather they imbed one footing within another, and, by doing so, create multiple socio-linguistic identities (Goffman, 1979). Goffman (1979) considers codeswitching as an example of footing shifts and calls code-switching a "changing available hats" to signal different positioning of speaker and listener (p. 145). Crucially, the study of footing helps us to understand a speaker's intentions, based on their use of code-switching.

In 1982, Gumperz redefined his theory on code-switching and instead of *situational or metaphorical code-switching* he called it *conversational code-switching* focusing on interactions to identify the functions of code-switching. The same concept was further clarified by Auer (1988) in his research on Italian-German use by Italian immigrants (cf. section 3.4.2). In the same decade, another important work by Monica Heller (1988) investigated code-switching from ethnographic and sociolinguistic perspectives. She propounds that code-switching is a political strategy used to impose power over interlocutors. In the same decade, Poplack (1980) was the first who investigated the structural aspects of code-switching and determined the grammatical constraints related to speakers' use of code-switching, while Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) proposed a Dual Structure Principle which explains that code-switching follows the structure of the host language, and the embedded segments retain the structure of the guest language. Around the same time, psycholinguists (e.g. Clyne, 1980, Grosjean, 1982) investigated the cognitive mechanisms affecting how two languages are used in spoken production.

In the 90s, Myers-Scotton (1993a) investigated code-switching in Kenya where speakers use English and Swahili as the official languages together with one ethnic language (e.g. Shona). Code-switching in which more than two languages are involved is known as *multilingual switching*. In this same decade linguistic scholars turned their focus from generic codeswitching to use of code-switching for pedagogical learning tool. In this regard, researchers (e.g. Adendroff, 1993; Martin-Jones, 1995; Zentella, 1997; and Cole, 1998) argued that the mixed-

language classroom environment represents a bridge from the known (native language) to the unknown (the new language content).

The research on code-switching as a language learning tool continued from 2000 onwards. ELT scholars (e.g. Ncoko et al., 2000; Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001; Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen, 2003 and Sert, 2005) investigated code-switching from the students' perspective in terms of a more effective way of learning a new language. In the same decade, other sociolinguistic scholars following Myers-Scottons' (1993a) footsteps, investigated code-switching in three languages and coined a new term: *trilingual code-switching*. Hoffmann (2001) studied trilingual code-switching in German, Spanish and English on her children; Wei (2002) analysed trilingual code-switching involving English, Chinese and Japanese in America and they concluded that trilingual code-switching demands learners' advanced linguistic competence to exploit the typological efficiency of three independent linguistic systems (Hoffman, 2001; Wei, 2002). Wei (2002) suggests that generally, trilingual switching runs parallel with bilingual switching though low in frequency compared to bilingual code-switching.

The research on trilingual code-switching continues in the second decade of 2010. The major work on trilingual code-switching was conducted by Rubino (2014) who investigated the construction of social identity through language alternation in Italian, Sicilian and English among Italian immigrants in Australia. Investigating the informal interactions of two families, Rubino observed first and second generation immigrant's speech and focused on code-switching as a tool used to construct social identity. Sicilian (as a dialect of Italian) functioned as a tool for family bonding, while Italian was used in a wider range of circumstances in communication with members of their social circle. She concludes that in the family talk the Italian and Sicilian are important components in the construction of their Italian identity.

In recent years, research on *code-switching* has led to the coining of a new term within bilingual pedagogical practice; *translanguaging* introduced by Garcia and Wei (2014-15) and explained further by Garcia (1988-2017). This refers to "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence" which allows learners to use certain forms of one language or another, thus exploiting their wide linguistic competence (Othgur, et al, 2015, p.283). Similar to code-switching, the process of translanguaging involves a shift of language; however, *code-switching* is deemed to arise from speakers' socioeconomic motivations, while in

*translanguaging*, the purpose of switching languages is to achieve a defined pedagogical learning (Garcia and Wei, 2015). Another difference between code-switching and translanguaging is that the latter involves the use of two separate languages whereas the former refers to the process of learning languages (Garcia and Wei, 2015). Hence, unlike *code-switching*, *translanguaging* is about “the speakers’ construction that creates the complete language repertoire” (Coronel- Molina and Samuelson, 2016, p. 3).

In the current period, research on the use of code-switching is evolving as a major field in Sociolinguistics, Anthropology, Psycholinguistics and language teaching and a considerable work is being produced to fully understand code-switching as social and psychological phenomenon and a language learning strategy.

### **3.3 Terminology issues**

In linguistics, *code* refers to ‘languages, dialects, styles of speech’; while *switch* refers to an alternation or change between varieties of languages, dialects or styles (Gardener-Chloros, 2009, p. 11). In code-switching research scholars use various nomenclatures such as *codes-switching*, *code-mixing* and *borrowing*. However, many of these terms overlap which adds an element of vagueness when attempting to understand switching from one language to another. Therefore, common agreement upon one definition does not exist and so, the following section explains the various terms used in the present study in order to clarify this area.

#### **3.3.1. Code-switching and code-mixing**

Little consensus is found on terminology issues involving code-switching. Scholars (e.g. Gumperz, 1957-82; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1979; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Wei Li, 2000; Rubino, 2014 and Schmidt, 2014) have used the term *code-switching* and define it as shifts in spoken language both *across* as well as *within* sentence boundaries. The same phenomenon is called *code-mixing* by Auer (1984); Muysken (1987); Romaine (1989); Gardner (1991); Milroy (1987) and Hoffman (2001). However, scholars such as Poplack (1980), Kachru (1983), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Bokamba (1989), and Hamers and Blanc (1990) interpret code-switching and code-mixing as two distinct phenomena. They refer to *code-mixing* when shifts in language use occur *within* a sentence boundary, contrasted with *code-switching*, which

they ascribe to switching *across* sentence boundaries (Hoffman, 2001). Yet, this is still an area of dispute; as to whether shifts in speakers' language *between* sentence boundaries compared to shifts *within* sentence boundaries can be, in fact, considered the same phenomenon. Thus, this is where the ambiguity in defining code-switching terminology originates.

Therefore, in order to resolve this ambiguity, using code-switching as a catch-all term for both code-switching and code-mixing, Gumperz (1982) defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59). Gardner-Chloros (2009) views code-switching as the use of more than one language in the same turn by bilingual speakers. Myers-Scotton (1998, p. 3) considers it a form of communication indexing the “separate languages, dialects of a single language, to style [formal or informal] within a single dialect”. Scotton and Ury (1977) and Wardhaugh (2010) view code-switching as the alternation of two or more linguistic varieties people employ for communication in a multilingual setting. Likewise, for the same phenomenon Auer (1999) Romaine (1989), Gardner (2009) use the term *code-mixing* for shifts between languages.

Kachru (1983) is at the forefront when distinguishing *code-switching* from *code-mixing* on the basis of social motivations. He states that *code-switching* is a process of switching from code A to code B bound by ‘the functions, the situation and the participants’; and *code-mixing* “entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another” (Kachru, 1978, p.108). In the same vein, Bokamba (1989) presents a more comprehensive distinction between code-switching and code-mixing:

[*code-switching* is] the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within same speech event (...) *code-mixing* is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical (sub-) systems within the same sentence and speech event” (p. 278).

A similar distinction is propounded by Crystal (1995), who states when a bilingual speaker alternates between two languages, this constitutes code-switching and when a bilingual transfers linguistic items into another language, this is code-mixing. In the current study, Singh's (1982)

definition is used. This states that *code-mixing* is the complete integration of the syntactic rules of the languages involved, whereas code-switching does not require integration; rather it is an alternation from one language to another (Grojean, 2010).

### 3.3.2 Lexical borrowing

While the terminological issues between code-switching and code-mixing are still to be resolved, linguists agree, to some extent, on the definition of borrowing, also known as lexical borrowing and loan borrowing, which is the vocabulary from other languages that is integrated in the “phonological, morphological and syntactic nativization rules of the recipient language” (Muysken, 1995, p. 1990). Elaborating difference between code-switching and borrowing Gumperz (1982), Romaine (1989) and Poplack (1980) view that functionally, unlike code-switching and code-mixing, lexical borrowing generally fill gaps in the lexicon of the host language in the absence of equivalents. Other area of difference is that lexical borrowing is a grammatical integration, while code-switching is the intentional or unintentional process of “switching internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Poplack and Meechan (1995, p. 200) distinguish code-switching and loan borrowing as:

*Code-switching* may be defined as the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language (...) *borrowing* is the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually phonological) patterns of the recipient language.

Hudson states that “code-switching and code mixing involve mixing language in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems” (1996, p. 55). Kamwangamalu (1992) argues that borrowed words are socially accepted vocabulary while code-switching does not have these attributes. However Myers-Scotton (2002) disagrees that borrowed items fill lexical gaps in absence of an equivalent, rather she suggests that frequency of the use of a foreign word is the single criterion to claim any word as a borrowed item because, due to frequent use, the foreign

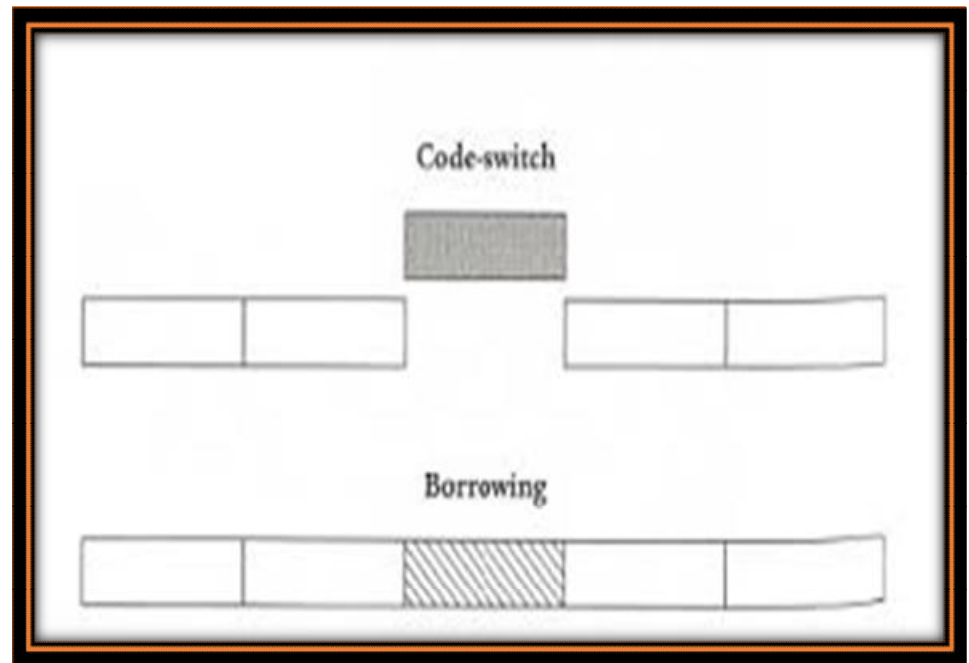


vocabulary can be integrated into the recipient language. Contradicting Myers Scotton's view that speakers' degree of linguistic competence is the sole criterion for lexical borrowing, Romaine (1989) states that lexical borrowing is a more easily used strategy even by monolinguals, whereas code-switching requires "some degree of linguistic competence in the two languages" (p. 114). Reviewing her point, Myers-Scotton along with Jake (2000) state that in a bilingual or multilingual speech, a proficient speaker can produce a sufficient grammatical structure in the base or matrix language (ML) inserting one or two other languages. This is considered *classical code-switching*. On the contrary, the speakers with less linguistic competence in the target language insert part of the abstract structure from one language and part from another which is known as *composite code-switching* (Myers Scotton and Jake, 2000, p. 2). Appel and Muysken (1987, p.173) argue that "the distinction has a theoretical basis in the difference between the use of two systems (mixing) and adoption into a system (borrowing)". Poplack (1980) considers the number of language items which are embedded as the criterion of differentiation. She states that lexical borrowing is the integration of single loanwords from one language to another while code-switching is the use of two or more languages over a longer unit of speech in a single utterance (Poplack, 1980). However, Poplack's definition is not applicable to all languages. For example, in Pakistan, code-switching, like loan borrowing, at word-level is more common than the use of switching using longer-units such as phrases (cf. Chapter Five). Romaine, who, on the basis of her research on Punjabi-English research, states that "the different language contact phenomena (code-switching, code-mixing, lexical borrowing) should be thought of as constituting a continuum ranging from the whole sentences, clauses, other chunks of discourse to single words" (1989, p. 114). However, Pfaff (1979) and Auer (2005) reject this idea of a continuum as the criterion to distinguish code-switching from lexical borrowing. They assert that if the base language has an equivalent of the adapted lexical item, then it is not considered borrowing rather it is demonstrably code-switching.

Grosjean (2010) illustrates the difference between code-switching and lexical borrowing in Figure 3.2 below:

Figure 3.2

### The difference between code-switching and borrowing



(Adapted from Grosjean, 2010, p. 58)

This figure highlights that code-switching is the temporary shifting of lexical items from one language to another and it acts as an independent unit in the base language. On the other hand, borrowing is the assimilation of foreign lexical items into the recipient language which acts as an integral part of the recipient language (Grosjean, 2010). To explain lexical borrowing in more depth, the ground-breaking work of Haugen (1950, p. 212) is important as lexical borrowing is viewed in terms of *loanwords* divided into *importation* and *substitution* (Capitals in the original):

If a loan is similar enough to the model (...) the borrowing speaker may be said to have IMPORTED in that language. But insofar as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has SUBSTITUTED a similar pattern from [the recipient language].

This definition indicates that *imported* borrowings bring a particular pattern into the recipient language while *substituted* borrowing replaces part of a loanword together with the native pattern of the recipient language (Haugen, 1950). The terms *importation* and *substitution* are closely related to *borrowing* and *code-switching* in which, unlike code-switching, as discussed earlier, loan borrowed items integrate syntactically and phonetically into the recipient language.

The phenomenon of loan borrowing has also been investigated from a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The diachronic perspective investigates its historical development and the classification of borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman, 2001). Gumperz (1982) stresses the historical development of lexical items. Myers-Scotton (1993 and 2002) investigated borrowing by exploring external factors and the social norms of speech communities. Considering the social perspective Romaine (1989) states that most borrowing manifests as code-switching by fluent and elite-class bilinguals who insert lexical items from prestigious languages into local languages to appear fashionable or as a sign of their social status or power. As a consequence, following this example, members of the lower classes tend to imitate this elite speaking style, and, with the passage of time, the inserted items are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host language (Bloomfield, 1933, Romaine, 1989, Heller, 1988).

The synchronic perspective, on the other hand, explains the grammar constraints, phonological, syntactic and morphological integration of such borrowed words in the recipient language. Appel and Muysken (1987, p. 172) observe that borrowing depends on *paradigmatic coherence* and *syntagmatic coherence* relations of the recipient and donor languages: This *paradigmatic coherence* is due to the strict organisation of a given subcategory. For example, in English, the pronoun system is tightly organised, and it is difficult to imagine the English language borrowing a new pronoun to create a second person dual pronoun (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 172). Similarly, it is rare to borrow determiners, pronouns, demonstratives or paradigmatically organised words. On the other hand “*syntagmatic coherence* has to do with the organisation of the sentence: a verb is more crucial to that organisation than a noun, and perhaps, therefore, it is harder to borrow verbs than nouns” (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 172). Likewise in Pakistani languages including Sindhi, verbs are very much regular in nature. Few English verbs are borrowed due to their irregular nature. Borrowing relates mostly to the first form of the verb (cf. section 5.3). Thus, due to the *paradigmatic coherence* and *syntagmatic coherence*, some lexical items are more frequently borrowed than others.

Similar views are held by Romaine (1989) who states that semantic and phonetic similarities between donor and recipient languages make lexical borrowing smoother due to fewer violations of the syntactical rules of both languages. For example, German and English are semantically and phonetically related, and, therefore, generally speaking, borrowing between these languages is easily achieved. Similarly, Pakistani languages such as Urdu, Sindhi and Sindhi-Seraiki have semantic and phonetic resemblances, thus allowing convenient borrowing between these languages without defying the grammatical rules of either language. In recent years the work of Windford (2013) expands the interpretation of lexical borrowing to view it as a psycholinguistic mechanism by which speakers introduce material from an external language into a language in which they are (more) proficient (p, 172). Windford states that “borrowing typically involves vocabulary, though some degree of structural borrowing is also possible (2013, p, 171).

Combining both the diachronic and synchronic approaches, Poplack and Sankoff (1984) and Thomason and Kaufman (2001) adopt a midway position, focusing on the grammatical constraints as well as the social correlations of the borrowing process and argue that it is not only the various grammar rules which facilitate or restrict the acceptance of loanword borrowing but socio-cultural conditions also play an important role in this process.

Focusing on the phonology of borrowed vocabulary Poplack et al. (1988) consider the length of time of borrowing as a significant factor in phonological adaptation. Compared to new borrowing, older borrowed vocabulary usually loses its’ original sound and is completely integrated into the phonological system of the recipient language (Poplack, et al, 1988). Similar are the views of Compbell (2004) about phonology of borrowed vocabulary. She states that generally there is a disorderly substitution of sounds of borrowed vocabulary due to the time difference between lexical borrowing and phonological borrowing. Lexical borrowing takes place prior to incorporation of sound of borrowed item. Generally, lexical borrowing follows the rules of orthography and adapted foreign vocabulary according to the spelling conventions phonology of the recipient language (Compbell, 2004).

In light of the above discussion, it can be summarised that traditionally, code-switching and code-mixing can be considered to be the use of temporary and structurally non-integrated linguistic items whereas loan borrowing, morphologically, and, on occasion, phonetically, involves integration into the host language.

### 3.4 Types of lexical borrowing

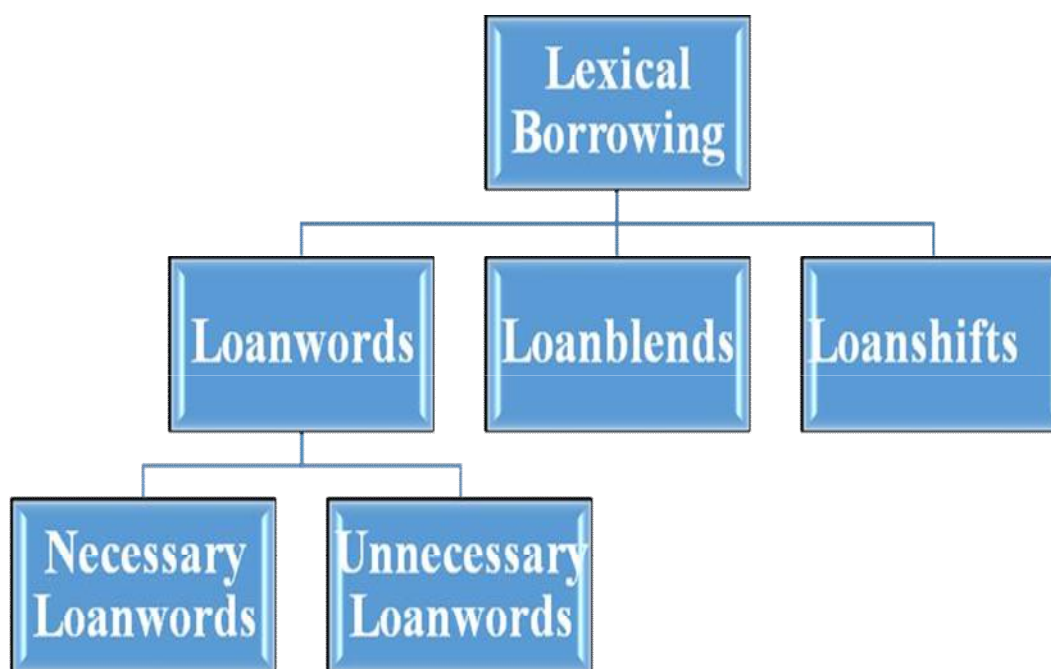
After distinguishing between code-switching and loan borrowing, it is important to shed some light on the study of the different types of lexical borrowing, because in Pakistan, a huge English vocabulary has been borrowed as established *loan borrowing* and *nonce borrowing* (as explained earlier in this section) which may appear as code-switching or code-mixing to a non-native-speaker. It is, therefore, predictable that the data may display frequent use of different types of borrowed vocabulary.

There is a lack of unified terminology to define the different types of lexical borrowing. Bloomfield (1933) classified borrowing into *dialect borrowing* and *cultural borrowing*. In dialect borrowing “the borrowed features come from the same speech-area”, for example, in the words *father* (/f :ð /) and *rather* (/r :ð /) the *a* sound is uttered in differently with /a/ and / / in different dialects (p. 444). On the contrary, in *cultural borrowing* “the borrowed features come from the different language”, e.g. *spaghetti* (sp ti /) is an example of cultural borrowing of the lexical item from Italian into English (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 444). Thus, cultural borrowing is either one-sided or reciprocal, e.g. when various linguistic communities live together, they borrow from each other’s languages, however, when one sided borrowing takes place from a culturally, politically or economically dominant language into a less prestigious language, this is called *intimate borrowing* (Bloomfield 1933, p. 461).

The landmark study on borrowing was carried out by Haugen (1950) who defined three kinds of borrowing using morphemic and phonemic substitution criteria *loanwords*, *loanblends* and *loanshifts* as created in the Figure: 3.3.

Figure 3.3

### Types of Lexical Borrowing (Haugen, 1950)



Haugen (1950) argues that generally, *loanwords* are comprised of nouns, adjectives, and exclamatory vocabulary which have less structural constraints on borrowing and are flexible in structure allowing them to integrate phonologically and morphologically into the recipient language. He sub-categorises the loanwords into *necessary loanwords* and *unnecessary loanwords* (Haugen (1950)). *Necessary loanword* borrowing occurs in the absence of equivalent items. For example, words such as *oxygen*, *T.V.* and *computer* are necessary loanwords in Sindhi in the absence of equivalent vocabulary. The *unnecessary loanword* borrowing is the use of a foreign vocabulary item in the presence of equivalent within the recipient language (Haugen, 1950, p. 220). This borrowing is common in Sindhi. For example, English words like *suit* (libass), *drawing-room* (oataq), *thanks* (meherbani), etc. are frequently used in the presence of equivalents as a sign of social status or fashion (Pirzado, 2009). The second type of borrowing, *loanblending*, exhibits morphemic substitution as well as importation. It includes hybrids or

mixed compounds by blending part of the original and borrowed words and phonemes (Haugen, 1950). For example, in the word *co-worker*, the Latin prefix *co* is blended with the English noun *work* plus the suffix – *er* to denote a synonym for *colleague* (Haugen, 1950, p. 178). Most of the time, such hybrids are formed as a single or compound word and phrase. For instance, in Sindhi, *Sindhism* is the blending of the Sindhi noun *Sindh* and the English morpheme *ism*, while compound word such as *food-melo* (food-festival) is coined by blending of the English noun *food* and the Sindhi noun *melo*. The blending of these two different languages to coin a new word carries the properties of both languages involved in the blending, generating a separate, new, third language with a new meaning (Auer, 2005, p. 407). The third kind of *loanshift* refers to the semantic extension of a foreign word without importation into the host language (Haugen, 1950). For example, the German word *magasin* (meaning *storeroom*) is used for *magazine* in Australia (Haugen, 1950). Similarly, in Sindhi, the English word *clock* is semantically extended to *kelaak* (/kela:k/) which means *hour*. Similarly, by extending the English word *shop*, a new word *shopper* (shopping-bag) was coined in Sindhi (cf. Chapter Six).

Myers-Scotton (2005) explains two kinds of borrowing: *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing*. *Cultural borrowing* refers to the adaptation of foreign vocabulary to host culture in the absence of equivalents. For instance, Sindhi adapted English words such as *pizza*, *hard-disk*, *oxygen*, *gas* etc. in order to be able to express the new concepts in IT, medicine, food, etc. On the other hand, *core borrowing* is “more or less duplicate words already existing in the L1” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 239). For instance, in Sindhi, *tikka-band* is the equivalent of the English word *burger*, but the English borrowing is more frequent. The reason for this may be the popularity of foreign-food chains and franchises such as KFC, Pizza Hut, McDonald's etc., for which it is fashionable to borrow from prestigious languages (Pirzado, 2009). Hence, core borrowings refer to borrowed items that have ‘viable’ equivalents in the recipient language and this goes beyond the needs of the speaker (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 169). Considering the factor of time, Myers-Scotton states that core borrowing is “falling along a continuum” becoming a cultural borrowing when it is frequently in use (1992, p. 30).

Poplack and Sankoff (1984) suggest two kinds of borrowing: *established borrowing* and *nonce borrowing*. Established borrowing involves using regular conventionalized vocabulary in the absence of their equivalents which are fully integrated into the recipient language; losing their original phonological and morphological features (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984, p. 12). For

instance, in Sindhi, the pronunciation of the English borrowed word *effect* / f kt/ is uttered as /e fakt/ and from this word *effectee* /e fakti / is coined. The second, *nonce borrowing*, a term adapted from Weinreich (1953), refers to the vocabulary that neither falls in the category of code-switching nor borrowing. Hence, “nonce borrowings are not necessarily recurrent or widely recognised in the community as loanwords” rather, they resemble code-switching (Poplack et al, 1988, p. 12).

Myers-Scotton (1993a) rejects the concept of nonce borrowing and states that many speech communities use unmarked (expected) code-switching which lexically, morphologically, phonologically and syntactically is not integrated into the recipient language and cannot be considered to be lexical borrowing. Myers-Scotton (1993a) explains that *unmarked code* expected and it is accepted by a speech community. Winford explains the period of time between the first occurrence of a foreign word and it qualifying as a loanword in dictionary via the process of (i) language maintenance, (ii) language shift, and (iii) language creation (2003, p. 22). In the first stage, the language community maintains their first language (L1). In the second stage, the language community no longer uses the equivalent vocabulary of their L1 and shifts to the borrowed vocabulary (nonce borrowing). In the last stage, the borrowed word is either used in native creations, hybrid creations or creations using only foreign morphemes (Winford, 2003).

Considering the above discussion, it is concluded that the degree of integration of borrowed lexis into the host language is the main feature to distinguish between code-switching and code mixing and appropriate borrowing depends on the semantic and phonetic similarities of the items in the recipient and borrowed languages.

### **3.5 Theories and approaches, functions, and factors related to code-switching**

Code-switching can be investigated via three different perspectives: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and structural. Sociolinguistics investigates the social motivations driving speaker’s use of code-switching. Psycholinguistics focuses on the cognitive aspects of codeswitching, and a structural approach entails investigating the grammatical rules that combine the different languages in switching. In the current study, both the sociolinguistic and structural approaches are highly relevant and are discussed in the following sections.



### **3.5.1 The sociolinguistic approach**

Sociolinguists consider code-switching to be social language behaviour that reflects the socio-cultural and linguistic norms of speakers and their speech community. Here, the speech community refers to a group of people sharing a common language or dialect (Gumperz, 1982). The sociolinguistic focus is on speakers' language choices, speakers' consideration of their interlocutors and the social conditions where bilinguals choose to employ code-switching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). For sociolinguists, shifts in code represent a social process and speakers are social actors who, by changing code, alter their social boundaries and interpersonal relationships (Wei, 2009, Schmidt, 2014). The sociolinguistic approach is executed at the macro and micro level. The micro approach focuses on the interpersonal relationships between the speaker and the interlocutor and macro approach analyses the broader functions of code-switching in a social context within a speech community. The sociolinguistic investigation of code-switching can be divided into three schools of thought:

- (i) Code-switching as a social practice.
- (ii) Code-switching in terms of conversation analysis.
- (iii) Code-switching as a social process.

Each school of thought is described in detail in the following sections.

#### **3.5.1.1 Code-switching as social practice**

The first school of thought, represented by Blom and Gumperz, (1972), Gumperz (1982), Myers-Scotton (1993a), Romaine (1989) etc. investigate code-switching in a bilingual or multilingual discourse considering the speaker; their interlocutors; the physical setting; the conversational style (i.e. formal or informal) and the topics of discussion as the main factors. In this school of thought, the influential work is carried out by Gumperz (1956-2000) who refers code-switching as a linguistic property of monolinguals, bilingual and multilingual society. It is a rule-governed process to achieve particular social functions. In a study on code-switching in the monolingual

society in India, as explained earlier, Gumperz (1958) recorded different linguistic varieties of regional and standard dialects and discovered that the male population frequently uses a local dialect at home or in informal settings and the standard dialect is reserved for formal interactions (e.g. in the workplace, formal meeting, etc.). In another landmark study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) explored the use of code-switching between the standard dialect Bokmål and the local dialect Ranamål in Norway. Their findings suggest that although both dialects have great similarities, they are used in different contexts depending on the functions of interaction. These functions are divided into two broad categories: *situational code-switching* and *metaphorical code-switching*.

*Situational code-switching* is “a simple, almost one-to-one relationship between language use and social context” and it occurs when there is a change of topic, setting or participants (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61). Blom and Gumperz (1972) illustrated an example of an interaction between the clerks and residents at a community office in Norway. Both used standard Bokmål when discussing official affairs but switched into local Ranamål when they talked informally on family issues. In this situation, the change in code is signaling a shift in their roles from employees to friends (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). The speaker determines the situation, the interlocutor and the topic, and uses the most appropriate code. Along the same line, Blom and Gumperz (1972) illustrated another example, in a school in Hemnesberget, Norway, where the teacher used standard dialect Bokmål in the lecture, but during open discussion encouraged both Bokmål and Ranamål dialects. This change in code choices from formal to informal or vice versa in a conversation is a predictable feature in the Hemnesberget community that specifies the social relationships of the participants and their expectations, or ‘*Rights and Obligations*’ (RO) (Gumperz, 1982). “RO is the change in language, postures and channel clues: stress, hesitation or shift from grammar A to B is the indications of participants’ definition of each other’s right and obligations” (Blom and Gumperz, 2000, p. 126). In other words, RO indicates the relationship between language choice and social situation which is either expected or unexpected and a violation of the RO may lead to the conversation being terminate (Blom and Gumperz, 2000). Situational code-switching mostly occurs without changing the base language, as in the school example where the learners were allowed to employ local dialects although Bokmål remained the main language of the lecture and discussion. Hence, situational code-switching depends on the particular situation and the speech event (Schmidt, 2014).

The second type of code-switching, *metaphorical*, on the other hand occurs when there is no change in the situation rather the change in the language is intentional and it has an oblique message or symbolic connotation depending on the speaker's decision to use marked (unexpected) codes in situations where normally another language is operated (Gumperz, 1982). The marked refers to rhetorical effect and conveys the "special social meaning of confidentiality and privateness to the conversation" and it becomes a metaphor to interpret and unfold the implicit meaning (Blom and Gumperz, 2000, p. 127). The "metaphorical switching enriches a situation by allowing for allusion in more than one social relationship within the situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p. 408). Accordingly, Gumperz (1982, p. 61) distinguishes situational code-switching from metaphorical code-switching. In situational code-switching, external factors such as setting, topic, and changes in the linguistic situation (i.e. speakers of other languages joining a conversation) are the main motivational factors. While in metaphorical settings, the speakers themselves are the 'prime cause' of code-switching and "it is related to individual's perception of presentation of himself in relation to the external factors like setting, topic and change in situation" (Bassiouney, 2006, p. 156).

Myers-Scotton (1993a) criticised the notions of *situational and metaphorical code-switching* on taxonomic grounds and states that both types perform similar functions. She introduces the difference in terms of *marked* (unexpected) and *unmarked* (expected) *code-switching* in her Markedness Model (MM) of code-switching. Myers-Scotton suggests when a multilingual speaker responding to a change of situation uses *unmarked code*, this is similar to *situational code-switching*, however, when speakers "choose the form [*marked code*] of your conversational contribution such that it symbolizes a set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (1993a, p. 116). This is similar to *metaphorical switching*. The MM model explains the fact that multilingual speakers are aware of the social norms in terms of the choice of code/s in their speech community "what the community predict[s] is unmarked, what is not predicted is marked" (Myers-Scotton 1993a, p. 5). Knowledge about the prevailing social norms in a social interaction is an 'innate human language faculty' that enables them to assess the acceptability, and conceptualise the marked or unmarked code in a given context, hence, the speakers' choice of code is according to their rights and obligation which indicate their attitudes and expectations to each other based on social

norms (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, pp. 79-80). The mutual agreement and awareness of linguistic conventions allow speakers to distinguish between expected or unexpected code.

The MM model was criticized by Auer (1998, 2004) and Wei (2000-2005) on the ground that it fails to consider the speakers' perspective as the motivational force behind their use of code-switching. Myers-Scotton (2002) addressed this criticism and has re-defined the MM model in the *rational choice model* focusing on the speakers' "subjective motivations and their objective opportunities in their language choice" (p. 5). This model states that the code-switching users are conscious and rational agents, and, when using their cognitive abilities, are able to calculate the choices that offer the best communicative reward. Myers-Scotton states that the code-switcher is a 'goal-directed actor' as well as a *creative actor* because he can easily switch to unmarked code as a safe shelter but assess the costs and rewards of doing so when using marked code (Myers-Scotton, 2002). However, it is not always compulsory that code-switching is socially motivated, rather in a multilingual society, code-switching works as the norm and acts as the unmarked feature in interactions (Myers Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001).

The related concept of *social approval* in the code-switching process was investigated in Milroy's (1987) *social network theory* in a seminal study in Belfast where he measured the social networks of individuals according to the *Network strength score* (NSS). NSS describes the strength of individuals' ties to their local area, as the "social network is the boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another however remotely" (Milroy and Milroy, 1992, p. 5). The findings of this study reveal that the individuals' strong ties with local areas exhibit high NSS while those with weaker ties and social networks, a low NSS. The weak or strong network tie is an important predictor of language change because a close-knit or strong social network acts as a 'normenforcing mechanism' strengthens speaker's conventional linguistic behaviour due to the lower interaction with other speech communities (Milroy and Milroy, 1992, p. 15). Contrary, a weak social network is "open to the external influences and so linguistic change will be facilitated" (Milroy and Milroy, 1992, p. 16). Thus, mobility within one's social circle, intercultural links and cultural pluralism are also crucial factors in code-switching. While majority scholars consider, speech community, situation, topic, interlocutor and speaker's intention his linguistic competence, sociolinguistic main factors the scholars (e.g. McClure, 1981; Zentella, 1997; Schmidt, 2014; etc.) also propose that language

preference, social identity, participants' gender and age can also be influential factors in a code-switching situation.

### 3.5.1.2 Conversational Analysis

In sociolinguistics, a second school of thought investigates code-switching in terms of *conversation analysis* (CA) also known as *conversational code-switching*. When Blom and Gumperz's *situational* and *metaphorical code-switching* were criticised then Gumperz (1982) modified his notion of code-switching by avoiding the *situational* and *metaphorical code-switching* taxonomy, and instead, uses the general term *conversational code-switching* which is more complex since it focuses on particular language choices in a specific setting and topic as well as speaker's language strategies used in their communicative efforts. In *conversational code-switching*, Gumperz (1982) introduces the notion of *contextualization cues* which focuses on the brief, spoken interaction as a way of identifying the functions of code-switching. Gumperz defines cues in the following definition:

A contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions. Although such cues carry information, meanings are conveyed as part of the interactive process (1982, p. 131).

The *contextualization cues* may be prosodic, extra-linguistic, syntactic, lexical or stylistic and they convey the social signals about the attitude and mood of the speaker such as anger, warning, attracting attention, and establishing identity. Such cues facilitate interaction in "which speakers signal[s] and listener interpret[s] what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 131). Gumperz (1982) refers to code-switching as a global, social, metaphorical and local discourse in which the speaker employs distinct language varieties in specific settings such as informal, and informal. Hence, code-switching is a "socially agreed matrix of contextualization cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees, in the course of ongoing interaction, to the social and situational context of the conversation" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 132). Ideally, addressee actively infers the intention of the speaker's switching and responds to it appropriately (Gumperz, 1982). Hence, contextualization cues are the clusters of signs used in a speech act that collectively index a frame of interpretation of an utterance (Gumperz, 1982).

The *contextualization cues* have also come under fire by Myers-Scotton (1993a). She points out that language is a dynamic tool but Gumperz had confined the functions of code-switching to the linguistic competence of bilinguals. However, Auer (1984-2005) and Wei (2002) using the term *conversation analysis*’ broaden the concept of CA. They believe that structural and sociolinguistic approaches leave a gap in the understanding of code-switching because a structuralist focuses on language-internal factors while the sociolinguistic analyses language-external factors. CA can be used to bridge the gap by focusing on why code-switching occurs and how it occurs (Auer, 1995). Using *code alternation* instead of *code-switching*, Auer expanded the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching by focusing on the *contextualization cues* as a turn-by-turn analysis of code-switching, which, according to Auer, is strongly related to patterns of language choice (1995, p. 116). Auer argues that no utterance can be interpreted in a void, but must be taken as an “utterance in a particular locus of occurrence” paying a special focus on the speakers as social actors (1995, p. 334). Central to the CA approach is the notion of sequentiality, i.e. the idea that talk is organised in a step-by-step fashion “any theory of conversational code alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code alternation depends in essential ways on its sequential environment” (Auer, 1995, p. 116).

Hence, focusing on the structure of a particular interaction, one can assess its social meaning from the choice of language used. However, Auer’s notion of CA focuses on language alternation at the micro level by paying attention to the speakers’ intentions and ignoring the social aspects of code-switching. On this ground, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) criticise CA for its overwhelming emphasis on sequencing, ignoring the social motivations and identities of the participants. Wei (2005, p. 382) defends the micro state position and views CA as emphasising the code-switchers as well in that CA is interested in “how the interactions are presented, understood, accepted, rejected or changed in the process of interaction”(2005, p. 382). Adapting the *brought along* and *brought about* concept from Zimmerman (1998), Martin, et al (1995), Auer (1995) and Wei (2002) explains that all social-motivation-based theories analyse languages involved in code-switching as socialsymbolic, hence they are *brought along* to the interpretation of the codes that pre-exist social association (p. 167). While the “CA approach stresses the *emergent* character of meaning: meaning emerges as a consequence of bilingual participants’ contextualization work and thus is *brought about* by speakers through the very act

of code-switching” (Wei, 2002, p. 167). The *brought along* notion indicates the code that indexes speaker’s identity and the *brought about* indicates speaker’s language choices for code-switching (Auer, 1995 and Wei 2002). This makes CA an effective method for examining the techniques of code-switching in a bilingual speech.

### 3.5.1.3 Code-switching as a social process

In the sociolinguistic approach the third school of thought takes code-switching as a language politic; contemplating code-switching as a social process of negotiation to express power, authority, resistance, anger, hegemony etc. Such scholars as Bourdieu (1977); Gal (1979); Gumperz and Gumperz (1982); Woolard (1988); Heller (1988); Zentella (1990); Blommaert (1992) etc. analyse code-switching as a “boundary-leveling and boundarymaintaining strategy” in the multilingual societies (Heller, 1988, p. 1).

An influential contributor in this area is Bourdieu (1977, 1991) who considers language choice as a strategic tool to exert power. Being an economist, he introduces the concept of *linguistic resource* (language availability), *symbolic marketing* (status of a language in the society) and *capital* (dominated language). Bourdieu contends that the “value of a particular language variety in a symbolic market place derives from its legitimating by the dominant group and the dominant society” (1991, p. 163). He further states that overall one dialect is officially legitimised and imposed on others. Woolard (1998) also has similar views and states that the imposed language belongs to the dominant social class and is considered superior while the language of the suppressed class is viewed as inferior. Such a situation does not go unchallenged but is often resisted by suppressed group who considers their language as their ethnic identity (Gal, 1979). Strongly influenced by Bourdieu, Heller (1988) explains that the presence or absence of a *capital code* is related to the unnatural distribution of linguistic resources. Those who have more access to highly valued languages are able to control and exploit this valuable linguistic resource to gain socioeconomic status while others are deprived (Heller, 1988).

Espousing a similar notion, McClure and McClure (1988) suggest that it is important that before understanding the phenomenon of code-switching, analysing the socioeconomic difference between groups. Gal (1979) linking language with history and politics states that to understand the functions of code-switching, it is important to know the past and present status of the group

or speech community. Myers-Scotton goes a step further, illustrating six historical and political factors involved in the linguistic atrocities: i) military invasions and subsequent colonisation have given the rise to the language of conquerors. The development and position of English is the result of such military invasions; ii) the ethno-linguistic enclave is another factor in which the different ethnic communities live near the borders; iii) if speakers' language of education is different from L1, they switch from L1 to the academic language; iv) the spread of one language as a *lingua franca* at the local or international level, as English is, increases the pressure on other language speakers to switch the code-switching; v) some ethnic groups preserve their own language for identity and switch their language along with the national language gives birth to code-switching.; vi) immigrants learn the language of their host and switching occurs.

In the same way, Zentella (1997) investigated the linguistic features of lower-working-class and non-white communities highlighting the indiscriminate colonial language policies. This social process is linked to Gumperz's (1982) notion of *we* and *they* code which are used as the tools for ethnic, cultural and social bifurcation as explained in section 3.4.2.4. One such situation is the minority group switches to the linguistic features of the majority group (Gumperz, 1982). However, Gumperz' claim is not applicable to all multilingual communities. For example, in Pakistan, especially in urban areas, native bilinguals, who make up 95% of the population, have adopted Urdu, the language of the Indian-Muslim refugees who make up just 5% of the total population, who settled in Pakistan, due to the political and official patronage of Urdu in the country. This is identical to the situation in India where Hindi, the language of the minority, dominates over languages such as Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

In sum, there are many perspectives and approaches to the study of code-switching and the factors which motivate speakers to use it and the functions it fulfills in different contexts. This diversity of approaches should be seen as enriching our understanding of code-switching.

#### **3.5.1.4 The sociolinguistic functions of code-switching**

As already explained in the above sections, Blom and Gumperz (1972) define the two main categories of code-switching. First *situational code-switching* in which the specific situation between interlocutors determines the use of code-switching, and, second, *metaphorical code-switching* which is related to speaker's intentions in terms of expressing shared or conflicting



values with interlocutors. Gumperz (1982, pp. 82-84) further clarifies and enumerates the typology of the metaphorical functions of code-switching: *quotation*; *addressee specification*; *interjection*; *reiteration*; *message qualification and personalization versus objectivization*. Elaborating on each function, Gumperz (1982) states that for *quotation*, speakers mostly switch to their original languages word for word to report exactly what was said. Thus, in quotation, code-switching is a “narrative device used to offset the quotation from the matrix in which it is embedded” (Sebba and Wootton, 1998, p. 274). Quotation may be used to report speech in which a speaker is hypothesising which language the person would use and switches to that language (Halmari, 1997). In both situations, by changing code, the speaker changes the role; in the first instance, changing from speaker to author, and later, changing from author to animator, demonstrating a dual identity – the original identity of the speaker and own identity as a creative actor (Goffman, 1979). A similar view is explained by Bakhtin (1984), who states that when speakers reproduce a particular utterance by shifting into the quotee’s original language, this is known as *double voicing* which is “inserting a new semantic intension into a discourse which already has, and retains, an intention of its own” (p. 105). Hence, in a single discourse, two semantic intentions appear as *two voices*, referring to the additional voice of the quotee’s recognised stereotypical identity which is different from the speaker’s own identity (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 105).

The second function of code-switching is the *addressee specification* when a speaker switches to the language the interlocutor knows in order to build rapport and create an ingroup association (Gumperz, 1982). However, addressee specification can also be used to exclude someone by switching into a language that only a particular interlocutor understands (Romaine 1995, p. 163). The third function is *interjection* which is used to fill gaps in sentence as well as to provide a means to express aside comments in another language. Poplack (1980), labels aside-comments as *tag-switching* (cf. section 3.4.2.) as indicated in bold in examples 1 and 2 when Sindhi is used as ML:

1.     **I know** ihio shandar ghar ho.  
  
          (I know it was a beautiful home.)
2.     Aoon wayus **but** ho hale waye.

(I went but she left.)

*Reiteration* is another function when code-switching is used for repetition, recycling or translation into another language of what has already been said in order to emphasise, clarify or for self-repair. The following examples are taken from the data of current study. Example (3) indicates the function of reiteration in order to emphasise the point and example (4) displays the use of code-switching for self-repair/clarification:

3. *Koe baat nahee, ache hain.* Sutha ahin. Khaee chad. **Samaosas are tasty.**

(No issue, [Samaosas] are tasty. It is good. Samaosas are tasty.)

4. Subh officer **corruption** nahin. **I mean they are not corrupt.**

(All officers are not corruption. I mean they are not corrupts.)

In example (3) the participant uses code- translated into trilingual code-switching consisting of three languages, Urdu, Sindhi and English, to emphasise her point. Similarly in example (4) recycling occurs from Sindhi to English for self-repair. Auer states that this recycling by using a variety of different languages is ‘quasi-translation’ and is used to add emphasis and mark the speaker’s multilingual identity (1995, p. 120). A similar function is performed in *message qualification* in which the topic is introduced in one language and then qualified in another in order to emphasise or to take the floor as an ‘act of identity’ (Gumperz, 1982, p. 79). This is displayed in the following example (5) when the speaker expresses her point in English and then follows this up by repeating it in Urdu to qualify her statement:

5. **It depend on your mind.** *Her ek kee apnee soch he.*

(It depend[s] on [upon] your mind [way of thinking]. Everyone [has] own thinking.)

The last function of code-switching according to Gumperz (1982) is *personalization versus objectivization* indicating speakers’ involvement in or distance from in an interaction. Blom and Gumperz (1972) illustrate an example in the Ranamål language, a Norwegian dialect, which is more personal, while the use of the Bokmål dialect (the official language and considered a standard dialect) is used to boost social status; indicating objectivization. Further, in another

situation, two speakers use the informal Ranamål dialect during a lunch break as an indicator of informality and personalization. However, the *personalization* versus *objectivization* typology was considered too vague. Therefore, Gumperz (1982) redefined it using the *we-code* and *they-code* typology. Gumperz states that speakers switch codes to create their own (*personalization or we-code*) and their audience's (*objectification or they-code*) identity based on their understanding of situational norms and in order to communicate metaphorical information about how they intend their words to be understood (1982, p. 66). However, Gumperz (1982) confines *we-code* and *they-code* to ethnic identity: "ethnically specified, minority language to be regarded as the *we code* and become associated with in-group informal activities and for the majority language to serve as the *they-code* associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relationship" (p. 66). On the contrary, Sebba and Wooton (1998) state that *we-code* and *they-code* represents a complex form of code-switching which cannot be associated with linguistic similarity or differences but, in certain societies, where instead of two *we-codes* and *they-codes*, more distinct codes are available and speakers manipulate them to form in-group and out-group associations and negotiate multiple social identities. Gal (1979), Heller (1992) and Auer (2005) believe that the basic motivation for speakers to employ *we-code* and *they code* is to construct in-group and out-group relationships. This acts as social processes because "there is social knowledge involved about how to relate constellations of features to social groups, milieus, life-worlds, etc.," (Auer, 2005, p. 13). Gal's (1979) notion of *self* and *others* as ingroup and out-group identity is also based on social similarities and differences indicated through code-switching because "social identities are made manifest through talk, not just through the actual language or code used but also through the content and context" (Sebba and Wooton, 1998, p. 284). Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 598) also explain using the dichotomy of *sameness and differences* in the *rationality principle theory* which proposed a framework to analyse identity through code choice.

Auer (1988) redefines Gumperz's functions of code-switching, using a different typology focusing on the conversation loci of the code-switching, although it performs similar functions. Auer (1988, p. 192-93) proposes two broad categories: *discourse-related code-switching* and *participant-related code-switching*. In the former "the use of code-switching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" dealing with the organisation of the ongoing discourse including changing footing; marking topic changes;

repetition; reported speech; reiteration i.e. quasi-translation (Auer 1998, p. 4). *Participant-related code-switching* (also called *preference-related code-switching*) is motivated by speakers' or interlocutors' language competence or language preferences in which the speaker and interlocutor agree on one mutual code. Thus, *discourse-oriented code-switching* is speaker-oriented whereas *participant-related code-switching* is interlocutor oriented (Martin-Jones 1995, p. 99).

Kachru (1983, p. 197) illustrates three reasons for use of code-switching: i) for registering identification, ii) as formal clues for style identification, and iii) for clarification and interpretation. Baker (1972) divides code-switching into two broad categories; linguistic and nonlinguistic. Linguistic reasons for code-switching are the lack of an equivalent lexical item in a speaker's L1, and clarification, emphasis and reinforcement of a command or a request. Non-linguistic reasons are related to attitude and emotions; humour and friendship can create social distance or intimacy. For Appel and Muysken (1987), six functions of code-switching are evident: referential; directive; expressive; phatic; metalinguistic and poetic. Malik (1994) suggests ten functions of code-switching: lack of facility (absence of an equivalent lexical item); lack of registeral competence (i.e. when a bilingual is not equally competent in a target language); semantic significance (i.e. switching at a particular moment semantically conveys a significant indication of an important point); to address a different audience; to show identity with a group; to amplify and emphasise a point; to express the mood of the speaker; habitual expressions; for pragmatic reasons; and to attract attention. Romaine (1989, pp.161-162) summarises the following functions: sentence fillers, to clarify and emphasise a point, to shift to a new topic, to mark the type of discourse and specify the social arena. Bhatia and Ritchie (2008) explaining four factors of code-switching. The first is *participant's role and relationship*, the second, *situational factors* which include the discourse topic and language allocation, the third, *message-intrinsic factors*, and last, *language attitude, dominance and security*

Therefore, in the discussion so far, the main function of code-switching appears to be the construction of multilingual speakers' identities; speakers utilise their linguistic competence in relation to the speech situations and their interlocutors, in order to project, negotiate and even challenge other's identities. Identity is the "part of [an] individual's self-concept that makes him/her aware of "knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 225). In

sociolinguistics, an individual nests their identity on social categorizations such as *self* and *other* or *we-code* and *they-code* as in-group and out-group identities are based on sociolinguistic, cultural and religious similarities and differences. This emphasises “language as a potent symbol of identity and in the intergroup boundaries” (Meyerhoff, 1996, p. 206). Myers-Scotton also explains that the major motivation for code-switching is the “possibility of social-identity negotiation” (1993a, p. 111). She explains that individuals use unmarked (expected) and marked (unexpected) code-switching to encode two identities, saying that “negotiation about the speaker’s persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker’s relation to other participants” and social norms of their speech community (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 60). Similar views are proposed by Halliday (1975) Auer (1988); Hoffman, (2001) Wei, (2008), Rubino (2014) and Schmidt (2014) that major function of code-switching is identity construction as self-other because the speaker is a social actor and by switching code, the speaker alters their social boundaries and interpersonal relationships (Rubino, 2014). Thus, changes of code establish the speaker’s identity while their utterances, working as social processes, influence the social structure (Wei, 2008 and Schmidt, 2014). Hence, code-switching can be used to index and negotiate a range of different social, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, or ideological signals as the cue to the interlocutor to interpret a particular code identities” (Rubino, 2014, p. 87).

In sum, there are many intangible motivational factors responsible for speaker’s choice to employ code-switching according to different functions, but the fact is that in a multilingual society, a speaker who code-switches does so for their own individual reasons. For the purpose of this study, the functions explained by Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), Myers-Scotton (1993a) are employed, however, the list of functions of other scholars mention above are also used to elaborate the examples in the analysis in Chapter Five.

The sociolinguistic approach to code-switching has been criticised as confining the study of code-switching to a specified list of social functions rather studying the multilingual speaker who uses their “linguistic abilities not choices of content” as a discourse strategy to achieve particular functions (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). The structuralists also criticised the sociolinguistic approach to code-switching on the ground that it studies it as a socially motivated phenomenon but it fails to explain the morphological and syntactic features structure and grammatical constraints involved (Poplack, 1980).

### 3.5.2 Psycholinguistic approach

The second method for investigating the phenomenon of code-switching is the psycholinguistic approach that views code-switching as a cognitive process whereby “several languages are stored and simultaneously processed in one human brain” (Schmidt, 2014). It also focuses on the “bilingual ability to keep [...] two languages separate” (Grosjean, 1995, p. 260). Clyne explains that code switching is promoted by triggering “words at the intersection of two language systems, which, consequently, may cause speakers to lose their linguistic bearings and continue the sentence in the other language” (1991, p.193). Hence, in this phenomenon of complex nature two languages are used systematically and simultaneously. Grosjean believes that code-switching is a complex decision-making process compared to monolingual language use because the mind of a bilingual speaker works in multi-direction; first “decides which base language to use, and in the second stage engages in code-switching” as illustrated in the following figure.

Figure: 3.4.

#### **Language choices and code-switching**

(Adapted from Grosjean, 1982, p. 145)

Psycholinguistic scholars believe that along with the sociolinguistic and grammar constraints, the parallel use of code-switching highly depends on an individual's linguistic competence that increases or decreases the level of activation of languages in the speaker's mind. During the bilingual interaction, the two languages cross and re-cross each other (Grosjean, 1982). During the code-switching process no language is completely cognitively 'turned off' although one is more active than the other at a certain moment. This co-activation of varieties of languages in the mind of a bilingual makes code-switching possible (Groot, 2011).

The activation of two languages or the switching from one to another is either '*smooth or flagged*' depending on the linguistic competence of the speaker (Poplack, 1987). The *smooth code-switching* is fluent and effortless while in *flagged code-switching* it is accompanied by hesitation or repetition (Poplack, 1987). De Bot (2002) explains that there are two kinds of code-switching: *performance switching*; which is unintentional switching of a bilingual from one language to another; and *motivated switching*, which is the intentional use of code-switching. In *motivated switching* the speaker is conscious in the selection of language choice and selects a language that suits his intentions to achieve the communicative goals (Grosjean, 1982). The motivational situation is similar to metaphorical switching (cf. Section 3.5.1.1).

In consideration of the ethnic-cognitive factors, a related issue is discussed by Rampton in his notion of *language crossing* (also known as *code-crossing*) focuses on socio-political and ethnic aspects in a multilingual society. Defining language crossing Rampton stated that "language crossing involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (code-switching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them)" (1995, p. 485). Rampton states that the multilingual speaker, consciously or sub-consciously, shifts from L1 to L2 "to explore the identity and ethnicity of others and to re-define her or his own identity" (1995, p. 300).

### 3.5.3 The Structural approach

Keeping in mind the grammar constraints imposed by two separate languages, the structural approach is illustrated by Poplack (1980-2000), Wei (2000, 2009), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) and Muysken (2000). This micro approach determines the intra-linguistic factors of code-

switching as well as the ways in which the bilingual or multilingual speaker internalises grammatical systems or subsystems; the semantic and syntactical ties which bind the two languages in a single speech act (Romaine, 1989, Poplack, 2000 and Lowi, 2005). According to structuralists, code-switching is the “juxtaposition of sentences or sentence’s fragments, each of which are internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language” (Poplack and Meechan, 1995, p. 200). The rules of lexifier refer to the borrow-ability of vocabulary (or lexicon) from one language to another as per the rules of the imported language. Most importantly, structuralists do not address the functions of code-switching but they investigate two aspects of code-switching: first, the degree to which an L2 is integrated into L1 or *vice versa*, and second, the syntactic, morphological constraints which restrict accurate integration.

Poplack (1980), the pioneer of this approach, investigated Spanish-English mixed utterances of Puerto-Rican speakers in New York. She proposes that code-mixing occurs when there is the equivalent order of the constituents in both languages. In other words, code-switching occurs at a point which seems to define the agreement of the grammatical constraints of the languages involved (Schmidt, 2014). Poplack (1980) proposes three grammatical constraints related to the production of code-switching. The first is the *equivalence constraint* which suggests that “code-switches will tend to occur at points where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other” (p. 585). The second constraint is *size-of-constituent*: Higher-level constituents (e.g. sentences, clauses) are switched more frequently than lower-level constituents (e.g. nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives) (p. 586.) The third is the *free morpheme constraint* i.e. “codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme” (Poplack, 1980, p. 586). This means the free morpheme predicts that code-switching is not possible between bound morphemes and a lexical form until such a lexical form is phonologically integrated into the bound morpheme (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984). Poplack (1988) illustrates the example of the Spanish word *flipeando* (flipping) in which the Spanish *iendo* is suffixed with English root-word *flip*. This integration is possible because one morpheme is phonologically integrated into Spanish. However, Poplack (1988, p. 565) also claims there are many examples where such integration is not possible. For example, the word *catcheando* is not possible because the lexical form of *catch* is not integrated into Spanish.



In the same way, Bokamba (1989) suggests that ungrammaticalities in code-mixing are not violations of the morpho-syntactic rules governing it, but should be considered as violations of the syntactic constraints of the language involved in the code-switching. Equivalent constraint theory also explains that switching is not possible when the word-order i.e. Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) varies from each other. For example, Sindhi-English code-switching is not predictable at verb level because the basic word order of Sindhi grammar is SOV while English is SVO (cf. Chapter Six). Poplack (1980), focusing on the linguistic competence of code-switcher and the degree of integration of languages involved in code-switching, explains three kinds of code-switching: intra-sentential, inter-sentential and tag sentential, as indicated in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5

### Type and degree of code-switching

Intersentential switching

Tag switching

Intrasentential switching

(Adapted from Poplack, 1980, p. 615)

Intersentential code-switching occurs at clause or sentence boundaries in which one clause is in one language and the other clause in another, representing an “integrated knowledge of the rules of both languages, including their similarities and differences” (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981, p. 5). However, both languages retain their grammatical independence. Intersentential code-switching occurs in the speech of fluent bi/multilinguals who maintain the grammar rules of the languages as Romaine illustrates in the following example (1) in which the speaker uses first a clause in English (in bold) and switches to Punjabi code (in italics) in next clause (1989, p. 113):

1. **I am guilty in that sense** *ke ziyada wasi English bolde fer ode nal eda hwnde ke twhadi jeri zeban e na?*

(I am guilty in that sense that I speak more English otherwise it happens that it is not your own language).

Next is the intrasentential code-switching which is common and occurs at the word, phrase and clause levels or within the sentential level and may include the “mixing within word boundaries” (Romaine, 1989, p. 113). However, in intrasentential switching, languages involved in code-switching integrate certain grammatical properties of the other language. Poplack (2000) considers it a more complex process because the speaker controls two linguistic systems simultaneously in a sentence production and the violation of grammar rules may result in ungrammatical constructions. In the following examples (2) and (3), the speakers have switched languages within a verb and noun phrase respectively:

2. *Wsi **mix** karde rehne.*

(We are mix [mixing].) (Romaine, 1989, p. 113).

3. *Abelardo tiene los **movie tickets**.*

(Abelardo has the movie tickets.) (Hammink, 2000, p. 4)

Poplack (1980) states that speakers with advanced linguistic competence mostly rely on intrasentential and intersentential switchings, however, Silva-Corvalán and Treffers-Daller (2015) disagree and state that linguistic competence cannot work unless a speech community accepts such switching as standardised language practice.

The third type is tag switching also known emblematic code-switching which generally integrates exclamatory or interjections (e.g. you know; I mean; actually; ok; because; but; etc.,) (Poplack, 1980). This is a simple type of code-switching with a minimal risk of grammatical violation because interjections or exclamatory words do not form a complete embedded phrase as indicated in the following example (4) from the present study’s data where English tag is inserted in Urdu:

4. ***Actually**, mera mutlab ye nahee tha.*

(Actually, I don’t mean that)

Gumperz (1982) treats tag switching as sentence fillers while Milroy and Muysken (1995, p. 8) views them as an *extra-sentence or emblematic sentence* which are comprised of one or two words, contain an expressive meaning, and act as connectives and fillers. Callahan (2004) views tag code-switching as a *discourse marker* which acts as the contextual coordinates in a conversation.

This discussion indicates that the sociolinguistic and structuralist approaches overlap and research can move from one approach to the other depending on the objectives of the study but both extend our understanding of the factors driving, and functions of, code-switching. In the study of code-switching one of the important issues is to determine which is the main language and which is embedded or inserted. This issue is addressed in the following section.

### **3.5.3.1 The issue of matrix languages and embedded languages**

In multilingual talk, the basic issue is to identify the main language and the embedded or inserted language. When a bilingual speaker combines different languages within a syntactic unit (e.g. a sentence or a clause) the dominant language is known as the matrix language (ML) while other language items which are inserted are derived from the embedded language (EL) (Auer and Muhamedova, 2005). On the usage of languages, Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) and Myers-Scotton observe that during code-switching, one language maintains the grammatical structure and acts as the ML and the other acts as the EL. Hence, ML “refers to the language in which the majority of the morphemes in a given conversation occur and the language from which material enters [into] the matrix language is referred to as embedded language” (Eastman, 1992, p. 2).

To determine the ML or EL in a bilingual or multilingual conversation, scholars have suggested various methods. To define and distinguish between the ML and the EL, an influential model has been presented by Myers-Scotton (1993b) which is known the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. This is relevant to the current study because “MLF is specifically designed to explain the structural configuration found in code-switching” (Myers-Scotton (1993b, p. 10). It explains the structural patterns and systematic grammatical relationships between the two languages involved in code-switching.

The nucleus of MLF model is that “code-switching takes place within a frame set by matrix language” by providing functional morphemes while the EL has a lesser role since it provides content morphemes in code-switched constituents (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 75). MLF model based on two principles (Myers-Scotton, 1992, p. 21):

- (i) The ML is more activated than EL, and
- (ii) There is differential accessing of *content morphemes* [noun, verb stems] vs. *system morphemes* [inflexions and articles].

Myers-Scotton (2002, p. 34) introduced three different constituents governed by related constraints. The first is mixed or ML+EL constituents consisting of the ML morphemes and generally single EL morphemes. The following examples are taken from the current study indicating Sindhi as the ML and the single English lexis (indicated in bold letters):

1. He suthee **job** kando ahe.

(He has a good job)

In (1), Sindhi is the matrix language and provides all the system morphemes, indicating tense and number and compound verb to the imported English verb.

The second is *Matrix Islands* that contain morphemes from the main language to form the grammatical structure of a sentence as illustrated in the following example:

2. **Job**-ware jee **importance** ahe.

(There is importance of a person who does any job)

In (2), Sindhi is the ML because the sentence follows Sindhi grammar’s word order and it forms the structure. The inserted English lexical items serve as the EL and are positioned according to the internal structure formed by the ML which provides the system morphemes (person, number, tense). The morphology of the object *job* is loan blended with Sindhi morpheme *ware* (holder) mapped onto the morphology of Sindhi. The ML comprises verb, tense, number form the structure of the sentence.

Third is the *EL Island* which consists only of EL morphemes and are inserted in the ML as illustrated in example 3:

3. Ieh **big population in the city** khe disan tha.

(They look after a big population in the city.)

In example (3), the English phrase (big population in the city) is inserted according to the grammar of the Sindhi ML. The compound verb in Sindhi follows the morphology of the embedded language.

Furthermore, the MLF model illustrates the two principles to determine the ML: (i) System Morpheme Principle (SMP) and (ii) Morpheme Order Principle (MOP). In the SMP principle, the ML provides system morphemes which are functional elements (such as determiners, conjunctions, quantifiers, and modals). Thus “in ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML (Myers-Scotton, 1997, p.83) “that have grammatical organization” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 59). In the second principle of MOP singly occurring include nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions are EL morphemes in the ML+EL constituents (Myers-Scotton and Jack, 1995, p. 983).

Myers-Scotton's MLF model provides a useful way to distinguish between the ML and the EL. However, Auer and Muhamedova (2005) are skeptical of determining any one language as the ML or EL. They claim that Myers-Scotton fails to explain the morpheme order and occurrence of islands which is essential to determine the ML. The EL islands work as distinct parts under the ML, “and that the matrix language may be influenced by the embedded language” making it impossible to identify the matrix language (Auer and Muhamedova, 2005, p.52). In their opinion, the “neat separation between matrix and embedded language is impossible” because bilingual speech cannot be analysed as a ‘mixture of two monolingual codes. Rather, focus should put on sequential language choices (Auer and Muhamedova, 2005, p. 52).

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000, p. 100) redefined the MLF model with *4-M model* or *blocking filter hypothesis*. This explains that any EL contains morphemes which are not congruent with the ML in terms of having the same status in both languages, and whether they are assigned a thematic role or not (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; p. 2001). For instance, in Sindhi-English

code-switching participants frequently switch content morphemes (i.e. nouns, main verbs, and adjectives) because it is less disruptive to the grammatical rules of either language. I can conclude that while a neat severance between the ML and the EL is impossible, I have adopted Myers-Scotton's MLF model as the best way forward in the current project.

### **3.6 An overview of code-switching research in Pakistan**

Pakistan is a multilingual society where code-switching is an acceptable norm although research on code-switching in this context is unfortunately lacking. Most code-switching and code-mixing research focuses on Urdu (the *lingua franca* of Pakistan) Punjabi and Urdu-English bilinguals and Urdu-Punjabi-English trilinguals, neglecting other local languages. In this vein, Mansoor (1993) in her study on multilingual Punjabi-speaking university students concludes that the students prefer to switch into Urdu and English rather than their L1, Punjabi. She blames the language and education policies of Pakistan which over emphasise Urdu and English, neglecting local languages and creating a potential threat to these local languages. The frequency of code-switching in male and female interactions has also been an important field of study. Research by Gulzar et al. (2013) for example, shows that both male and female teachers employ intersentential code-switching with approximately the same frequency. Meanwhile, Abbas et al. (2011) focused on code-switching among university students, concluding that students consciously use code-switching as a communicative strategy and there is no difference in the perceptions of males and females in terms of code-switching. Similarly, Rabbani's (2012) study of the differences in code-switching frequency in English and Urdu SMS sent by undergraduate male and female students show that the frequency of code-switching in SMS was almost the same.

Code-switching practices have also been studied in the academic domain. Gulzar (2010) reveals that in Pakistani language classrooms the teachers switch code as a translating strategy in order to make learning easier as well as to accommodate the affective and social needs of their learners (Gulzar, 2010). Similar to this, Gulzar and Qadir (2010) and Iqbal (2011) reveal that code-switching is a useful and innovative pedagogic strategy in Pakistan which expedites the learning process. In the same vein, Dar et al. (2014) explain that there are numerous reasons driving code-switching use in English language classrooms in Pakistan. This study also found that private

academic institutions discourage code-switching into Urdu or indigenous languages unlike in public-sector educational institutions where code-switching is considered an essential pedagogic tool. Noor et al. (2015) focused on English code-switching in Urdu textbooks in and found that English code-switching is frequent in all Urdu textbooks.

Similar studies have been conducted on electronic media which have attracted considerable attention. Abbas (1998) and Anwar (2009) studied code-switching in Urdu phrases and clauses in Pakistani English-language newspapers and concluded that Urdu code-switching plays a significant role in Pakistani print media. Furthermore, Khan (2014) reveals that generally in Pakistani Urdu newspapers and TV programs, code-switching in English occurs in order to construct identity. Likewise, Meraj (1993), Mushtaq and Zahra's (2012) and Aliya's (2014) worked on code-switching in advertising and concludes that local companies and small traders generally use Urdu while multinational enterprises use English as a medium of communication.

In the field of loan borrowing, the major contributor is Pirzado (2009) who provides theoretical framework and terminology for language borrowing to investigate the use of loanwords in Sindhi and local languages. A study of English, Persian and Arabic borrowing in Urdu by Islam (2011) sheds light on the mechanism of borrowing in the Urdu language.

From a micro or local sociolinguistic context, a great focus is placed on analysing code-switching from a language-maintenance perspective. Work by Baart (2003) is remarkable as it explores the state of Pakistan's indigenous languages. Analysing the factors responsible for such language shifts, Baart states that social and economic gains pose a potential threat to the country's rich linguistic heritage. In the same vein, noteworthy research by Weinreich (2010) documented language trends in the shifts among minor languages in Pakistan. Domaakí, an old Pakistani language is gradually shifting into Pashto indicating Domaakí's imminent death. The economic significance of Pashto in the local context is forcing Domaakí speakers to change to Pashto in order to secure jobs and social status. Nazir et al. (2012) investigate the shift of Punjabi toward the Urdu language in Sargodha city in Punjab province, Pakistan. The data shows that people tended to shift to Urdu due to its higher social status.

The above discussion shows that during the last ten years, most code-switching research has typically involved Urdu-English bilinguals and Urdu-English-Punjabi trilingual speakers.

Most of the studies investigated code-switching as a shift of local languages to the dominant national language, Urdu. Unfortunately, hardly any research has focused on Sindhi multilingual speakers. The sole study on code-switching on Sindhi speakers was conducted by David (2001) outside Pakistan focusing on three generations of Sindhi immigrants in Malaysia. David's ethnographic research shows that unlike the older generation, the young Malaysian Sindhi generation is shifting to Malay and English, indicating a potential threat to the maintenance of Sindhi in Malaysia. However, the situation in Sindh is different therefore there is an urgent need to study code-switching in the multilingual context of Sindh. The current research represents the first step towards this goal.

### **3.7 Concluding remarks**

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a review of the literature on bilingual and multilingual code-switching to date and discuss the terminological issues and various approaches and functions in relation to code-switching. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief survey of code-switching research in Pakistan. This discussion suggests that code-switching is a fairly common interactional practice and an acceptable norm in a bilingual and multilingual society. However, there is a lack of investigation of trilingual code-switching in Sindh, Pakistan, especially focusing Sindhi multilingual speakers. This study, I hope, will foster a more in-depth understanding of the daily linguistic interactional characteristics of educated Sindhis and will also help in understanding the complex multilingual relationships between the various ethnic communities which make up this region. The current study represents the first step in that direction.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodology used in the current study. The first section of this chapter presents an overview of the methodology and its rationale. This is followed by a detailed description of the selection process of the participants and the setting where the data was collected. This chapter then describes in detail the three research methods used for data collection followed by a description of the data analysis procedure. This section also explains the researcher's position vis-à-vis the current research and the relevant ethical issues. Finally, concluding remarks are given.

#### **4.2 Overview of research design of current study**

The current study investigates the social purposes of code-switching by multilingual, educated, female Sindhi speakers in the Sindh, Pakistan. It must be acknowledged that my choice to limit participants to female only indeed limits the applicability of this research's findings as code-switching by Sindhi males was not taken into account. The other reason for this choice is due to cultural constraints in Pakistan. Being a female researcher, it was difficult to access male colleges as females are not allowed to enter male educational institutions. Therefore, girls' colleges were chosen. However, a mixed-sex study could be an avenue to be explored in future research. Further, the language behaviour of educated multilingual Sindhi women has been a neglected area in Pakistan. As explained in the last chapter, the sociolinguistic research on language attitudes mainly involves either the Urdu or Punjabi speech communities. Thus, this is the first study of its kind that focuses on multilingual Sindhi women. My choice of educated female participants was motivated by the fact that the Pakistani education system involves Sindhi students receiving a trilingual education in Sindhi, Urdu and English. Educational programmes for students in the 14-16 age group in Bachelor and Master's degrees encourages

them to become multilingual and thus, engage in code-switching among their L1, L2 and L3 (Rubino, 2014). In the current research, the L1 is defined as the first language/s that the participant acquired and uses at home. The L2 and L3 languages are spoken aside from their home language(s). For instance, the educated Sindhi population generally uses Sindhi as their L1 but due to the efforts of the educational system, they speak Urdu and English as their L2 and L3 (cf. Chapter Two). The data is collected from three girls' colleges in Hyderabad and one girl's college in Kotri (cf. section 4.3.1).

This study is based on the hypothesis that multilingual Sindhi women use code-switching functionally to achieve certain social goals. Applying a qualitative methodology, the current research follows on from the theoretical premises laid out by Gumperz (1982) and Myers Scotton (1993a) to investigate code-switching as a language strategy to achieve specific social goals. To analyse code-switching behaviour, the current study considers social factors such as speaker's social networks, their language of education, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. These are likely to influence their code-switching behaviour. In the current study, along with code-switching and code-mixing, lexical borrowing is also taken into account because a non-Sindhi may consider lexical borrowing as code-switching or *vice versa*.

This investigation of code-switching as a communicative strategy to achieve social functions cannot be complete without considering the context where code-switching occurs. In order to understand the account of Pakistan's linguistic topography in general and the social scenario of Sindh in particular where Urdu - the official language of the minority community - is spoken, as well as English (as the official L2), alongside the other, native Sindhi languages, have been critically evaluated in detail in Chapter Two. Along the same lines, in Chapter Three, the various conceptual theories and approaches to code-switching as a communicative strategy have been discussed. This helps in understanding the linguistic elements of Sindhi, Urdu and English and code-switching practice in the broader perspective of Sindh.

Before describing the research design, it is necessary to elucidate working definitions of the terms used in the current study. The definition of *code-switching* is the switching between "words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence

boundaries within the same speech event” (Bokamba, 1989, p.278). In contrast “*code-mixing* is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from other languages within sentences boundaries” (Bokamba, 1989, p.278). In other words, *code-mixing* can be defined as the complete integration of the syntactic rules of the languages involved, whereas *code-switching* does not require integration; rather it is an alternation from one language to another (Singh, 1982). The working definition of *lexical borrowing* or *loanword* is the incorporation and integration of lexical items from one language into another in the absence of an equivalent vocabulary in the recipient language (Haugen, 1950). In terms of data analysis, the present study considers *loanwords* items such as those which appear in the Sindhi-English Oxford Dictionary (2008). However, certain foreign words which are frequently used despite the equivalence of Sindhi are considered *core-borrowing* or *nonce borrowing* which is “more or less duplicate words already existing in L1” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 239) and are gradually in the process of being integration into the host language due to frequent usage. For instance, in Sindhi, *tikka-band* is the equivalent of *sandwich* but English borrowing is in more frequent use. In the present study, another term is as *loanblend*, which refers to the coining of a new word by the amalgamation of words or morphemes from two different languages with a new meaning. It includes hybrids or mixed compounds by blending part of original and borrowed words, such as *food-meal* (food-festival) or phonemes such as *membran* (members) (Haugen, 1950).

In the current study, the base language known as *matrix language* and inserted language known as *embedded language* are judged according to the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) of Myers-Scotton, (1993b and 2002). *Matrix language* (ML) is the language in which the morphemes or lexical items are more frequently used, whereas *embedded language* (EL) is the imported insertion of lexical items or morphemes from the other languages (Myers Scotton, 1993b).

### 4.3 Qualitative methodology

In general terms, a methodology can be defined as the architectural aspects of the research via which data is gathered and interpreted (Creswell, 2014). The current study adopts a qualitative

methodology which “explores the things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). In terms of the current study’s qualitative methodology, three data collection methods are used: (i) audio recordings, (ii) observations, and, (iii) questionnaire collecting demographic information from the participants. The audio recordings and observations were conducted simultaneously; I was both observing the participants and making notes. Immediately after the recording, the participants were asked to fill in the questionnaire. I hope that the use of a combination of multiple data-collection methods improves both the internal and external validity of the research methodology in order to answer the research questions in sufficient depth.

The data-collection process started with sending a permission letter to the Director of Colleges which was granted (see Appendix 1). I then contacted the respective principals of the three colleges in Hyderabad and one in Kotri with the permission letter sent to the directors of each college. The principal of each college assigned one or two teachers for help in the selection of participants and suitable rooms for making the recordings. I was then given permission by two college principals to use the student’s hostels (in Pakistan students’ residences on the college premises are known as hostels) to conduct the recordings.

I decided to record spontaneous, informal conversations among friends and classmates in a relaxed and non-classroom environment in the belief that more spontaneous and natural spoken exchanges would be captured. The research participants were simply informed that their conversations would be recorded and were not informed of the study’s focus on code-switching in order to facilitate spontaneous and natural interactions. The data was collected within a month. Due to time constraints, initially, eight sets of data were collected, selecting two groups from three colleges in Hyderabad and one college from Kotri. However, one recording had to be discarded because a brother of one of the participants objected to his sister’s voice being recorded. He said that his sister had indeed been given permission to participate by her mother, but, as the head of his family after the death of his father, he should be given the final say. This recording was deleted in his presence. Hence, research data from seven groups of interlocutors were gathered, with two groups from each college and one group from one college. In total, the participants (n=32) were sampled over seven recordings. The recordings vary in duration, from 1

hour 30 minutes to 1 hour 40 minutes; hence, approximately ten hours of recorded conversational data were gathered. The following sub-sections explain in detail the rationale behind the participants' selection, the setting where the recordings were conducted, details of data collection methods, and finally the data analysis approach.

#### **4.3.1 Setting**

For the present research, the data were collected from three Government girls' colleges in Hyderabad and one Government girls' college in Kotri. Both cities are geographically connected but are administratively separate as they are run by two different district councils. Hyderabad is the second largest city in Sindh while Kotri is a suburban part of Hyderabad which is surrounded by many villages. The reason for including the Kotri Government College is due to the small number of girl's colleges in Hyderabad. Another reason is that the Government Girl's College Kotri provides education to female students from adjacent small villages. Hence, this variable helps to gather the required data in a less urbanised setting. Further, this diversity enriches the findings as it provides an insight into code-switching by both urbanised and less urban Sindhi multilingual women.

All the recordings took place on college premises in TV lounges, canteens, the library's social zones, the walking track, and the college common rooms. Being a Pakistani, I was aware that generally, Sindhi parents do not allow their daughters to associate with strangers even if they are of the same gender. Women who enjoy more freedom in this respect are typically from the elite class of big cities. Thus, choosing a setting outside the college premises such as a public park, hotel etc. would have prevented the sample from being representative of the entire Sindhi multilingual female population because the women from the rural areas would not have been allowed to participate. To overcome such problems and obtain data in settings where participants would feel comfortable, social areas within their educational institutions were chosen. By conducting research in such settings, rather than in a contrived laboratory setting, I can assume that this study's psychological realism is high, as students are likely to have been engrossed in naturalistic conversations outside of the classroom context, which is more likely to yield speech data which is representative of their true code-switching behaviour (Aronson, Wilson and Brewer, 1998). This ensured that students would feel secure and more at ease when speaking in

order to obtain more naturalistic spoken discourse. During the data collection process, the college authorities, teachers and participants cooperated well in making the recordings. Special care was taken so that the recordings would not disturb participants' classes. To this end, they were carried out either when participants had free periods, during break times, or after their classes.

As explained earlier, the data was collected from three colleges in Hyderabad and one college in Kotri. Among the three in Hyderabad, the first was the Government Girl's College, Hyderabad. It is the first government college for women, established in 1954 when the educational opportunities for Sindhi women were almost non-existent. It is also the first college for women in Sindh to offer postgraduate degrees and the first college to provide hostel) facilities (student residences within college premises) to those students from outside Hyderabad. It has one of the largest college enrollments; more than 2000 students per annum. The second setting was the Government Girls Nazareth College, Hyderabad, established by Christian Missionaries in 1896 as a private college to accommodate the wives and daughters of English officers who were working in Hyderabad during the colonial period. This was the most expensive women's college in terms of fees before it was nationalised in 1975. The college plays an important role in promoting the education of young women from the elite classes. The college offers graduate and post-graduate degrees. The next college was Government Girls College Qasimabad, located in the newly area developed after the language riots of 1988-1994 between the Sindhi and Urdu communities. The majority of the population is comprised of Sindhi who migrated from Urdu-speaking zones (cf. Chapter Two). The college offers graduate and post- graduate degrees. The Government Girl's Degree College, Kotri was the final setting, where data were collected. This college accommodates students from the city and nearby towns and villages. Ten years ago it was an intermediate college but in 2009 it was upgraded to award Master's Degrees.

#### **4.3.2. Participant selection procedure**

The participants' selection was purposive (also known as judgmental or selective sampling), which depends on the researcher's choice of participants (Creswell, 2014). Before the start of this fieldwork, certain characteristics for the selection of participants: they had to be (i) of Sindhi

ethnicity, (ii) female Bachelor and Master's degree students (iii) aged 18-20, and (v) friends, classmates or acquaintances.

The participants' Sindhi ethnicity was a key factor as this study is intended to investigate use of code-switching by the multilingual Sindhi women. Participants from similar ethnic backgrounds generally share mutually agreeable perceptions about language and are aware of unmarked (expected) or marked (unexpected) code (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). This research is interested in multilingual Sindhi women as to whether they use any other languages apart from Sindhi, Urdu or English as their L1. Such flexibility was adopted, keeping in mind the observation that some Sindhi parents use Urdu or English, the academic language of the child, as their L1 in order to make them fluent in their academic language (Rafiq, 2010). Another reason is that in intercultural marriages, fathers and mothers often communicate in their respective languages, so the children become bilingual and use two or more languages at home (Farida, 2010). I assume, as explained in the hypothesis, that many educated women would employ Sindhi as their L1 and switch to Urdu, the lingua franca of the country and English, their academic language because both languages are considered to be high-status codes and the main criterion to qualify for a professional job in Pakistan. It is also possible that some participants in the current research may use Urdu or English as their L1 and switch to Sindhi in Sindhi-based social contexts.

The second factor was that all participants were Bachelor and Master's degree students and were selected as they are plurilingual by virtue of Pakistan's language policy and education system, which initially focuses on native languages as the L1 but shifts to Urdu and English as the languages of instruction after grade 10<sup>th</sup> in all government schools while in all private institutions, only Urdu and English are used as the languages of instruction (cf. Chapter Two). It is assumed that participants who have received 14-16 years' of education in Sindhi, Urdu and English from government schools, if not typifying the ideal plurilingual speaker – would at least have some experience of using code-switching at the word or phrase level. This is because although they have undergone extensive training in reading and writing skills in Urdu and English, only relatively few possess high levels of spoken fluency in English as speaking skills are poorly taught and underdeveloped due to the large classes they are taught in (cf. Chapter Two).

The third factor is gender which correlates to the code-switching because the ratio of code-switching may be influenced by gender characteristics (McClure, 1981). The research indicates that women employ code-switching more often than men (Sadiqi, 2003; Schmidt, 2014). Thus, uniformity in age was controlled by selecting participants aged from 18-20. The fifth and final factor was the participants' friendships because it is difficult to obtain natural conversational data when interaction takes place among strangers (Wardhaugh, 2010). However, measurement of intangible factors such as the strength of social ties between individuals were difficult to ascertain, and consequently, the college teachers themselves helped me in selecting participants who were already on a friendly basis. After a brief interaction with participants, I approved those participants who were interested in joining this research.

In the current study, as explained earlier, a choice was made to control for gender, ethnicity, age and educational background and close friendship bonds in order to ensure that an internally consistent sample of participants was used. However, one unstable variable in the current study is participants' socioeconomic class (i.e. elite, middle and working class) and the areas in which the participants live (urban, sub-urban and rural). Although social status and geographical factors can affect the frequency of code-switching (Gumperz, 1982), it was impossible to select all participants from stable socio-geographical status from different colleges. The participants' sociolinguistic class is presumed through the demographic information collected via the questionnaire filled in after the audio recordings. The participants' social class was therefore ascertained and then classified on the basis of a Government of Pakistan survey report – the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (2010-2011). (cf. section: 4.3.3.3. of this chapter). Thus, a variety of samples were collected from diverse social classes (e.g. working class, middle class and upper middle class and elite class) and geographical areas (e.g. rural and urban). Such diversity would help in understanding the economic, educational and sociolinguistic factors that influence individuals' code-switching behaviour.

A sufficient participant sample size is essential to ensure the external validity of the findings. Ellis (2010) views groups of two participants as a small effect size; groups of five participants as medium effect size; and groups of eight participants or more as a larger effect size. Patton, (1987) refers to small and medium-sized groups while Auer (1995) suggests that bigger groups



provide more instances of code-switching. However, Creswell and Clark (2011) points out that this concern depends very much on the research's aims. In the current study, one small and six medium groups were selected because it is easy to recognise individual speaker's voices and transcribe the audio-recorded data.

The selection of the participants was aided by the college teachers. Fortunately, some of them had been students of the researcher at Sindh University, Jamshoro, and they helped in the selection of the groups. I briefed the teachers about the requirements for the selection of participants. They introduced me to some groups of B.A. and M.A. students who were then briefed that this research aimed to investigate their informal, spoken conversations. At this stage, they were not told about the project's focus on code-switching. This was done in order to encourage spontaneous interaction. If participants had known that the aim of the project was to observe their use of code-switching, their language could have been affected, especially during the audio-recordings where I was present as an observer. They could have been self-conscious about their language use and could have deliberately provided me with desirable and could "provide an expected answer as a self-deception where they do not diverge from the truth consciously, but because they deceive themselves, and not only the researcher" (Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2010, p. 89). However, participants came to know that the aim of the project was to observe their use of code-switching when they filled out the questionnaire after the recording. After a brief interaction, I handed them a consent form to sign and also asked for it to be signed by the head of their family to ensure that they would not have any objections to the recording (see appendix 2). The next day, after receiving the consent forms duly signed by the participants and their parents, the participants were informed about the venue and time of the recordings. The same information was conveyed to the principals of colleges at their request. After the completion of all formalities, the recordings took place. The observations were conducted simultaneously with the recordings.

The details of the demographic information of every individual participant are delineated as summarised in Table 4.1 Pseudonyms were assigned to participants for confidentiality and anonymity.

Table 4.1

## Profiles of the participants

| 2   |              |                    |                |                    |  | 1                                     |                    |                    |                    | Group                    | Name of college |
|---|--------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Government Girls Degree College Hyderabad |              |                    |                |                    |  | Government Nazareth college Hyderabad |                    |                    |                    |                          |                 |
| Meki                                      | Zeni         | Sohny              | Haya           | Preh               |  | Shirin                                | Nina               | Hina               | Mehro              | Name                     |                 |
| 20  | 20           | 19                 | 19             | 19                 |  | 19                                    | 19                 | 19                 | 19                 | Age                      |                 |
| mixed-lang.                               | Sindhi       | Sindhi             | Sindhi         | Sindhi             |  | Mixed lang.                           | Sindhi             | Sindhi             | mixed-lang         | Home language            |                 |
| Urdu                                      | Sindhi       | Sindhi             | Sindhi         | Sindhi             |  | Urdu                                  | Sindhi             | Sindhi             | Urdu               | 1 <sup>st</sup> Language |                 |
| Sindhi                                    | Urdu         | Urdu               | Urdu           | Urdu               |  | English                               | Urdu               | Urdu               | Sindhi             | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Language |                 |
| English                                   | English      | English            | English        | English            |  | Sindhi                                | English            | English            | English            | 3 <sup>rd</sup> language |                 |
| govt school                               | govt school  | govt school        | private school | private school     |  | private school                        | govt school        | govt school        | private school     | Primary schooling        |                 |
| govt school                               | govt school  | private school     | private school | private school     |  | private school                        | private school     | private school     | private school     | Secondary schooling      |                 |
| urban                                     | urban        | urban              | rural          | rural              |  | urban                                 | urban              | urban              | urban              | Locality                 |                 |
| upper middle class                        | middle class | upper-middle-class | middle class   | upper middle class |  | upper-middle class                    | upper-middle class | upper-middle class | upper-middle class | Social class             |                 |

| 5                                     |              | 4   |              |              |               |              |                |                | 3   |                |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|---|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|--------------|
| Government Girls Degree College Kotri |              | Government Girls Degree College Hyderabad |              |              |               |              |                |                | Government Girls Nazareth College Hyderabad |                |              |
| Sabeen                                | Soomal       | Ruby                                      | Iqra         | Nazia        | Shami         | Najma        | Asia           | Shahida        | Mona  | Qamar          | Bubbly       |
| 18                                    | 18           | 18  | 19           | 19           | 19            | 18           | 18             | 20             | 20  | 20             | 19           |
| mixed-lang.                           | Sindhi       | Sindhi                                    | Sindhi       | Sindhi       | Sindhi        | Sindhi       | Sindhi         | mixed-lang.    | mixed-lang.                                 | Sindhi         | Sindhi       |
| Urdu                                  | Sindhi       | Sindhi                                    | Sindhi       | Sindhi       | Sindhi        | Sindhi       | Sindhi         | mixed-lang.    | mixed-lang.                                 | Sindhi         | Sindhi       |
| Sindhi                                | Urdu         | Urdu                                      | Urdu         | Urdu         | Urdu          | Urdu         | Urdu           | English        | English                                     | English        | Urdu         |
| English                               | English      | Englis                                    | English      | English      | English       | English      | English        | Urdu           | Urdu  | Urdu           | English      |
| govt school                           | govt school  | private school                            | govt school  | govt school  | govt school   | govt school  | private school | private school | private school                              | private school | govt school  |
| govt school                           | govt school  | private school                            | govt school  | govt school  | govt school   | govt school  | private school | private school | private school                              | private school | govt school  |
| urban                                 | urban        | urban                                     | urban        | urban        | urban         | urban        | urban          | urban          | urban                                       | urban          | rural        |
| middle class                          | middle class | middle class                              | middle class | middle class | working class | middle class | middle class   | elite class    | elite class                                 | elite class    | middle class |

| 7                                     |               |               |               |               |  | 6   |                |               |               |               |                |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|---|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| Government Girls Degree College Kotri |               |               |               |               |  | Government Girls Degree College Hyderabad |                |               |               |               |                |
| Saleha                                | Sheela        | Rabia         | Tabo          | Anila         |  | Moomal                                    | Sorath         | Farina        | Heer          | Dua           | Farah          |
| 18                                    | 19            | 18            | 18            | 18            |  | 20  | 20             | 19            | 19            | 18            | 18             |
| Sindhi                                | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        |  | Sindhi                                    | mixed-lang.    | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | mixed-lang.    |
| Sindhi                                | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        |  | Sindhi                                    |                | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Sindhi        | Urdu           |
| Urdu                                  | Urdu          | Urdu          | Urdu          | Urdu          |  | Urdu                                      | Urdu           | Urdu          | Urdu          | Urdu          | Sindhi         |
| English                               | English       | English       | English       | English       |  | English                                   | English        | English       | English       | English       | English        |
| govt school                           | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   |  | govt school                               | private school | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   | private school |
| govt school                           | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   |  | govt school                               | private school | govt school   | govt school   | govt school   | private school |
| rural                                 | rural         | rural         | rural         | rural         |  | rural                                     | urban          | rural         | rural         | rural         | urban          |
| working class                         | working class | working class | working class | working class |  | middle class                              | elite class    | working class | working class | working class | middle class   |

### **4.3.3. Research methods**

The data collection methods comprised audio recordings, observations and a demographic questionnaire as described in the following sections:

#### **4.3.3.1. Audio recording**

In the current study, audio recordings formed the main research method. It is an essential method for data collection in the research of bi/multilingualism which provides rich evidence about the usage of the varieties of language/s and the language competence of the participants.

As explained earlier, one day prior to recording, the participants were informed about the time and venue of the recording and the next day the recording started. There was no need to re-introduce myself or the study because this was done during the selection process. A Sony cassette tape recorder (TCM-150) was used to record the participants. To minimise their discomfort, before the recording, I involved them in a small friendly chat in order to mitigate their self-consciousness in the presence of me as an observer and the microphone. Voice checks were also carried out in order to ensure clear recordings. Although the participants generally cooperated during recordings, on a few occasions, some of the participants' behaviour was of concern. For example, during a recording of a large group of six, one participant hardly took part in the conversation. In another recording, one participant seemed angry with her friends and left in the middle of the conversation. In such situations, I, as a silent observer, did not intervene so as not to affect the spoken interactions which were continuing. The settings for recordings were various social areas such as canteens, common rooms, social zones in the library and walking tracks. On occasion, there were noise interruptions and twice some minor distortion affected the clarity of the recordings. During one recording in a common room, other students entered and were loudly talking to each other but immediately left when they saw a recording was taking place. Also, the recordings picked up noise from students who were protesting against college authorities in the corridors. The recording was stopped for a while and restarted when the protesters moved on. Such unpredictable hurdles were expected because they are part of informal interactions in public places. The participants discussed a variety of topics from informal daily-

life affairs to more formal topics related to their academic subjects. Table 4.2 indicates the size of the groups, recording durations, venues, and topics of discussion.

Table 4.2

**Information about recording durations, venues and topics of discussion**

| <b>Group No.</b> | <b>Group Size</b> | <b>Recording Duration</b>           | <b>Venue of Recording</b>                              | <b>Topics of Discussion</b>                                 |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1                | 3                 | 1 hour<br>33 minutes<br>47 seconds  | College canteen  | Brunch<br>Weather   |
| 2                | 4                 | 1 hour<br>36 minutes<br>54 seconds  | Walking from college towards students' residences-gate | Cultural day<br>Farewell party<br>Delegation visit          |
| 3                | 3                 | 1 hour<br>43 minutes<br>49 seconds  | Social zone of college library                         | Job and marriage plans                                      |
| 4                | 5                 | 1 hour<br>35 minutes<br>58 seconds  | College common room                                    | Human behaviour<br>An interview of President                |
| 5                | 2                 | 1 hour<br>38 minutes<br>43 seconds  | TV lounge in students' halls                           | The status of Sindhi women.<br>Social awareness             |
| 6                | 6                 | 1 hour<br>43 minutes<br>51 seconds  | Common room  | Responsibilities of proctors,<br>Discrimination by teachers |
| 7                | 5                 | 1 hour<br>39. minutes<br>54 seconds | Social library zone                                    | Eid preparations  |

#### 4.3.3.2 Observation

The observation of the participants during the audio recordings comprised the second data-collection method. Observation is an indirect research method that helped me to gain a better understanding of the contexts within which the interactions took place rather simply “rely[ing] on prior conceptualisation of the setting” (Patton, 1987, p. 73). Observations recorded key details about the participants, extra-linguistic factors, their language behaviour and their surroundings which would have been otherwise impossible to know from the audio recordings alone. Observation is widely used in code-switching research by Gumperz (1958), Blom and Gumperz (1972), Myer-Scotton (1993), Heller (1988) and others. In the research of language, observation is “the watching and recording how participants behave and interact in certain situations” (Groom and Littlemore, 2011, p. 72). In research, two forms of observation exist: structured and unstructured. In structured observation, researchers formulate in advance the specific categories to be used within the observation (Bryman, 2012). Hence, what the researcher will focus on is predefined (Dörnyei, 2007). In unstructured observation, the researcher notes down anything interesting or significant which occurs regarding body language, paralinguistic factors, characteristics of language use, personality, the linguistic competence of participants etc. (Lynch, 1996). There are no hard and fast rules to adapt in any form of observation; rather it is the choice of the researcher to record significant details (Dörnyei, 2007).

In the current study, both structured and unstructured observation forms were used. For the structured observation, a checklist was designed which was formed of two sections (Appendix: 3). Section one includes information such as the name of the college, the date, venue, the recording’s serial number, and the total number of participants speaking on a particular recording. Section two included specific categories to note including the names of participants, the matrix [base] language (ML) (Sindhi, Urdu, English, Arabic, other etc.), embedded language/s (EL) of code-switching (Sindhi, Urdu, English, Arabic, other etc.) and types of code-switching (intra-sentential, inter-sentential, or tag code-switching). Although assessing the frequency of code-switching and the participants’ linguistic competence was not within the scope of this project, these aspects were observed during the observations based on individual participant’s performance during the audio recordings.

During the unstructured observation, I did not specify any list of categories. Rather, I followed the ‘salience hierarchy’ sitting silently as a passive observer and taking notes (Wolfinger, 2002, p. 91). I jotted down short notes using abbreviations on the keywords used, the participants’ linguistic behaviour, body language and any other metalinguistic interactions. Sketches of some groups were drawn portraying the arrangement of the room and the sitting positions of the participants and my own (Appendix: 4). Brief observation notes including general or specific information and some reflections on the instances of code-switching as employed by the participants during the recording were made (Appendix: 5).

However, this method of observation has its own limitations. During one recording the women were walking while talking with each other. The tape recorder was in the hands of one participant and the researcher was walking behind them. Although close to them, the researcher could not hear them properly neither was she able to note their non-verbal expressions, therefore few observational notes for this group were gathered compared to the notes for other groups.

#### **4.3.3.4 The Questionnaire**

The third data collection method was a structured questionnaire that the participants filled out immediately after the audio recordings were made (see appendix: 6). It collects data on the participants’ demographic characteristics. The questionnaire, it is hoped, will also help in the data analysis by ensuring that the factors which directly or indirectly influence the code-switching behaviour of the participants are laid bare. The questionnaire used in the current study involves 30 closed questions with multiple-choice answers. The instructions on the questionnaire were written in English but before completion of the questionnaire, I read out the written instructions in English and translated it in Sindhi for the sake of clarity.

The questionnaire focuses on five factors: (i) personal information (ii) the socioeconomic status of participants, (iii) the language background of participants, (iv) the participants’ linguistic competence in Sindhi, Urdu and English, and, (v) participants’ perceptions about code-switching practice.



Questions 1 to 8 target demographic information relating to the participants' age, locality of residence, socioeconomic and educational background. This information also included the names of the participants. Some scholars (e. g. Bryman, 2012, Creswell, 2014) argue for the anonymity of names, but in this case, participants' names were collected in case a follow-up questionnaire was needed in order to connect their socioeconomic backgrounds with their code-switching behaviour during the analysis. However, in this report, pseudonyms are used and the data was handled confidentially. To understand their use of code-switching it was important to ascertain participants' socioeconomic backgrounds because, in the local context of Sindh, the development of participants' linguistic competence is highly associated with their socioeconomic conditions (Heller, 1988). The general economic stability of Pakistan facilitates the population to raise their social status and send their children to private or English medium schools which greatly influences their linguistic abilities (Mansoor, 1993). However, discovering the participants' socioeconomic status was a tricky area to handle because in Pakistan, it is culturally inappropriate to directly ask about a person's socioeconomic status. Therefore, an approach aimed at ranking women into their respective social classes was developed based on the official annual survey report (2010-11) 'Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement'. According to this, a per-month income of Rs. 4000 [Rs: Rupees, Pakistani currency] and below, up to Rs. 20,000 per month was quoted as the cut-off level for the working class. For the middle class, income is between Rs. 50,000 to Rs.100, 000 per month. Those earning above Rs. 200,000 belong to the upper middle class and above Rs. 200,000 and upwards, belong to the elite upper strata of society.

Questions 9 to 13 gather information about participants' L1 and the language/s they use in their social circles and in academic contexts. This information enabled their linguistic background to be known and also their conversation could be interpreted in the light of these facts and whether or not they used code-switching and if they did, the extent to which they did so. This information also assisted in understanding the relationship between social processes and code-switching in this context. Questions 14 and 15 focus on the participants' language/s in their primary and secondary schooling. This information enabled their linguistic background to be ascertained as an obvious factor influencing their linguistic competence. Questions 16 and 17 collect information about the participants' preferred language/s when they employ code-switching. This question attempts to quantify participants' approximate frequency of use of code-switching in

terms of Urdu and English etc. Questions 18 to 20 aim to assess the participants' linguistic competence in understanding their ability as code-switchers.

Question 21 asks whether they use other languages with Sindhi or not. If they do, then which language/s they switch to most often. The reply to question 22 depends on a positive reply to question 21 otherwise they could leave it blank. Question 23 explores the reasons for code-switching behaviour. In contrast, question 24 asks for reason/s for not using codeswitching. The purpose of questions 25 and 26 is to understand the reaction of interlocutors and the participants towards code-switching. Question 27 and 28 shed light on whether the participants' views of code-switching influence their L1, and if they replied 'yes', then this indicated how much their L1 is influenced. The last two questions 29 and 30 ask whether the participants approve or not of switching between Sindhi and Urdu or English in daily interaction. In conclusion, all questions asked the participants to consciously reflect on their behaviour; the questionnaire, therefore, provides a good counterpart to the spontaneous data collection during the recording.

#### **4.4 Data analysis method**

After the data collection process was completed, data analysis began. In the first stage, I manually transcribed the full-recorded conversations because there is no software on the market capable of accurately transcribing Sindhi, Urdu and English within a speech turn. This was a very time-consuming exercise because it demanded special attention in order to identify individual participant's voices, recognise overlaps or simultaneous speech, especially in the large groups. I was highly conscious that if a word, phrase or clause was incorrectly transcribed, this could affect the understanding of a participant's intended function(s) of using code-switching. Therefore, I have gone through every word transcribed many times. Special attention was paid to recognise English code-switching which sometimes was uttered with Sindhi or Urdu local pronunciation. After the transcription, every utterance was translated into English. Of these, only utterances in which codeswitching appeared to be deployed as a deliberate language strategy used in order to achieve specific social functions were selected for further analysis. Table 4.3 indicates the conventions used in the audio-recording transcription.

Table 4.3

**Transcription Conventions**

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Code-switching into Sindhi                               | lower case   |
| Code-switching and Code-mixing into Urdu                 | <i>Italicised</i>  |
| Code-switching and Code-mixing into the English language | <b>Bold type</b>   |
| Code-switching and code-mixing into other language/s     | <i><u>Italicised</u></i> <i><u>and</u></i><br><i><u>underlined</u></i> |
| Established loanword borrowing                           | <u>Underlined</u>  |
| Core borrowing   | <b><u><i>Bold and underlined</i></u></b>                               |
| Loan-blended words                                       | CAPITALISED  |
| Translation into English                                 | (In parentheses)   |

In the second stage, the data were analysed using an interpretive approach that assesses the utterances' social meanings as constructed and understood in the context of the interaction (Creswell, 2014). This study adopts a practical approach that interprets the reality of participants' personal identity, position, relationships, and social world as they are created through code-switching Gumperz (1957-1982), Auer (1984), Myers- Scotton (1993a), Heller (1988) etc. have all employed the interpretive approach to analyse qualitative data of this type.

Finally, by applying Blom and Gumperz's (1972), Gumperz's (1982) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a) precepts on code-switching, the data was analysed in terms of the functions the language alternation achieved in each case. Although the current study on code-switching has been driven

by its research questions, keeping in view the functions of code-switching from previous research, the possible functions of code-switching from the current data are categorised as the expression of a speakers' identity, specifically, to add emphasis, to report the speech of others, to express humour, to show anger, to enhance clarity of meaning, and for euphemistic expressions. Therefore, by adopting a flexible approach during the analysis phase, other significant categories which may emerge during the analysis can be identified. Creating these categories involves an interpretive process on the part of the researcher (Hill et al., 1997). After listening to the recordings from each group many times, excerpts were identified as code-switching, code-mixing, cultural and core borrowing and loan blending. Only such excerpts were analysed which evidently shows that they are used to achieve these specified functions. Thus, each chosen excerpt is assigned to one of these respective categories according to the function it performed. In the data analysis section, examples of lexical borrowing and code-mixing are mentioned and are analysed simultaneously alongside the instances of code-switching. As explained earlier, during the analysis, the observation notes and questionnaires were used in order to contextualise how sociolinguistic factors specific to each of the participants influenced their code-switching behaviour.

#### **4.5 Researcher positionality**

Outlining the researcher's epistemological stance in relation to the data, its analysis, and the conclusions drawn from it, are critical in terms of ensuring that as far as possible, this paper's findings remain as objective as possible. One cannot deny the existence of the researcher in the qualitative research because "it is important we also put ourselves in the picture and examine our own role in the research process" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 160). The *researcher's* position in relation to *the researched* is an important issue to consider within sociolinguistic research as factors such as the researcher's (or the participants') biases in terms of ethnic identity, gender, social status, as well as the researcher's L1 or L2 may all influence participants' behaviour and roles during data collection as well as during the interpretation of the data. The research was conducted in an area that, politically and linguistically, is the most troubled area in Pakistan (cf. Chapter Two). In such a situation, it was hard for the researcher to remain impartial regarding data analysis, as the researcher is a member of one ethnic group. It was difficult to forget the past

memories when in 1984 linguistic violence between Sindhi and Urdu speaking communities engulfed my family, friends and my Sindhi and Urdu-speaking neighbours. Many of them were killed or injured. With such bitter memories, it was really a giant task to be unbiased, but it was necessary to remain objective for the sake of the validity of the analysis. Thus, the researcher attempted to achieve a high level of objectivity by adopting a ‘temporary identity’ as an outsider during the data collection and analysis stages, as suggested by Torras and Gafaranga (2002). This seems to be the best solution because it “...enables the researcher to appreciate the subtle differences of world view between themselves and the community in question” (Hamza, 2007, p. 79). It also helps the researcher to be observant about the social situation and participants’ use of language without the influence of personal emotions. The strategy of ‘temporary identity’ acted as a dynamic tool to understand the psychology of those participants who were maintaining or leveling social and ethnic boundaries through code-switching. This strategy allowed me to control the emotions and concentrate on the research as a neutral observer.

During the data collection process, the researcher’s position, as explained in section 4.4., was as an outsider and passive onlooker, however, even so, participants could be subject to the *Hawthorne effect* (2007) where those observed tends to modify or alter their behaviour due to their awareness of being observed. This could influence their language behaviour. Thus, in order to mitigate such effects, before recording, participants were engaged in informal talks, asked about their study, background, interests or even their favourite movies and film stars. In the current study, the researcher was in a good position to build a rapport as the same world-view was shared with the participants. The researcher’s knowledge about this particular linguistic context as a linguistics tutor, researcher, and a member of the same speech community helped in the data analysis.

In addition, my presence as a researcher during the implementation of the questionnaire was quite neutral. The questionnaire was distributed and I read the instructions first in English, then in Sindhi and finally in Urdu. The respondents were asked to tick the boxes of their choice. During this process, my role was neither influential nor prominent as no interaction took place with the participants. Similarly, maintaining impartiality was also a goal during the data analysis. Generally, an interpretive approach is considered to be subjective. However, in the current study,

three research methods were used. The audio recordings were enhanced by the observation notes and the demographic information to validate my impartiality as a researcher during analysis. To help maintain a neutral stance and reduce researcher's bias, the theoretical concepts and categories of the functions of code-switching as delineated by Gumperz (1982), Myers-Scotton (1993a) Auer (1995), and Romaine (1995), were used.

#### **4.6. Ethical issues**

While carrying out this research, all the relevant ethical considerations were taken into account and addressed as follows. Before the departure for fieldwork, the principles of ethics of The British Sociological Association (BSA), The Social Research Association (SRA) and guidelines of the University of Sussex were strictly followed. The fieldwork plan was scrutinised and approved by the Arts Core Research Ethics Committee of the University of Sussex. In terms of data collection, official permission was granted by the Director of Colleges at Hyderabad and the principals of the participating colleges. The Director of Colleges in Hyderabad and the principals of the individual colleges were informed that students' natural conversations were to be recorded on the college premises. The researcher verbally, and in writing, gave them assurance of confidentiality; that data would be used for academic purposes only. Participation was voluntary and participants were made aware of their right to withdraw or repeal their initial consent to recording at any time or to skip any question in the questionnaire. They were provided with my email addresses and contact numbers so they could approach me in case they wanted to withdraw their participation. Being a Sindhi native speaker, the researcher was fully aware of the sociocultural constraints which females face in the Sindh. Therefore, abiding by the social ethical codes, participants were asked, prior to recording, to get permission from their parents for the recording. Anyone without family's permission would be excused. A strict code of anonymity was followed in order to maintain the privacy of participants. Although, in some audio recordings, the participants are called by names by their friends, in the transcription the participants are given pseudonyms. No physical or psychological risk or harm to participants was involved in the study. The participants were given due attention and respect, and the data was collected in a friendly and affable manner.

#### **4.7. Concluding remarks**

The current study hypothesised that code-switching is a social phenomenon which is deployed by speakers to achieve specific social goals. A sociolinguistic approach is used to understand the language behaviour of the female plurilingual Sindhi participants in their informal conversation with friends or classmates in natural settings. The procedure of participant selection is important and specific criteria were outlined for the selection of the samples in order to systematically and accurately gain a broad sample of the target group. The research design of the current study is based on a qualitative methodology. Relying on the triangulation of three data collection methods, (audio recordings, observations, and questionnaires), a variety of data has been collected. This allowed detailed and accurate results to be formulated and conclusions to be drawn using an interpretative approach. The chapter also described in detail the researcher's efforts to remain as impartial and as neutral as possible towards the data by adopting a 'temporary identity' (Torras and Gafaranga, 2002).

## Chapter Five

### Data Analysis of sociolinguistic function of switching of code

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of code-switching used by multilingual Sindhi women in informal conversations in terms of how it is employed to achieve specific social functions. The chapter begins by briefly outlining the working definitions of the terms used in the analysis. This is followed by an overview of the Pakistani education system in order to understand the basis of participants' linguistic competencies. This is followed by an explanation of the transcription conventions used and finally, a detailed discussion of the data analysis process used in the current study.

#### 5.2 An overview of the data analysis methods

The main aim of the audio recording analysis is to investigate whether and how the participants switch codes in order to facilitate particular social functions in their interactions in informal contexts. Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982) categorised the functions of code-switching into two broad categories; *situational and metaphorical code-switching*. Situational code-switching occurs when bilingual speakers utilise two different codes in physically distinct contexts (Blom and Gumperz, 1972) (cf. Chapter Three). For instance, in Pakistan, educated people tend to use native languages at home but switch to English in educational contexts. The second category, *metaphorical code-switching*, also known as *conversational code-switching* describes individuals' perceptions and presentation of themselves in relation to external factors to "convey the information that goes beyond their actual words" (Wardough, 2009, p. 104). According to Gumperz's (1982) typology of metaphorical code-switching, it performs both social and textual functions, e.g. the construction of various identities; for quoting others; addressee specification (i.e. directing a message to particular person); interjection (also known as a sentence filler or tag switching); reiteration (either literary or modified, adding emphasis, or clarification); message qualification (e.g. stating the main message of an utterance in a particular language followed by an elaboration in a different language); personalization vs. objectivization



(e.g. the degree to which speakers either demonstrate involvement with or maintain a distance from their interlocutors, personally, subjectively and objectively). This typology has been further extended by Myers-Scotton (1993a); Auer (1995); Appel and Muysken (1987); Bucholtz and Hall (2004); Romaine (1995) and Heller (1988) (cf. Chapter Three). This research, in conjunction with Gumperz's (1982) work on code-switching, forms the basis of the current study to investigate the ways in which multilingual Sindhi women use code-switching in their daily interactions to achieve the social functions listed above.

We now move on to define the terms used in this paper. Firstly, *code-switching* is understood as the switching between "words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event" (Bokamba, 1989, p.278). In contrast, the term *code-mixing* is used as "the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from other languages within sentence and speech event" (Bokamba, 1989, p.278). *Lexical borrowings* are used to incorporate and integrate sets of lexical items from one language into another in the absence of an equivalent word in the recipient language (Haugen, 1950). In terms of data analysis, the present study considers *loanwords* as those which appear in the Sindhi-English Oxford Dictionary (2008). It is important to note that most English and western loanwords came into the Pakistani languages including Sindhi during the colonised period. For example, the word 'biology' may have its roots in Greek but in Sindhi, the word functions as a loanword English, therefore, it is categorised as such in the current study. Apart from loanwords, Sindhi speakers, especially the educated urbanites, frequently used the English vocabulary over local Sindhi words which have led to the decreased usage of equivalent Sindhi items. Thus, this lexical borrowing use among such speakers differs from that of more rural parts of Pakistan where the same loanwords are perceived as non-integrated foreign vocabulary. For instance, the researcher has observed that in urban contexts, the use of English words such as *teacher*, *student*, and *system* are overtaking their Sindhi equivalents – *ustad*, *shagird*, and *dhancho* respectively, while in rural contexts, the Sindhi equivalents are still in use. In the current study, such vocabulary is regarded as *core borrowing*, which represents an intermediate stage between code-switching proper and the use of loanwords and it "more or less duplicates words already existing in L1" (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 239) (cf. Chapter Three). In the present study, the term *loanblend* is used to denote the coining of a new vocabulary item via the amalgamation of words or

morphemes from two different languages to produce a lexical item with a new meaning like *food-meal* (food-festival) or a phoneme such as *membran* (members) (Haugen, 1950). (cf. Chapter Three). Thus, in order to distinguish between the main (or *matrix*) language (ML) and the inserted (or *embedded*) language (EL), this can be achieved according to the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) proposed by Myers-Scotton, (1993b and 2002). The ML is the language in which the morphemes or lexical items are more frequently used, whereas, in the EL, imported insertion of lexical items or morphemes from the other languages occurs (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) (cf. Chapter Three).

As described in detail in Chapter Four, the current study utilises three data collection methods: (i) audio recordings of the participants' conversations, (ii) the researcher's observation notes during the audio recordings, and (iii) questionnaires which gather participants' demographic information. In terms of data analysis, firstly, the complete audio recordings were fully transcribed according to the coding protocol presented in Table 4.1. Next, the instances of code-switching were identified and categorised as code-switching, code-mixing, loanwords, core borrowing or loan blending. Next, the instances of code-switching and code-mixing were categorised according to the functions each particular language shift performed. Finally, the data were analysed using an interpretive approach, focusing on the selected instances of language switching as well as its functions. Next, the plausible reasons for participants' use of code-switching were examined. The current data is also interpreted in combination with the data derived from the demographic information gathered via the questionnaires and the researcher's observation notes. Hence, the excerpts below provide the readers with an understanding of the linguistic and paralinguistic phenomena involved in this speech in terms of indicating the speakers' intentions and the paralinguistic factors behind their use of code-switching. Simultaneously, along with code-mixing and code-switching, loanword and core borrowing vocabulary were also analysed.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it is important to briefly remind readers of the salient features of the Pakistani education system which ultimately influences the linguistic competence of this study's participants. As described in detail in chapter 2, Pakistan operates two parallel education systems: public or state schools (known as government schools) and private schools (known as English-schools). In government schools the means of instruction are Urdu and some

native languages (e.g. Sindhi, Baluchi and Pashto) up to grade 10<sup>th</sup> while English is taught as a compulsory language subject from grade 6<sup>th</sup> onwards. After matriculation (grade 10<sup>th</sup>) the language of instruction shifts to English. The government schools although providing free education until matriculation and government colleges charging a very minimal registration fee, these types of institutions lack quality in terms of educational results (Rafiq, 2010) (cf. Chapter Two). These types of schools also tend to place less importance on spoken English skills which ultimately influences students' linguistic competence. Moving on to private schools, English forms the main language of instruction and Urdu is taught as a compulsory subject while other native languages are not taught at any level (cf. Chapter Three). Students from private schools tend to be much more skilled in English and Urdu making them advanced bilinguals and multilinguals compared to students from government schools who tend to lack competence in English (Mansoor, 1993). However, aside from a consideration of sociolinguistic variables such as ethnicity, social class, the level of education, urban versus rural provenience, these participants are all part of a specific 'community of practice' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992 and Eckert, 2007).

The data analysis follows the transcription conventions explained in Table 4.3. Briefly, these are: code-switching into Sindhi indicated in lower case; code-switching into English are indicated in bold, code-switching into Urdu are in italics; code-switching into another language/s are italics and underlined; loanwords are indicated by underlining; loanblend vocabulary is capitalized and translation into English is given in parentheses.

### 5.3 Data Analysis

Seven recordings were analysed in order to identify the probable reasons for participants' use of code-switching. Since the options for the use of code-switching "can hardly be a closed one" because code-switching is a creative language behaviour (Wei, 1994), the majority of linguists agree that the main function of code-switching is to denote the speaker's identity. Apart from this, code-switching performs other textual functions. As explained in section 3.6.1.4, Gumperz (1982) categorizes the textual functions of code-switching under the broad category of metaphorical code-switching using the following typology: (1) to introduce quotation or reported speech; (3) reiteration (either literary or modified to emphasise a point or offer clarification); (4)

message qualification (e.g. the main message is spoken in one language while elaboration is given in another); (5) to express anger; (6) to express humour; and (7) to express euphemisms. Moreover, as previous categorizations are attributed to either code-switching or code-mixing only, this study's analysis develops new categories of loanwords, core-borrowing and loan blending.

### **5.3.1 The construction of identity through code-switching**

As explained in Chapter Three, many sociolinguistic studies point to the fact that one of the main functions of code-switching is the construction of identity. Here, identity is a popular but relative concept used in the broader cultural, social, psychological, anthropological and philosophical senses. In the current study, identity is aligned with the particular social groups to which the speaker belongs including social class and urban or rural origin, ethnicity religious faith, gender; and age (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Heller, 1988; Romaine, 1989; De Fina, 2003; etc.). As explained earlier, speakers tend to employ code-switching in order to align with or distance themselves from specific social categories of belonging depending on their own perceived social standing.

The analysis of the data gathered by the current study reveals examples when speakers consciously switched to the unmarked (expected) and marked (unexpected) code to define their own and their interlocutors' social, cultural, religious and linguistic status and construct formal or informal identities to form in-group and out-group relationships.

#### **5.3.1.1 Code-switching for the self-ascription of identity**

The current data analysis indicates that the participants used *self-ascription* as a conversational strategy for self-projection (Cohen, 1978, p. 387). As explained in section 3.4.1.4., Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 598) use the *self-ascription* dichotomy to describe the social commonalities and differences in speech to propose a framework to analyse identity according to code choice. In this approach, conversational participants focus on the social status of the *self* as well as *others* (i.e. interlocutor/s) to negotiate identity through shifts in language use (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Excerpt (1) (below) illustrates part of a conversation among three urban-elite friends discussing

their future plans after graduation using code-switching to English as a *self-ascription* strategy to construct their identity as competent candidates for a government career. As explained earlier, all names mentioned are pseudonyms.

### Excerpt 1

1. Qamar: **After graduation** chaa kanda?

(After graduation, what will do?)

2. Mona: **CSS exam, so join the bureaucracy.**

([I will take] the CSS [Central Superior Service] exam [examination], so [I will] join the civil service.)

3. Qamar: Poe kehro group khano tha?

(So, which group you will choose [in the civil service?])

4. Shahida: **DMG [District Management Group] or Foreign Service. DM because**

**this group is about the policy making and I think that I will be able to make certain policies which can make Pakistan a bit improved country. DMG is any kind of job that provides you a scope for improvement.** Un mae order halando ahe.

(It follows order [rules].)

5. Mona: Muhinjo **father** b nande kha chio ta taha khe CSS karno ahe. **Yes. DMG**

**group, means power to eradicate corruption from our country.**

(My father asked me to do CSS.)

Here, Qamar uses intra-sentential switching into English when asking Mona and Shahida about their plans after graduation (turn #1). Both friends switch to English to explain their choice of government jobs. First, switching to English, Mona replies that she will take the CSS exam [Central Superior Service] (turn # 2). Here, the English word *exam* is a clipping (Marchand,

1969)<sup>1</sup> of the English word *examination*. On the basis of the researcher's observations, it was noticed that educated Pakistanis prefer the word 'exam' instead of the Sindhi equivalent or the full word; examination. Next, Shahida switching into English says either DMG [District Management Group] or the Foreign Service because a career in DMG is related to policy making and she wants to help create a better Pakistan (turn # 4). Shahida uses the pronoun *I* twice as a self-ascription and self-projection strategy to portray herself as a competent candidate. Next, Mona shifts from Sindhi to English as a self-ascription strategy to present herself as a worthy candidate for a civil service job. She uses the loanword CSS in the absence of an equivalent in Sindhi.

The fact that Mona and Shahida switch to English seems to be a metaphorical device because, through this switch to English, they demonstrate their suitability for the government positions as candidate who must be highly proficient in English, the official language of the government of Pakistan. Both use English as 'the language of power and prestige' to assert their social identity (Gal, 1979, p. 112). Their choice of job and the reasons behind their decision to work in a career which will benefit their country illustrates their social status as members of the Pakistani urban-elite class tend to strive to secure high status careers in the civil service.

Next, in excerpt (2), the *self-ascription* and *other-ascription* strategies are used to negotiate interlocutors' cultural identities through code-switching and code-mixing. This is revealed in the following conversation between two participants discussing *karo-kari* (honour killings) of women in Sindh. As explained in Chapter two, in Pakistan male family members may kill a female relation due to a belief that they have brought dishonour upon the family. The man who is involved with the woman is also likely to be killed.

## Excerpt 2

1. Sorath: Jeaen taha glah kae ta karo-kare jo system ihio b hikree *kam zahaniyat* ahe.

---

<sup>1</sup> When a word is reduced to one of its parts it is known as *clipping* or *truncation* and *shortening* (Marchand, 1969). For example, *exam* (examination), *uni* (university), *math* (mathematics), *intro* (introduction), *lab* (laboratory), *phone* (telephone), *fridge* (refrigerator) etc.

(As you were talking about the honour-killing system [tradition], it is the result of a backwards mentality.)

2. Moomal: Ghat zahaniyat ahe paan khe wado dekharan je. *Ehsas-kumtree* ahe.

**Complex** ah ander jo ta assan kuch ahioon.

[[It is] a low mentality just to show superiority. [It is] It is] a low mentality.

[It is] an inferiority complex to show that they [men] are something.

3. Sorath: *Kum-zehniyat* ahe. Jahalt ahe. *Ehsas-e-kumtree* ahe **man** ji. **Inferior**

**complex** ahe ander jo.

(It is a low [negative] mentality. [It is a] barbarian attitude [of men]. [It is] an inferiority complex [It is] an inner inferiority complex [of men].)

Sorath discusses honour-killings using Sindhi as the ML and then translates the keywords in Urdu (turn #1). She uses self-ascription to show disapproval of the practice of honour killing which indicates her self-projection in an effort to rebel against it. Her interlocutor, Moomal, follows her interlocutor's lead and shows her disapproval of this practice by translating key words using trilingual code-switching into Sindhi, Urdu and English (turn # 2). This can be seen as an attempt to demonstrate her common cultural bonds with her interlocutor as well as both being females within this culture. Using trilingual code-switching, Sorath also recycles key words in Sindhi, Urdu and English (turn # 3). Both participants use translanguaging for self-ascription in order to show their cultural relationship with one another. Garcia and Wei (2014, p. 103) consider such shifts from L1 to L2 and then use of L3 translanguaging to establish common ground between interlocutors to constructs and reinforces their cultural affiliations and feminine identities.

### 5.3.1.2. The construction of speaker identity via use of *we-code* and *they-code*

Another code-switching strategy used by interlocutors to construct their identities is *we-code* and *they-code*. As explained in Chapter Three, Blom and Gumperz (1972) used the somewhat vague terms *personalisation* and *objectification* to describe speakers' involvement (*personalization*) or distance (*objectification*) from interlocutors through code-switching. Keeping in mind the

criticism, Gumperz (1982, p. 83) redefined it using the *wecode* and *they-code* typology. He states that *personalisation* and *objectification* are “merely rough labels” and are likely to be interpreted as *we-code* and *they-code* (1982, p. 83). Gumperz (1982) describes *we-code* as an informal, in-group use of the language belonging to the interlocutor’s common language of origin while *they-code* denotes formal and outgroup associations by using language to exclude or differentiate interlocutors. Generally, *we-code* and *they-code* are used to disclose ethnic similarities and differences (Gumperz, 1982). However, Sebba and Wooton (1998) contradict this view, arguing that the use of *we-code* and *they-code* do not necessarily denote ethnic commonalities or differences, in fact, *we-code* and *they-code* are a complex form of code-switching and in certain societies, where instead of two codes (*we-code* and *they-code*), more distinct codes are available to form in-group and out-group identities. As a linguist, the researcher has observed that this statement is applicable in the Sindhi language because *they-code* (also known as *you-code*) is used in one of two ways as a stylistic device. The first is the plural *tawha-code* (formal *you-code*) to convey a formal and out-group association. The second is the singular *tu-code* (informal *you-code*) which is indicative of a more informal register and signals in-group associations between interlocutors. Similarly, in Sindhi, *we-code* is indicated as plural *assa-code* in formal expressions and *aao-code* as a singular *I-code* for more informal communication. Such codes act as social processes because “there is social knowledge involved about how to relate constellations of features to social groups, milieus, life-worlds, etc.” (Auer, 2005, p. 13).

Tethering formal and informal codes within the Sindhi language, excerpt 3 illustrates a conversation among three MA students from different social backgrounds. Preh and Bubbly are from middle-class families in nearby towns and live in the halls of residence on campus, while the third speaker, Sohni belongs to the urban-elite class and lives in an upmarket area of Hyderabad. All the participants used both formal and informal code and changed between codes when discussing an annual college event known as cultural day.

### Excerpt 3

1. Sohni: **Cultural-day** kaeen ho? Assan na huyaseen.

(How was the cultural day? We were not there [to attend it].)

2. Preh: Tawha **join** na kiyo. **Starting day** **cultural-day** jo, ihio bulkul hik **traditional**



**way** me hiyo, jeean ghot-kuwar hoonda ahin, inhan joon rasmoon wagera.

Assan khe mazo ayo.

(You could not join it. The starting day (inauguration) of the cultural day began in the traditional way, like a bridegrooms' [marriage] ceremony, the [marriage] rituals etc. We enjoyed it.)

3. Sohni: Tawha kaeen **celebration** kayee?

(How did you celebrate?)

4. Preh: **Celebration means**.... Ha. Asan etro **actively participate** na kare sagiaseen.

(Celebration means (pause) ...Ok. We could not actively participate).

5. Bubbly: Etree umeed na huee asan khe cho ta ihio **simple** assanje class jo **occasion**

ho per **crowd** ache wayio.

(We were not expecting [crowds] because that was simply our class occasion but a big crowd turned up).

In this excerpt, we notice that Sohni is using the formal plural *assa-code* (we-code) rather than the informal *I-code*. In turn 1, she asks her classmates how the cultural-day was. Sohni replies saying that they could not attend. Here, the recently introduced English term *cultural-day* can be considered a core borrowing (i.e. an in-between stage of borrowing and code-switching) because its major use is confined to the educated and urban-elite where it acts as an English loanword while in rural parts of Sindh, this would be considered code-switching as the Sindhi equivalent *saqafat jo deharo* is more commonly used. Here, it seems that due to brevity, this English term is rapidly replacing the longer Sindhi one. Another reason for this is that social media in Urdu makes use of many English phrases rather than Sindhi ones due to the absence of equivalents in Urdu.

Preh, preserving the same formal *tawha-code* (you-code), uses intra-sentential switching into English on the keywords 'starting day', 'join' and 'traditional way' to reinforce her explanation (turn # 2). In turn (3), Sohni uses the noun 'celebration' instead of the verb 'celebrated'. Preh notices this slip and repeats back the correct version in a matching formal tone and says that she

was not able to participate in the event (turn # 4). Chaudron (1977), Shegloff (1977) and Mishra (2005) suggest that such reformulation techniques are commonly used by EFL teachers to encourage students to notice their mistakes. Contrary, this data analysis indicates an example of reformulation used to a correct in a peer-to-peer conversation. Next, Bubbly uses intrasentential switching in English turn # 5 using *we-code* to include her classmates to construct a unified collective identity. This excerpt shows the transient use of *we-code* to initiate self and other-appellations on a social basis where Sohni (being from the elite-urban class) maintains her ‘distance’ linguistically speaking, from her classmates who are from small town middle-class families.

The use of the formal *assan-code* (we-code) and *tawha-code* (plural you-code) to preserve in-group and out-group identity within a conversation by the same group as in extract (3) is shown in excerpt (4). Here, Sohni and Preh are discussing the Eid-holidays – an Islamic religious festival.

#### Excerpt 4

1. Sohni: Taha kadah acho pia?

(When will you [plural] return [after the holidays]?)

2. Preh: Assan Eid kare eendaseen. *Inshallah*.

(We will be back after Eid, God willing)

3. Sohni: Subhane **last class** ahe.

(Tomorrow is the last class.)

4. Preh: Ta poe ghar weendaseen. Assen holster ahioon and hite kafee **problem** thaa theyan. **Classes** khapoe assan ghar weendaseen.

(Then [we] will leave for home. We are hosteller[s] [staying in the hall of residence] and here [we] face many problem [s]. After the classes, we will leave for home).

This conversation shows that Sohni again employs a formal tone using the formal *tawhacode* (plural you-code) when asking when Preh will return from her village (turn # 1). Preh, realising this use of the formal code, replies reciprocally using *assan-code* (we-code) (turn # 2). She also uses an Arabic loanword *inshallah* (God willing) This Arabic phrase is used universally throughout the Islamic world and even by non-Muslims. However, in Pakistan, it is symbolic of a speaker's Muslim identity. Next, when Sohni informs them that tomorrow is the last class (turn # 3), Preh replies using *assan-code* (we-code) that the next day they would leave for their homes because shops and canteens at the university will close (turn # 4). In this turn, by using *we-code*, Preh expresses the collective problems of living on campus, and she is affirming a collective identity with other students who also live in college residences. In turn (3), the English word *class* can be considered a loanword because it is integrated syntactically into Sindhi which is used as the ML in this turn. However, in turn (4) the word *classes* is an example of code-switching because participant uses the plural form according to English grammar while the plural of the loanword *class* would be *classoo* according to Sindhi grammar. Hence, this clearly indicates that the word *classes* retain the donor language's rules. This indicates the linguistic competence of the speakers; that they are aware of how to use the English loanword according to the grammar of the host language (Sindhi) as well as the intra-lexical changes they introduce when using it in the donor language (English).

The above excerpts (3) and (4) affirm Sebba and Wooton's (1998) claim that instead of two codes (i.e. *we-code* and *they-code*), many languages make use of distinct codes to form formal and informal styles to indicate in-group and out-group identities. These two excerpts indicate a solid distribution of *we-code* as the formal (*assan-code*) and informal (*tawhacode*) in Sindhi which is used to construct the speaker's identities.

### 5.3.1.3 Code-switching and sociocultural identity

In-group and out-group identity is also formed on the basis of the speakers' similarities or differences in terms of their interlocutors' linguistic, socio-cultural, gender and religious backgrounds. Piazza et al. (2011) state that it is up to the speakers to choose how they perceive interlocutors' identities. Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 598) explain that under the rationality principle, identities cannot be autonomous or independent rather they are dependent on other

identities in terms of sameness and difference and involve social power (cf. Chapter Three). For instance in excerpts (5) and (6), the participants construct identities by capitalizing on speakers' qualities such as socioeconomic (i.e. elite, middle or working class), cultural (i.e. urban modern culture versus rural conservative traditions) and locality (i.e. urban, rural, village, town, city). These excerpts show how, in the interactions between the interlocutors from different social backgrounds, an out-group identity is constructed on the basis of the social factors mentioned above.

### Excerpt 5

1. Moomal: Per ma paehanjo **experience** budhaya thee ta kafee handhan te taleem te chokirion ghat diyan theyoon. Aeen mobile systema ghano urooj te ache wayia ahin, in te waqt diyan theyoon.  
(But I'll tell you about my own experience, I have noticed that girls focus less on their education and they spend more time on [smartphones] which nowadays are commonly in use.)
2. Sorath: **Actually**, maa insaa *mutafiq* na kandum, cho jo chokrio banisbat murdan je, dadho parhan theoon aeen position hasil kan thyoon. **They are position holders.** Maa sumcha thee ta **parents** khoosh ahin. **They are serious for their study.** Maa *umooman* iheo ditho ahe.  
(Actually, I will not agree with you because I have noticed girls are hard working in their studies compared to men and they get position [distinctions]. They are position holders. I think their parents are also happy. They [girls] are serious about their study. I have noticed this many times.)
3. Moomal: Ihio sahe ahe per kuch hadhan te moon ditho **girls** taleem khe ghat... (This is right but I have observed at some places that girl's [women] education is lacking ...)
4. Sorath: **That may be common in the villages. In cities, people are more professional and [for them] education is important.**

### Excerpt 6

1. Moomal: Maa sumcha thee ta hokrian khe ilam kha wadeek shaoor je zaroorat ahe.

(I think women need awareness more than education.)

2. Sorath: Taha je chawan jo mutlab ahe ta ilim zaroree nahe. Ha, asa khe shaoor je

zaroorat ahe. Jo ilim sirf parhan natho de per shoor b saan hasil kare tho. Insaan zahan khe **wash** kare **bright** kare tho. Taleem sa ihe ghalhio *kam se kam* theek sagjan thioon.

(You mean education is not important. Just reading books only is not education. Yes, we need awareness. Education does not only teach us how to study but it also gives awareness. It can improve our thoughts and at least wash away old dogmas).

In excerpt (5), Moomal shares her experience that some women focus less on education and spend more time on their smart phones (turn # 1). She uses the English loanword *system* and attaches a Sindhi phoneme as a suffix / /s st m / (systems) to pluralize it according to Sindhi grammar rules. The Sindhi language allows frequent usage of an inventory of phonemes; the appearance of individual sounds in such loanwords can be considered a sign of their integration into the recipient language according to the grammar rules of that language (Abbasi, 2012). The second participant, Sorath uses tag code-switching, intrasentential code mixing and intersentential code-switching into English and Urdu to show disagreement as well as to reveal her Pakistani elite-urban background (turn # 2). When Moomal tries to defend her argument that some women pay less attention to their education (turn # 3), she overlaps with Moomal (turn # 4) switching into English and says that perhaps village women do not focus on education whereas in cities, education is considered more important. This seems to be an example of metaphorical code-switching in that Sorath considers herself to be superior on the basis of her urban-elite background and conveys a linguistic sign to Moomal as an out-group member on the basis that she belongs to the middle-class. Sorath seems to position herself as a member of the urban-elite class where importance is given to education and women are able to occupy high-status jobs. Her attempt to overlap her interlocutor's turn can be considered an attempt to take the floor and discourage Moomal from contesting this point.

Similarly in excerpt (6) Moomal emphasizes the lesser role of education and says that women need awareness (turn # 1). Sorath is resorting to trilingual switching into English, Sindhi and Urdu keywords to reinforce her thoughts about the importance of education (turn # 2). This excerpt indicates the priorities of women from two different socio-cultural backgrounds. Urban-elite Sorath is fully aware of the importance of education for women because in urban areas educated women share the family's financial burden. On the contrary, in Pakistani villages, women are often subject to the male hierarchy where the man is the head of the family and he alone takes responsibility for providing for his family.

Therefore, Moomal seems to be stressing an awareness of women's rights.

The data analysis of excerpt (5) and (6) indicate that elite-urban Sindhi women are well aware of their social identity. If their interlocutors are from rural communities, they tend to be framed as an out-group. Code-switching seems not to be an intrinsic part of Moomal's idiolect, as she has a poorer, predominantly monolingual village background. Her codeswitching is limited to sporadic intrasentential switching, unlike Sorath, who frequently resorts to English and Urdu as a metalinguistic sign of an elite-urban woman. The Pakistani urban-elite class has internalised Urdu and English as 'symbolic resources' and by using these languages, they distinguish themselves from the 'average' Pakistanis (Mansoor, 1993). Such behaviour consequently strengthening the urban-elite identity as a "symbolic...and endow[s] particular cultural forms with value and authority" (Bauman, 1992, p. 128). Similar are the findings of Myers-Scotton (1993a) in Africa, Swigart (1992) in Dakar and Perez Casas (2008) in Puerto Rico. These findings show that the educated urban elite dwellers utilize their linguistic competence to mark themselves as belonging to a higher social stratum than their interlocutors.

In contrast to extract (6) in which Sorath as an urban elite woman distances herself from her classmate from friend on socio-economic grounds, excerpt (7) illustrates part of a dialogue in which Moomal shows her pride about her rural culture and distances herself from Sorath on cultural grounds.

### **Excerpt 7**

1. Sorath: Aurat *mam se kam* matric ta huje **to understand her life.**

(A woman at least should have achieved matriculation [10<sup>th</sup> grade] to understand her life.)

2. Moomal: Goth me matric taen **education possible** nahe. Shehar je aurat khe

**freedom** ahe aeen **educated** ahe. Goth me agar ko primary pass ah eta kafe ahe to **understand life**

(Education up to matriculation [10<sup>th</sup> grade] is not possible in villages. In cities, women have freedom and they are educated. If a woman [in a village] has a finished her primary education, it is enough [for her] to understand life.)

Here, Sorath mixes Urdu and English lexis to display her urban repertoire, arguing that women should be educated to at least matriculation (turn # 1). Her opinion reveals her urban-elite status where education for women is considered an important aspect of life, as explained earlier. Her code-switching and code mixing into English and Urdu also reflects her urban repertoire and her identity as a progressive modern woman. Next, Moomal uses intrasentential code-switching in English to contradict her interlocutor, saying that in cities women enjoy freedom and are educated. In the village, only a primary level of education is sufficient to understand life (turn # 2). It is important to notice that to show disagreement, both speakers behave in the same way by mixing English and Sindhi. As explained earlier, in the Pakistani linguistic context English occupies a prestigious status and code-switching and code-mixing is mostly used by educated people to communicate their disagreement. By showing this disagreement, Moomal shows pride in her rural cultural identity and distances herself from Sorath, framing her as unaware of rural culture. It is important to note that rural people tend to take great pride in their culture and identity (Kennedy, 2002).

Following the same theme of cultural identity, in excerpt (8) an urban woman is outnumbered by interlocutors from rural areas. In this conversation, three women are discussing urban culture. Two women are from small towns and one is from Hyderabad. The topic of their discussion is women's activities in small town culture in Sindh.

### Excerpt 8

1. Ruby: Auratan laa **activities** zaroori ahin, **for example**, GYM-KHANA huji,

**walking-track** te wanjan.

(There should be some activities for women. For example, there should be a gymnasium [in the town so women] can go to walking tracks.)

2. Nazia: Ihe shahran la sahe ahi. Hite jo mahol and manhoo **accept** na kanda.

(This is possible in cities but here [in small towns] the people and society will not accept it.

3. Iqra: Hee sahe thee chawe. Ihe subh tuhinje wade shaher me halanda. **Not here.** (She is right. This is all possible in your big cities. [It is] not here [in small towns].)

4. Ruby: Cho na kanda **accept**?

(Why will [people] not accept?)

5. Nazia: In kare jo **families** bahar weendio ta **accept** na kanda. **Small towns have a different culture.**

(Because if families go out, it is not acceptable. Small towns have a different culture.) (In Pakistan word family mostly denotes female members of a family.)

6. Ruby: **Nowadays it is common lifestyle.**

7. Nazia: **But you don't know much about rural culture. We are not city people but from a rural culture, different from yours.**

In this excerpt, Ruby, who comes from metropolitan Hyderabad, says that town, like cities, should have gymnasiums or walking tracks for women (turn # 1). She uses the word *gymkhana* (a place for sports and social gatherings) which is Anglo-Indian blending of the English noun *gym* and Persian and Urdu/Hindi noun *khana* (place). This is a reminder that Urdu and Hindi are very similar languages. In Pakistan, it is called Urdu and is known as Hindi in India. Urdu is written in Persian Script and Hindi in Devanagari Script (Waaz 1920). MacMillan (1995) states that the word *gymkhana* is a derivation of Persian word *jamat-khana* (a public place at a station). During colonisation, English replaced the initial word *jam* with *gym* to refer to places for games and social activities (MacMillan, 1995). Here, the researcher assumes that Sindhi may have borrowed the word *gymkhana* from Persian as its etymology indicates its English-Persian blending. However, this cannot be confirmed due to the absence of any etymological research. Such blending of words from English and native languages is common in Pakistan, especially, in



the repertoire of speakers from the elite and educated classes who occupy the linguistically unstable boarder between their local languages, and English and Urdu the languages of power and prestige. It can also be argued that such language use is an attempt to construct a global identity by inserting the international language (i.e. English) within local vocabulary in order to expand the reach and applicability of their local words to new, modern contexts. It shows that some participants of the current study “are living in or between two worlds (their home society and the receiving society) [and] express this unstable status through their bilingual speech style” (Auer, 2005, p. 407). Such loanblending may be an attempt to acknowledge participants’ dual identities as speakers of both English and Sindhi.

Nazia and Iqra from small towns, use formal *tawha-code* (you-code) to distance from Ruby who is from a rural background (turns # 2 and 3). Iqra, at the end of her utterance, switches to English to reinforce her disagreement (turn# 3). Ruby switches to English to express her disagreement (turn # 6). Nazia then switches to English, Ruby’s preferred language, reminding her that she is an outsider in terms of her knowledge of rural culture which is different from hers. Nazia’s code-switching from Sindhi to English seems to emphasise the differences that exist between rural and urban cultures. This instance of code-switching reflects a higher degree of Gumperz’s (1982) notion of *personalisation* and *objectification*, as explained earlier, in terms of Iqra and Nazia’s involvement reflecting their rural-cultural ideology. Using formal Sindhi *tawha-code* [you-code], Nazia frames Ruby as out-group member on a socio-cultural basis, and uses *we-code* for herself and Iqra to construct their distinct social identities as insiders who are more familiar with urban culture.

In the data analysis of extracts (5) and (6) illustrate that participants belonging to the urban elite class employ code-switching in Urdu and English to display their high-class urban identity as a sign of superiority and power and maintain a certain distance from their rural interlocutor, contrariwise, in excerpts (7) and (8) participants from a rural background displays her cultural identity by employing English lexical switching. Interestingly, Sorath and Ruby shift to Sindhi, English and Urdu as an indicator of their urban-elite identity and show their pride about their urban culture, whereas Moomal and Nazia and Iqra switches to English to illustrate that their rural culture is superior because in Pakistan, being from a rural culture is related to a distinct cultural identity while the urban culture is formed of a blend of foreign cultures (Malik, 1963). It is indicating that participants use English, the preferred language of their interlocutor, to

emphasise their arguments. Such instances of code-switching from local languages to a superior code (i.e. English) mirrors the findings of Gal (1979, p. 112) who observes that Hungarian L1 speakers switched to German to show their superiority because, for Hungarian speakers, German is considered a prestigious, sophisticated language associated with authority.

### 5.3.1.4 Code-switching and gender identity

The current data analysis shows that Sindhi women use code-mixing and code-switching as a device to eloquently discuss issues related to gender as well as constructing their female identity as excerpts (9) and (10) show:

#### Excerpt 9

1. Shami: Sindhi aurat khe azadi ahe. Hani burqo b nathee pae.

(Sindhi women have freedom now. Nowadays they do not wear *burqas* [A veil covering the whole body]).

2. Najma: **I mean to say to take off the *burqa* is not freedom.**

3. Shami: **Freedom** nahe cha? Char dewaran me qaed, **once in a while** nikrandio

ihio b burqe me. **Now they are free to leave home without the *burqa*.**

(Is it [*wearing burqa*] not freedom? [in the old days women were] imprisoned in their homes. Once in a while, they were allowed to go out wrapped in a *burqa*. Now they are free to go out without a *burqa*.)

4. Najma: **You are correct** per murdan joon nazroon. **Without** burqo aurat khe sutho nahin samjhanda.

(You are right but men's ogling? They [men] think that without a *burqa*, a woman is not good [in character].)

5. Nazia: Aurat cha sirf mani bache **and be a babysitter**. Bas?

(Is she born to live her life in the kitchen and as a babysitter? Is that all?)

6. Shami: Agar aurat haq gurandee ta **society automatically accept** kandi aurat je **freedom** khe.

(If women ask for their rights, society [will] automatically accept the freedom of women).

### Excerpt 10

1. Sorath: Assen auratoon b insan ahio. **We are human being. We are not different from men.** *Bulke* wadheek **responsible** ahio murd kha.

(We women are human beings. We are human beings. We are not different from men, in fact, we are more responsible than men.)

2. Moomal: **Yes.** Ghar; baar; dost; maet; **social life;** subh aseem disoon. Murd khe

gharme her shae tayar mile thee. **It is we not men** jeke subh assan wangur disan.

(Yes. We look after the home, children, friends, relatives and social life. Men get everything ready in the home. It is us, not men who look after everything.)

In excerpt (9), three participants discuss the freedom of women in Sindh. Shami says Sindhi women are now free because nowadays they do not have to wear a *burqa* (turn # 2). Next, Najma uses code-switching to English to show her disagreement (turns # 2 and 4). Shami also shows her disagreement by alternating between intrasentential and intersentential codeswitching in both Sindhi and English and uses the English idiomatic expression ‘once in a while’ as a stylistic linguistic resource to underline the point made (turn # 3). In turns 5 and 6, both Nazia and Shami, embedding English into Sindhi, rhetorically emphasise the struggle for women’s rights. Their intrasentential switching seems to emphasise their arguments in favour of the freedom of women. Both women attempt to express an anticonservative and modern feminine identity where women are equal to men.

A similar notion is expressed in excerpt (10) where the two participants express their feminist identity by using *we-code* for women and *they-code* for men to distinguish between them. Using *assen-code* (we-code), Sorath in turn 1, translates the same statement from Sindhi to English that seems to emphasise her longing to secure equal rights for women. Moomal also endorses Sorath’s statement using Sindhi and English bilingual code-mixing on key words (turn # 2).

This is similar to Ennaji and Siddiqi (2008) who suggest that language switching and code mixing is an intentional language practice specific to gender. In the same vein, choosing the more prestigious English language for key words seems a deliberate attempt to stress women's prevailing social status. Use of *we-code* and *they-code* indicates that women are defined as the in-group and men as the out-group here, differentiating between women and men on gender lines. Simultaneously, this also reveals an in-depth social knowledge of Sindhi society where the domestic division of working tends to entail men working to bring in a salary and women taking care of domestic responsibilities.

### 5.3.1.5 Code-switching and ethnic identity

Another function of code-switching is the construction of ethnic identity. As explained in Chapter Three, Gumperz (1982) Gumperz, Myers-Scotton (1993) states that the use of marked or unmarked code signals speaker's ethnic identity. Excerpts (11) and (12) show that participants change languages from unmarked code (Sindhi) to marked code (Urdu and English) as positive verbal gestures to level out the language differences. First, excerpt (11) indicates an interaction among three participants selected as members of a college reception committee and assigned the duty of receiving a student delegation from Karachi. One participant, Meki was silent throughout the recording presumably because she is not a fluent speaker in Sindhi and the conversation was in the Sindhi language. Her schooling was in Urdu and English and thus she predominantly uses these languages. During the conversation, her two interlocutors switch from Sindhi to English and Urdu in order to involve her in the conversation.

#### Excerpt 11

1. Zeni: Tu Meki khe chiyio ahe cha?

(Did [you] ask Meki [to accompany us to receive the delegation]?)

2. Haya: **Quite reluctant but now she is coming.**

([She was] quite reluctant but now she is coming [accompanying us to receive the delegation]).

3. Zeni: *Meki, aap aa rahe ho na?*

(Meki, are you coming [with us]?)

4. Meki: **Ya.**

(Yes)

5. Haya: *Tumahara naam bhee membrane list me shamil he.*

(Your name is also on the list of the members [of the delegation receiving committee.]

5. Zeni: **I know** *mera naam list me shamil hain.*

(I know my name is on that list.)

Zeni asks Haya in Sindhi if Meki had been asked to accompany the group [to receive the delegation] (turn # 1). Haya switches from Sindhi to English, the speakers' mutual academic language, so that Meki would understand the topic and to involve her in the discussion (turn # 2). Next, Zeni switches to Urdu, Meki's L1, to ask if she is coming with them (turn # 3). Meki opts to give a short reply in English (turn # 4). To extend the conversation, Zeni switches to Urdu and tells Meki that her name is included in the delegation receiving committee list. She uses word *membran* which is a perfect example of loanblending. In this word, the Urdu morpheme 'an' is suffixed with the English *member* to form a plural. Loanblending is a common practice in Pakistani languages and is used to coin new words by blending a native word or morpheme with an English word or morpheme (Shariq, 2013). Both participants Haya and Zeni switch to English and Urdu- Meki's L1 and L2 to demonstrate their inter-group identity and level out the language difference.

In a similar vein, excerpt (12) shows one participant changing code from Sindhi to Urdu, the language of her interlocutor, to form an in-group identity. As explained in the previous chapter, during the course of this recording, Shirin, who was not selected to take part in the recorded conversations, enters the room of her own accord and exchanges greetings with the women involved before any of the participants or the researcher could inform her that a recording was in progress. Her consent was obtained at a later stage in order to use her utterances in this study. Due to intercultural marriage, Urdu is predominant in Shirin's home and she is not fluent in spoken Sindhi although she understands it.

## Excerpt 12

1. Shirin: Salaam. *Kesee ho?* **Must be busy in study.**

(Hi. How are you? [You] must be busy studying.)

2. Mehro: Wal-e-kum Salaam. *Ha yaar. Pirhaee orr sirf parhaee. Tum batao?*

(Hi. Yes, dear. [I am busy in] study and only study. Tell me [about] you?)

3. Shirin: **I am fine. Yes, busy in study. Exam** *qareeb he so bas purahe hae*. (I am fine. Yes, [I am] busy studying. The exam [examination date] is approaching so [I am] busy studying.)

(Suddenly Shirin notices that a recording is taking place)

4. Shirin: *Ha bas*. **Ok. Enjoy your company. Ok.** *Phir milae ge.*

(Yes, it is. Ok, enjoy your company [work]. Ok. See you later.)

5. Mehro: **Ok. Bye.**

When Shirin sees Mehro, she greets her using the Arabic loanword *salam* (turn # 1). Arabic greetings are understood throughout the Muslim world including Pakistan and are used to express an Islamic identity. Although, of course, greetings exist in the participant's native languages, some Arabic loanwords related to the Islamic faith have penetrated into local Pakistani Muslim speech communities after the Arab conquest of the Indo-Pakistan region at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This seems to have restricted the use of greetings in the native languages. Mehro, who previously was speaking in Sindhi, directly switches to Arabic to reply to the greeting (turn # 2). This can be typified as *anticipational triggering* where the interlocutor anticipates the specific term in another language and code-switches to that particular language (Clyne, 1980). Mehro, then switching to unmarked Urdu, her L1, tells Shirin that she is busy studying. Here Urdu can be considered to be the unmarked code because it is used in their academic contexts as well as the *lingua franca* of the country. This means that educated Sindhi speakers are likely to understand it. Myers-Scotton (1993a) calls such code-switching a sequential unmarked choice; that is, interlocutors switch into unmarked code either due to a change in situation, participants or topic of conversation. Her purpose here seems to be to extend the conversation (turn # 3). Here she uses the English word *exam* (a clipping of the English

*examination* as explained in excerpt (1). Both Shirin and Mehro also frequently use English tag code-switching such as ‘ok’, ‘so’ and ‘bye’, which is common for educated Pakistani speakers.

Both excerpts (11) and (12) indicate women’s assimilation from Sindhi to Urdu as an attempt to level the language difference to convey an in-group association. This is contrary to excerpts (13) and (14) where the participants construct an out-group identity based on language differences.

### Excerpt 13

1. Shirin: *Tum kesse ho?*

(How are you?)

2. Nina: **I am fine.** Tun kean ahen.

(I am fine. How are you?)

3. Shirin: **Good. Ok. See you. Bye.**

### Excerpt 14

1. Soomal: Yaar **please** Urdu me galahiyio ta hin khe sumch me che. *Sabeen, tumhare*

*lye kehrahee hoon ke tum samach sako.*

(Friends, please speak in Urdu so she can understand. Sabeen, I request, so she can understand.)

2. Dua: Assan jee zaban ahe. Assen Sindhi me ghalheendasee.

(It is our language. We will speak in Sindhi.)

3. Heer: *Yaar tum ek kee wajah se* **should we all Sindhi use Urdu?**

(Dear for you, one single [person] should all Sindhis [women] use Urdu?)

4. Sabeen: **No. No. No issue.** *Aap Sindhi me bolo. Muche samach aatee he.*

(No. No. No issue. You continue in Sindhi, I can understand.)

In excerpt (13), Shirin, who entered the room unexpectedly, as explained in excerpt (12), greets Nina in Urdu, Shirin's L1 (turn # 1). Nina, who is fluent in Urdu (as shown in her questionnaire answers) replies in the unmarked English code and the marked code, Sindhi (turn # 2). In this context, English is unmarked because it is the participants' mutual academic language, however; Sindhi is a marked-code because Shirin cannot speak Sindhi. Nina uses Sindhi and English as her preferred languages, and, to avoid Urdu, indexes her relationship to the other interlocutors. In this particular context, such decisions about the "languages we speak or we refuse to speak" indicate speaker's identities about "who we are" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 223). Nina's use of Sindhi as a marked code with an interlocutor who cannot speak Sindhi is intended to out-group Shirin. This language choice reflects her opinion that Sindhi should be used as the dominant language over Urdu. Shirin infers the meaning of the use of this marked code-switching and using the mutual English to say goodbye to Nina (turn # 3). Nina's marked choice of language calls for new rights and obligations (cf. Chapter Three) to highlight this change in relationship. Shirin seems to have noticed this use of marked code as a sign to end the conversation and say farewell to Nina. Thus, it can be seen that marked code-switching can be motivated to serve ethnically based exclusion and to end conversations (Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

Similarly, in excerpt (14) one participant refuses to switch into Urdu. Here, four interlocutors are talking. This includes Sabeen whose L1 is Urdu. As explained earlier, Sabeen cannot speak Urdu and so was silent when everyone was communicating in Sindhi. Soomal notices her silence and invites the others to switch to Urdu to involve Sabeen in the discussion (turn # 1). However, her request was declined by the other speakers. Resorting to *assan-code* (we-code), Dua says that Sindhi is 'our' language and that they will use it if they so desired (turn # 2). Similarly, Heer uses a mix of Urdu and English resorting to 'we-code' to complain to Sabeen about using Urdu just because it is easier for Sabeen (turn # 3). Both women seem to out-group Sabeen on language differences and assert their Sindhi identity. Dua and Heer's statements illustrate their thoughts on language use in Sindh. Sabeen realises Heer's and Dua's anger and so, by mixing English with Urdu says that they could all use Sindhi, as Sabeen can understand it (turn # 4). Her use of English seems to be used to diffuse the tension created by this language difference. This excerpt is a good illustration of multilingual participants' use of code-switching to construct in-group and out-identities based on linguistic similarities and differences. While Soomal switches Urdu to construct an in-group identity with Sabeen, Dua and Heer refuse to switch to Urdu and construct an outgroup identity against Sabeen on an ethno-linguistic basis.



A similar example demonstrating the construction of an out-group identity based on linguistic differences is illustrated in excerpt (15). Here, two trilingual participants (Sindhi, Urdu and English) are making small talk while waiting for a third participant join them. One woman prefers to use Sindhi and English and avoids using Urdu on the basis of her traumatic past experiences during the Sindhi-Urdu ethnic riots as explained in detail below.

### Excerpt 15

1. Mehro: **It's a hot day. Isn't?**

2. Nina: Ha.

(Yes.)

3. Mehro: **In fact**, garm dehn ahe. *He na?*

(In fact, [it] is a hot day. Isn't?)

4. Nina: Edi garmi nahe. Bas theek ahe. **It's a fine day.**

(It is not very hot. It is ok. It's a fine day.)

5. Mehro: **Comparatively** kalh wanger nahe.

(Comparatively, it is not like yesterday.)

6. Nina: Ha throro garam ahe.

(Yes, it is little bit of a warm [day].)

7. Mehro: *Hubs* ahe and **I think** *raat ko barish ho gee.*

(It is humid and I think tonight will be raining.)

8. Nina: **Really!** Ummm. **Yes**, lage tho. Ghut dadhee ahe. Mehin wasando raat taeen.

(Really! Ummmm. Yes, it seems so. It is humid. It will be raining tonight.)

First, Mehro uses English when discussing the hot weather with Nina (turn # 1). Here, the switch to English (the participant's academic language) becomes the mutually acceptable code of both participants and it seems as though Mehro uses it to involve her interlocutor in the conversation. When Nina gives a short affirmative reply in Sindhi (turn # 2), Mehro switches to trilingual code-switching in Sindhi, English and Urdu (turns # 3 and 5). Her trilingual switching performs two functions. First, it extends the conversation, and second, it qualifies her previous statement. Nina confirms her statement using bilingual code-switching in Sindhi and English (turns # 4 and 6). In turn (7) Mehro uses the Urdu noun *habs* (humid) with the Sindhi verb *ahe* (is) in the first clause and English tag switching in the Urdu expression in the second clause. However, this makes it difficult to identify the ML. Myers Scottons's (1993b) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model explains that functional words (i.e. verbs, prepositions, adverbs etc.) define the structure of a sentence. Applying this same rule to the first clause of this utterance shows that Sindhi is the ML as it provides the overall structure and Urdu can be considered to be the EL. In the second clause, English tag-code-switching is used which is embedded into Urdu and acts as the ML because tag-code-switching acts as an independent part of the sentence and it is less integrated into the ML (Polack, 1980) (cf. Chapter Three). Such skillful use of trilingual code-switching indicates Mehro's advanced linguistic competence and on this basis she expresses her trilingual identity. Nina's reply is metaphorical in turn (8). Using English tag switching embedded in Sindhi she translates Mehro's Urdu words into Sindhi. This translation strategy seems to be a deliberate attempt to convey a message to her interlocutor that Sindhi is her preferred language. Thus, in this way she conveys her dislike for Urdu.

Data analysis of this excerpt reveals that Nina's consistent use of Sindhi with interlocutors who cannot speak Sindhi can be considered to be "an act to trigger or stimulus that evokes a prejudiced attitude (or prejudices, about the relevant speech community)" (Edward, 1999, p. 102). During data analysis, the researcher attempted to search for clues of such an attitude. It was revealed that Nina's family had migrated from an Urdu-speaking area Sindhi-speaking region during ethnic violence between the Sindhi-Urdu-speaking communities (cf. Chapter Two). Her home was ransacked and looted and her family narrowly escaped death. She explained that her former home was still in the possession of an Urdu-speaking family and that they have filed a lawsuit to regain ownership their property. This excerpt shows that code-switching is a more complex phenomenon that not only illustrates speaker's choice of language but also reflects a

whole host of reasons for language choices depending on pragmatic as well as social, linguistic and cultural factors (Hamza, 2007).

The excerpts in section 5.3.1.5 show that participants from the same ethnic group but with different linguistic backgrounds interact and create distinct identities based on linguistic commonalities and differences. These examples not only reveal the use of code-switching for the construction of in-groups and out-groups based on ethnic identity but also reveal that code-switching has an impact on interlocutor's social relationship. The use of code-switching in a particular language or avoiding switching to a specific language reveals common trends in the sociolinguistic topography of Sindh, where some speakers are willing to shift to Urdu and English but others do not approve of such language shifts and use a translation strategy to support native language maintenance. This excerpt is also an indicator of social relationships of the various ethnic communities of Sindh.

#### **5.3.1.6 Code-switching and religious identity**

The data analysis of the current study shows that among other functions, participants tend to use code-switching to express their religious identities. For example, excerpt (16) features a Hindu participant. Hindus consider cows and buffaloes as holy and they do not eat their meat but they do consume goat and chicken. In Sindh, the Hindu and Muslim communities have a strong bond; both communities celebrate and share each other's cultural and religious festivals with the same enthusiasm. Such a unique bond is rare in other parts of Pakistan.

This can be attributed, in part, to the work of Hindu and Muslim religious saints, known as *Sufis* who encourage religious and cultural tolerance. It should be noted that the participants in the following extract are working class.

#### **Excerpt 16**

1. Lali: Taha cha tha kayo qurbani?

(What are you sacrificing?)

2. Anila: Baba dhago warto ahe.

([My] father purchased an ox).

3. Lali: Taha cha warto ahe?

(What have you purchased [for sacrifices]?)

4. Rabia: Baba jee **death** kha poe chacha qurbani kando. Assen ghot me Ei

kandaseen.

(After father's death, [my] uncles will sacrifice [the animals]. We will celebrate Eid in our village).

5. Sheela: Bukro kair tho kare **goat.....goat..... goat....**

(Who is going to do it [the sacrifice] goat.....goat..... goat....)

6. Lali: Assan tha kayoon. sacrifice

(We will.)

7. Sheela: Munhinjo hiso **please?**

(My portion [of meat] please?)

8. Lali: Fikar na kar, tuhinje ghar pouhjancho tuhinjo hiso.

(Don't worry your portion [of meat] will [I] send to your home.)

When the first participant, Lali asks Anila and Rabia about the livestock her family is planning to sacrifice for Eid (turn # 1 and 3), she uses plural '*taha*-code (they-code) to include the interlocutors' family. Rabia replies, that after her father's death, her uncles the sacrifice the animals in their village (turn # 4). This mixing into English with the word *death* seems to indicate her family's financial position after her father's death. In Pakistani society, the male head of the family is responsible for buying and sacrificing animals at Eid. This interpretation is achieved by focusing on the sequential development in the analysis of speaker's language choice in the next turn where Rabia clarifies that they are celebrating Eid with her uncles in the village. According to the Pakistani culture, the father is the head of the family and makes the main financial contribution. In case of his death, his son/s or brother/s will look after his family. Returning to the dialogue, the other participants announce that they will sacrifice cows or buffalos. Sheela, the Hindu participant, using the English word *goat* carries metaphorical switching (turn # 5). By repeating this word, her purpose seems to be to express that being

Hindu, she will only accept goat. Although she does not say that she will not accept beef or buffalo meat, due to the close cultural ties between Muslim-Sindhis and Hindu-Sindhis, every member of the group would have understood the reason for her code-mixing and repetition of the word goat. Hence, here Sheela can be seen to be expressing her Hindu identity.

The data analysis of the next excerpts (17) and (18) reveals that participants frequently switch to Arabic to indicate their Muslim identity. Though participants have little linguistic competence in Arabic language (as revealed in the questionnaires), they know some Arabic words and phrases related to greetings, gratitude, anger, or Islamic religion which are common in the Pakistani-Muslim community and tend to be learnt during Islamic religious teaching (cf. Chapter Two). The use of Arabic here indexes the participant's Islamic identities. This phenomenon also reveals Pakistan's complex socio-linguistic environment where Arabic vocabulary and loan borrowing retains its hold on Pakistani's daily interactions, highlighting the historical connection with Arab rule in South Asia.

### Excerpt 17

1. Mehro: Aslamo-Alikum. Keen ahio?

(Hello. How are you?)

2. Nina: Walikum Salam. Shukar Alhamdullilah bulkul teek.

(Hello. Thank God I am fine.)

3. Hina : Walikum Salam. Mashallah suthee pae lagee.

(Hello. With God's will you are looking beautiful.)

4. Mehro: Mehrbani

(Thank you.)

### Excerpt 18

1. Saleha: Manhan wat har shae ahe per Eid te nawa kabra b nath wathee sagoon.

(Other people have everything but we cannot buy new dresses for Eid.)

2. Rabia: Be shukree na thye. Allah agiya chao shukar-Al-Hamd-o-Lilah. Nokari

kha\_poe Allah sain ghano deendaee.

(Do not be ungrateful. Say ‘thank you very much God’. God will give you more after your job.)

3. Tabo: *Allah Jal-e-shan ho* khe taqat ahe kuchh b karan jee. Tu Allah te rakh

(God is powerful and can do anything. You must believe in God.)

Excerpt (17) shows the participants’ use of Arabic phrases for greeting to index their Muslim identity. Similarly, another Arabic utterance is used in excerpt (18) when Saleha complains that she cannot afford to buy a new dress for Eid(turn # 1), Rabia switches to Arabic and consoles her that she should not be ungrateful but always say thanks to God (turn # 2). This excerpt shows the socioeconomic situation of the less well off in Sindh. Tabo also encourages her Saleha to have faith by using an Arabic expression (turn # 3). Codeswitching to Arabic by Rabia and Tabo is used to encourage Saleha’s morale who seems to be in financial dire straits. Arabic utterances are related to greetings and Islamic sayings such as, ‘Aslam-o-Alikum’ (hello), ‘Wal-e-kum sala’ (hello), ‘Alhamdulillah’ (praise be to God), ‘Allah Jal-e-shan ho’ (God most powerful) and ‘Masha Allah’ (God willing) which are frequently used by Muslims throughout the world (Al-Khatib, 2003).

These examples reveal numerous instances of code-switching using Arabic words and phrases related to daily greetings to express speakers’ Muslim identity. Apart from the direct construction of identity via code-switching, as explained in the above sections, the next section illustrates that Sindhi participants also use metaphorical code-switching to perform textual functions.

### 5.3.2 Other textual functions of metaphorical code-switching

Gumperz (1982) suggests that metaphorical code-switching is used in combination with certain textual factors (Callanhan, 2004). Some of the textual functions related to quotation, reiteration, self-repair, qualifying a message, expressing anger, delivering punch lines in humorous, discussing culturally taboo topics etc. Myesr Scotton (1993a) states that speakers change between languages such as unmarked (expected) and marked (unexpected) according to the function they wish to fulfill and to express their group identity. In the current study, the textual

function of such metaphorical code-switching is used as a broad category and the different excerpts are categorised into subcategories according to the nature of the functions they perform.

### 5.3.2.1 Code-switching for quotation and reported speech

According to Gumperz, code-switching is identifiable in direct quotations and reported speech and is used to convey the message “in the code in which it is said” (1982, p. 82). The slight difference exists in the use of code-switching for the purposes of quotation and reported speech. For quotations, code-switching can be seen as a “narrative device used to offset the quotation from the matrix in which it is embedded” (Sebba & Wootton, 1998, p. 274). Contrastively, in reported speech, the speaker may be hypothesising about the language choice of the person they are quoting and the possible switches they may have made (Halmari, 1997). Following excerpts indicate the use of code-switching for (A) quotation and (B) reported speech.

#### (A) Code-switching for quotation

If we consider extracts (19) and (20), the participants use direct quotations and shift from Sindhi to English in order to narrate in the exact utterance of the person quoted.

#### Excerpt 19

Haya: Poe hun bar bar sajee class kha puchio **“nobody is going. Nobody is going. Yes, anyone from this side, please”**. Saje class chup huee.

(Then she [the teacher] repeatedly asked the class “Nobody is going. Nobody is going. Yes, anyone from this side, please”. The whole class was silent.)

#### Excerpt 20

Haya: Poe moonkha puchio “tu wanj”. **I said after the presentation, I will go. After the presentation I will go, but she said “give your presentation tomorrow and go now”. She almost compelled me to go out of the class [room] and said go.**

(Then [teacher] asked me if I would go [to join the delegation].)

In excerpt (19), Haya, a graduate student, is reporting to her friends how her teacher selected her to join the delegation receiving committee. She quotes the exact words uttered by her teacher when asking for volunteers. Here, Haya provides the context for the reported speech in Sindhi but shifts to English when quoting her teacher's words. This shift to English demonstrates that teachers use English as the predominant academic language in higher education institutions in Pakistan. Haya's effort in reporting her teacher's exact words in mimicry conveys a symbolic representation of the teacher's social role. By changing her role from student to teacher temporarily she adopts her teacher's identity. This shifting of code is also known as *double-voicing* and indicates a stereotypical social identity which is different from one's own identity (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 200). Here, code-switching can be seen to perform multifaceted functions. Haya presents an authentic report of her teacher's utterance by reciting the exact words spoken in order to bring the listeners closer to the original utterance. Simultaneously, she uses code-switching as a device to demonstrate how the words were uttered as well as to add dramatisation (Günther, 1997, p. 250). Consequently, Haya demonstrates a dual identity; the original identity of her teacher and her own identity as a creative actor.

In excerpt (20), the same participant, Haya, gives more information about the conversation which took place between herself and her teacher regarding selecting volunteers for the delegation. However, in this excerpt, Haya switches code both for reported speech as well as for quotation. First, using Sindhi, Haya reports that when no volunteers were forthcoming the teacher then asked her to volunteer. At this point, Haya switches from Sindhi to English in order to report the dialogue between herself and teacher. Haya says that she told her teacher that she would join the delegation after her presentation but her teacher compels her to leave the classroom to join the delegation.

In excerpts (19) and (20), Haya's shift to English can be considered as a narrative strategy to recreate the original scene (McClure, 1981). This quotation is the example of Bakhtin's (1984) *double voicing* where a speaker switches to the original code of the utterance and is seen to be "inserting a new semantic intention which belong[s] to someone else" (p. 189). The two voices appear in this utterance; one is the quoted person and the other is the "quoter who is assigned the role as animator" (Goffman, 1981, p. 144). In these two examples, Haya adopts four separate identities; (i) as an informer who conveys information about the event to her interlocutors; (ii) as a student obeying her teacher; (iii) as an authority figure giving an order and adopting her



teacher's identity and (iv) shifting her role from narrator to listener. By adopting such roles, Haya is able to construct distinct, separate identities and 'impose authority' as the narrator of the spoken interaction in question (Rubino, 2014, p. 191). In both instances code-switching is linked with identity because when a speaker quotes or reports the speech of another, they do so in order to mimic the exact words spoken and adopt the speaker's identity temporarily.

Similarly, excerpt (21) illustrates that Moomal switches to English from Sindhi to utter a well-known quotation.

### Excerpt 21

Moomal: Shayed kahan lekhak chayio ta tawha moon khe purhial-likhiyal maa dio, **I**

**will give you an educated generation.** Cho jo hik aurat purhiyal ahe ta iha hik university jo darjo rakhe thee. Agar maa purhial-likhiyal ahi ta iha hik suthee **generation** denndeen ta **we will get an educated generation.** Aeen jeke **system** joo *bareek biniyoo* ahen ihe khataum thee saghan thyoon.

(It is a common quote by a writer - give me an educated mother, I will give you an educated generation because an educated mother represents a university. The educated mother can produce an educated generation and in this way, the petty issues of our system will be resolved).

Here, Moomal using a quote from Napoleon Bonaparte ("Give me an educated mother, I shall promise you the birth of a civilised, educated nation") in her own words by mixing Sindhi and English. One of the possible reasons for her use of this modified translation of this well-known quotation is to emphasise the importance of education. Another reason for this type of code-switching is attempting to imitate the original language the quote was given in. It seems that her code-mixing of English and Sindhi here and her reported speech expresses the "language of reporting and the inferable language used by the original speaker diverge" (Auer 1995, p. 119). She shifts code and adapts "double voicing a single discourse" to add gravitas and convey an authoritative position (Bakhtin 1984, p. 199).

## (B) Code-switching for reported speech

As explained previously, code-switching is common when speakers report the speech of others as indicated in excerpt (21) to offer a quote and, in excerpt (20), where Harya switches languages to report a dialogue which occurred between her and her teacher.

### Excerpt 22

1. Najma: Practical test keen theio?

(How was your practical test?)

2. Asia: Shandar. Moon khe khabar hue Ma'am chawandee **I am genius in physics**

aeen aoon chawandus Madam tawha kha sikhiyio ahioon.

(Excellent. I know Ma'am will praise me that I am a genius in physics and I would reply, Madam, I learned from you.)

Here, Najma asks Asia about her physics test (turn # 1), Asia replies by reporting an imaginary dialogue between her and her teacher (turn # 2). She uses Sindhi as the ML here but shifts to English when she quotes her teacher's utterances. It is also interesting to note that Asia switches to English when reporting the teacher's dialogue to make her statements authentic but shifts code from English to Sindhi when reporting her reply to her teacher. Generally, the speaker takes a "hypothetical purpose: when a speaker is hypothesising what the person would say and what language would use in the given situation" (Halmari, 1997, p. 46). Gumperz (1982, p. 65) argues that code-switching to quote or report another's speech allows the speakers to construct *us* and *them*' identities. In the above example, when Najma quotes her teacher's imaginary speech she shifts languages to present herself as *us-code* [or I-code] and the teacher as *them-code* [she-code].

This section indicates that multilingual Sindhi women switch into English (the language of instruction in Pakistani schools) to report a direct quotation (or an imaginary one) and switch to Sindhi for an indirect quotation. These instances of code-switching and code mixing can be considered to show that participants adopt their teachers' identities as well as constructing their own identities as creative actors by mimicking their teachers' utterances.

### 5.3.2.2 Code-switching for reiteration

The textual functions of conversation such as translation, recycling, reformulation, self-correction, message, qualification and idiomatic expressions have been included in *reiteration* because they all perform the same function (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1995). Codeswitching for *reiteration* is considered by some to be an ill-defined category that can be called a quasi-translation into another language (Auer, 1995, p. 120). This is a comparatively extensive category and it subsumes a number of sub-categories according to the textual functions of code-switching.

#### (A) Code-switching for translation and recycling

One such example of reiteration is shown in excerpt (23) in which Nina expresses that she does not like samosas (a Pakistani snack) and Hina asks her to eat it anyway by translating her instruction using trilingual code-switching.

#### Excerpt 23

1. Nina: Moon sandwich chaya tu samosa warta ahen.

(I asked for a sandwich, you bought *samosas* [a Pakistani snack].)

2. Hina: Yaar rush huee counter te.

(Dear, there was a rush on the counter.)

3. Mehro: *Koe baat nahee, ache hain*. Sutha ahin. Khaee chad. ***Samosas are tasty***.

(It is not an issue. It is tasty. It is tasty. Eat it. *Samosas* are tasty.)

Hina returns from the canteen with three food packets and distributes them to Mehro and Nina. When Nina opens her food packet, she complains using the borrowed English word ‘sandwich’, saying that she asked for a sandwich, not a samosa (turn # 1). The core borrowed word ‘sandwich’ is very popular, diminishing the use of the Sindhi equivalent compound *band-kabab*. This may be due to the rise in popularity of foreign food in Pakistan. Hina replies using the English

borrowed word ‘canteen’, saying that there was a rush in the canteen (turn # 2). The word *rush* cannot be considered as borrowed because it appears in registered in Sindhi dictionaries. English dictionaries reveal that it was adapted in the middle 17<sup>th</sup> century from Anglo-Norman French variety and was attained common use in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Sindhi, there is no reliable source to define the etymology of this word but it is in common use in all Pakistani native languages including Sindhi. It is possible that this word is a loan borrowing into English from Indian-Pakistani languages during colonisation.

Next, Mehro attempts to pacify Nina using trilingual code-switching, saying that the samosas are tasty (turn # 3). Using inter-sentential trilingual code-switching, she repeats the same statement in Urdu, Sindhi and finally, in English. Such reiteration is a ‘quasitranslation’ or ‘recycling’ into three languages to emphasise her statement (Auer 1995, p. 120). This example shows how code-switching helps speakers to clarify their arguments. Here, it is noticeable that she pluralises the Sindhi borrowed word *samosa* using the English grammar rule of adding –s even though the Sindhi word *samosa* is plural. Such intra-lexical change is predictable in the case of borrowed vocabulary are fixed according to the morphological and phonological rules of the new language (Thomas and Kaufmann, 1988). Interestingly, in Sindhi, *samosa* is a plural noun (the singular is *samoso*) contrary to Urdu in which *samosa* is a singular noun and *samose* is plural. It is hard to know whether Mehro uses an Urdu singular borrowing or a Sindhi one. However, by applying methods from Conversation Analysis (CA) (in which a turn-by-turn analysis of an utterance can help us identify thematic or grammatical patterns present) we can see that the word *samosa* is used as Sindhi plural noun because the speaker used Sindhi in her previous utterances. By suffixing the English phoneme –s, she has pluralised an already plural borrowed noun. This runs against the grammar systems of both Sindhi and English. This seems to be an attempt on her part to adjust the Sindhi borrowed word according to English morpho-syntactic rules.

Kellerman (1986, p. 1) sees such code-mixing as ‘cross-linguistic influence’ which describes the influences of one language on other. Mehro’s repetition in Sindhi and then in English displays her dislike as well as the briskness and efficiency of this switching from Sindhi to Urdu and English proficiently demonstrates her multilingual identity. The linguistic competence can be attributed to Mehro’s English-language schooling, as her demographic information indicates. Such multilingual competence reveals her complex urban identity similar to the findings of Swigar’s (1992) finding in the multilingual urban setting in Dakar.

This recycling and translating strategy for reiteration is also seen in the next excerpt (24) among three participants discussing a cultural festival.

#### Excerpt 24

1. Sohni: Ama bemar ahe so achee na sagius. Ihio keen thrio ho?

(My mother was ill so I could not attend [the cultural-day festival]. How was it?)

2. Bubbly: Ehio dadho **marvellous**, zabardast, **superb** aeen yadgar ho.

(It [the cultural day] was very marvellous, marvellous, superb and unforgettable.)

3. Preh: Dadho sutho ho cultural-day. **It was overall good.**

(The cultural-day was very good. It was overall good.)

When Sohni asks how the cultural-day was (turn # 1), Bubbly replies by translating and recycling back from Sindhi saying that the festival was marvellous, superb and unforgettable (turn # 2). Using this recycling strategy, she translates the English adjective ‘marvellous’ into its Sindhi counterpart ‘*zabardast*’, and then switches back to English using the adjective ‘superb’. Her translation and recycling here seem to be used to emphasise her point. Next, Preh also contributes her opinion about the cultural day; first in Sindhi and then code-switching into English to qualify her statement (turn # 3). Her ability to translate in parallel the same statement into two different codes “may serve to clarify what is said, but often they amplify or emphasise the message” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 78). For such construction of identity, code-switching can be used according to the speaker’s personal motivation. The choice of unmarked and marked code-switching is a deliberate strategy used to construct multiple identities as well as recycling switching from marked to unmarked code as an exploratory strategy for adding emphasis (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Another clear example of code-switching in translation and recycling can be seen in excerpt (25), where three participants are talking about their marriage plans. In this extract, the participants claim that it is easy for a woman who has passed the CSS examination (Central Superior Service) to get marriage proposals from MNA [members of the National Assembly] and MPs [members of provincial assembly].

**Excerpt 25**

1. Shahida: CSS kha poe sutha rishta achan tha. **Then MNAs and MPs are after you.**

(After [passing] the CSS [examination] one gets good [marriage] proposals. Then MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and MPs [Members of the Provincial Assembly] are after you.)

Mona: **Exactly, MNAs, MPs...**

2. Qamar: Ean ahe cha?

(Is it possible?)

3. Mona: **MNA after you.**

First, using Sindhi, Shahida claims that if a woman passes the CSS (Central Superior Service) examination then members of the National and Provincial Assemblies would send her marriage proposals. Next, Mona endorses her friend's statement by switching to English (turn # 2). Here, Shahida and Mona recycle the same opinion intended to add emphasis to their points. Next, Qamar asks if that is true (turn # 3). Mona gives an affirmative reply using English (turn # 4). In this reply, Mona uses a recycling strategy to hold her listeners' attention.

**(B) Self repair and self-correction**

Another textual function of code-switching is for self-repair in which code-switching follows predictable patterns (Schegloff, 1991). In excerpt (26), Mona moves back and forth between Sindhi and English to effect self-repair in order to achieve clarity of expression.

**Excerpt 26**

1. Mona: Bureaucracy je mana **corruption** ahe.

(The meaning of bureaucracy is corruption.)

2. Qamar: **It means all bureaucrats are corrupt.**

3. Mona: Na, een na ahe ta subh officer **corruption** ahin. **I mean they are not**

**corrupt. I don't mean all are involved in corruption. Depend** tho kare her manoo te.

(No, it is not that every officer is corruption (sic). I mean they are not corrupt. I don't mean all are involved in corruption. [It] depends on the individual.)

Qamar and Mona are discussing corruption in the government. When Mona claims that bureaucracy equals corruption (turn # 1), then switches to English. Qamar comments that this means that all bureaucrats are corrupt (turn # 2). In turn #3, Mona replies and clarifies her statement using a noun instead of an adjective. Realising she had committed a mistake Mona switches to English to self-repair and reformulates her statement using the correct form of the word. Mona not only reformulated her utterance using the correct word but elsewhere she reuses the word *corruption* which she previously used incorrectly. This reformulation for self-correction through code-switching enhances the clarity of meaning as well as indicates her linguistic competence. Wei Li's finding also suggests that participants reorganise and repair through by switching code to mark the repair initiator (2011).

In the same vein, in excerpt (27) Asia is confused between two psychological terms and uses code-switching to reformulate her speech.

### Excerpt 27

1. Asia: **In psychology attitude ja b types** ahin: **disposition and position. For**

**example**, agar teacher purhae pae per asan jo dil natho chawe purhan te per **teacher** khe natha chae sago. Ihio **attitude disposition** ahe.

(In Psychology, there are two types of attitude: disposition and position. For example, our teacher is teaching but we don't want to study but we cannot express it to our teacher. This attitude is disposition.)

2. Iqra: **Disposition** khe Sindhi me cha cahwanda ahin?

(How would [you] define disposition in Sindhi?)

3. Asia: Fitree ya ghaer fitree. **No, no. I am confused, mixing both. Oops!**

**Disposition means inherent qualities or tendency. It means** fitree. (Natural, or arranged. No, no, I am confused mixing both. Ops! Disposition means inherent qualities or tendencies. It means inherent.)

In this discussion, using Psychology terminology, Asia explains that there are two kinds of attitudes ‘disposition and position’ (turn # 1). Before Asia finishes, Iqra interjects and asks Asia to define ‘disposition’ (turn # 2). Asia tries to explain the term in Sindhi but mixes up the notions of disposition and position. Realising the ambiguity in her explanation, she repairs and reformulates her statement by switching to English to give clarity. She also inserts the Sindhi meaning of disposition, mixing Sindhi lexis when English is used as the ML. Brown and Levinson (1978) state that such code-switching for self-repair is a facesaving device in which a speaker realises their error and prefers self-initiation and selfcorrection rather than allowing others to repair it. This excerpt shows that for clarity and elaboration, multilinguals use their linguistic competence and translanguaging to initiate the self-correction. Hence, code-switching allows the bilingual speaker to convey a positive image to the listener.

### (C) Code switching for idiomatic expressions

In certain cases, the Sindhi participants use idiomatic expressions as a language strategy to qualify their arguments and add a rhetorical tone to attract attention. The current data analysis reveals that Sindhi women use intrasentential switching for particular idiomatic expressions in English, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. Such language use also illustrates their socio-linguistic background and the historical contact of Sindhi with these languages. The data shows that major idiomatic expressions are derived from Urdu which is the *lingua franca* of the country, followed by English which is the national and academic language while only a few are found in Arabic and only one in Persian. The main idiomatic expressions are used in Urdu are indicated in excerpts (28-30).

#### Excerpt 28

1. Sabeen: Tum teachers ke khilaf bol rahee ho. Agar us ne sunn lya tu mushily ho



ga.

(You are speaking against the teacher. If they hear, you will be in trouble.)

2. Soomal: Bas hane tayar theo *jo boe ga wohe kate ga*.

(Be ready, 'as you sow so shall you reap').

3. Farah: Fikar na kar. Kuch na theendo.

(Do not worry. Nothing will happen.)

4. Heer: Thoro sabar kayio poe *din me tare nazar aege*.

(Wait for a while then [she] will 'see stars in the day'.)

### Excerpt 29

1. Dua: Dil thee chawe ta zoor sa chawa *Zalimo jawab do*.

(I wish could say loudly, 'oppressors are answerable [before the people]'.)

### Excerpt 30

1. Farah: Tumehe sawal aa ratha kia?

(Did you know the [answer] to the question?)

2. Sabeen: **I didn't know and** *Anan-fanan hogaya*.

(I didn't know and 'quickly and easily done'.)

In excerpts (28-30) the participants switch code to Urdu for phrases and idiomatic expressions. The women use Urdu idioms to give warnings (28). In excerpt (30), Dua uses a famous phrase which was politically motivated during martial law in Pakistan. In last excerpt (30) Sabeen uses an Urdu idiom to showcase her intelligence. The Urdu idiom reveals participants' multilingual competence and the close contact of Urdu with the Sindhi language. It also shows the participants' hybrid identity as well as adding authority and emphasise the gravitas of their statements.

Similarly, the use of English idioms to clarify, emphasise or elaborate statements as expressed in excerpts (31-33).

### Excerpt 31

1. Sorath: Purhano ta ahe cho jo **education is the key to success**.

(We need education because education is the key to success.)

### Excerpt 32

1. Asia: Murre kitab na purho per **learn by heart**.

(Do not read books only but learn by heart.)

### Excerpt 33

1. Shahida: **I want to pass [examinations] with flying colours**.

In all the excerpts (31-33), the use of idiomatic expressions in English shows the influence of English as Pakistan's academic English language. It also indicates that most English idiomatic expressions used by the participants are in academic in nature which suggests that the women have learned them in their academic environment.

The data analysis reveals some examples of idiomatic expressions in Arabic and one in Persian. The participants have limited linguistic competence in Arabic and Persian, but due to the Pakistan's historical association with Persian and Arabic languages during Arab and Mughal periods, some phrases and idiomatic expressions are common in the local repertoire. The Arabic idiomatic expressions in excerpts (34-36) indicate that participant used Arabic religious vocabulary to make their stance authentic. The third example in Persian is more rhetorical in nature and is used to emphasise the speaker's point. The Arabic and Persian expressions are italicized and underlined.

**Excerpt 34**

1. Mehro: Yaar assan la tu rush me wanjee warto. Tuhin jee mehrbani yaar.

Jazaqallah.

(Friend, you went in a rush to buy [lunch] for us. Thank you dear. ‘May God reward you’.)

**Excerpt 35**

1. Saleha: Roze-mahsher achno ahe. Khabar pawandee har hik khe.

(‘The day of judgment is definite’. Everyone will know.)

**Excerpt 36**

1. Bubbly: Hane diyo mohn. Yek na shud, do shud.

(Face it now. ‘Instead of one, there are two’.)

The above examples in the category of reiteration and reformulation show that the participants use code-switching to recycle, translate, repeat or as idiomatic phrases in two or more different languages to add emphasis, clarify, for self-correction or to qualify their message and to attract the listeners’ attention to key points. The women consciously execute these strategies to present their autonomous position as multilingual speakers. Such repetition of one particular point, word or phrase in different languages conveys significant information about their perceptions and beliefs and shows their linguistic competence as well as providing cultural information about their speech community (Gal, 1979, and Gumperz, 1982).

**(D) Code-switching for message qualification**

This translation strategy is also applied for message qualification. In certain cases, the multilingual speakers qualify a message by switching into another code and adding an additional sentence to qualify, clarify or elaborate their own statements (Gumperz, 1982, p. 79). Gumperz (1965) illustrates an example in India, the speaker utters a statement in English and then

qualifies it in Hindi for clarification. The use of translation and recycling strategy for message qualification is indicated in extract (37) in a conversation between three participants. To give some context, their college divides large classes up into different sections such as A and B. One participant complains that teachers pay too much attention to section A, compared to their section (B).

### Excerpt 37

1. Farah: **Teachers** assan jee class kha wadeek B section khe **importance** diyan thaa.

(Teachers give more importance to section B than our [section]).

2. Fareena: Farah wanger assan khe b langado ahe ta teachers wadeek B khe **importance** diyan theyoo.

(Like Farah, we also feel teachers give too much importance to B [section].)

3. Soomal: Na, na. college me pehrio-**first day** kha teachers sabhnee khe barabar **importance** dine ahi.

(No. No. From the first-first day teachers give equal importance to all.)

4. Sabeen: **It depend on your mind.** *Har ek kee apna dimag he.*

(It depends on your mind [way of thinking]. Everyone [has] their own thinking.)

Farah and Fareena complain that their teachers give too much importance to students in B section (turns # 1 and 2). In turn 1, the word ‘teacher’ is a core borrowing in Sindhi but Farah uses the plural form according to English grammar, therefore, it can be considered to be code-switching because the word ‘teachers’ retains the donor language rules. In turn # 3, Soomal uses the loan blending compound word ‘pehrio-first’ (first-first) which is a repetition of the word *first* in Sindhi followed by *first* in English. This is a *loan translation* or *calques* in which the words or phrases are translated exactly (Lipski, 1986-2008). Such *loan translations* or *calques* are a

common code-switching strategy in Pakistan; making loan blending compound words by adding local words and quasi-translation to emphasise a speaker's point. Next, Sabeen, first using English, expresses her disagreement and then she translates the same statement using intersentential code-switching into Urdu for further clarification (turn # 4). This alternation of codes in the subsequent sentences serves to qualify her message. Poplack (2000, p. 242) states that intersentential switching for translation "require[s] less knowledge of the grammar since they are freely distributable within discourse". However, this may not necessarily be true as without balanced competence in both languages it is impossible to translate from one to the other. In this translanguaging, she co-constructs the meaning of what has already expressed (Garcia and Wei, 2014).

Similarly, excerpt (38) in which the participant employs trilingual code-switching in Sindhi, Urdu and English expresses her confused state of mind. She switches from one language and then in a subsequent sentence transfers this to another language for elaboration or qualification of her message. This can also be considered to be an expression of her uncertainty.

### Excerpt 38

1. Sohni: Acha, farewell theendo chaa asnjō?

(Ok, will we get a farewell [party]?)

2. Preh: Farewell! ha. **Maybe.** Inshallah.

(Farewell. Yes. **Maybe.** If God wills it.)

3. Sohni: **I guess** tu khe b pak nahe moon wanger.

(I guess you are not sure, like me.)

4. Preh: **I think**, theendo. Har saal farewell theendi ahe, ta hin saal b theendi.

(I think it will happen. Every year a farewell party is organised, so this year it will be arranged.)

In this excerpt, the participants employ trilingual quasi-translation to underscore their opinions about the farewell party which they are uncertain about. Sohni asks if they will get a farewell party (an annual farewell dinner for out-going graduating students) (turn # 1). Preh replies,

switching between three languages, Sindhi, English and Arabic (turn # 2). She incorporates a rich variety of codes as a device to hedge the uncertainty of her answer as well as to qualify her message. Furthermore, her use of the Arabic phrase has a metaphorical meaning to assuage the uncertainty about if the party will take place. This Arabic phrase can be seen as consoling the others via a resort to religion. In this way, she also emphasises her

Islamic identity. Preh's quasi- translation and non-systematic switching from one language to another reveals her confused state of mind. Sohni infers that Preh's trilingual codeswitching is an expression of uncertainty and replies mixing English with Sindhi saying that Preh is not sure about the farewell party (turn # 3). Interestingly, Sohni's switch to English also reveals her relatively high uncertainty because it "allows the speaker to indicate a nuance of uncertainty" (King and Nadasdi, 1999, p. 362). However, in the next turn (# 4) Preh uses English tag code-switching that is relatively less than uncertain and clarifies her point (King and Nadasdi, 1999).

Some other randomly selected instances are given below in which the participants use codeswitching as a strategy to add an additional sentence to qualify their own statement to add clarification.

### Excerpt 39

1. Zeni: Assan khe mani milande? **I mean they arranged a lunch for delegation,**

**are we invited?**

(Will we get food?)

2. Meki: *Bata nahe*. **I don't know.**

(I don't know. I don't know.)

### Excerpt 40

1. Asia: **My mother cannot read English.** Iha sirf Sindhi purhial ahe.

(My mother cannot read English. She is literate only in Sindhi.)

**Excerpt 41**

1. Sabeen: *Practical ka time-table kese arrange kia he?*

(How is the time-table of the practical arranged?)

2. Soomal: *Practical ke lye hum laboratory pehle tum or phir hum tumhare baad jae ge. First two days twah weenda; last two days asean wendaseen.* (For the practical, we will do it in the laboratory after you. On the first two days, you will do it and on the last two days we will.)

In excerpt (39), Zeni asks about the lunch and then switches to English to elaborate that the college has arranged a lunch for the delegation and asks whether they are invited. Meki replies in Urdu that she does not know and she repeats this in English for emphasis. Also, in excerpt (40), Asia explains using English that her mother cannot read English, and in her subsequent utterances elaborates on this by shifting to Sindhi code, saying that her mother received her education in Sindhi. Similarly, in excerpt (41) Soomal explains the time table of their practical. She elaborates on this by mixing English on key words as she might believe that her initial explanation was not very clear. These excerpts show that codeswitching is used here to elaborate and qualify the participants' earlier utterances. Romaine (1995), on the basis of her findings, states that a bilingual speaker generally introduces a topic in Spanish (L1) and then qualifies it in English or another language. However, the above examples indicate that Sindhi women use English, Sindhi and Urdu for message qualification.

**5.3.2.3 Code-switching to express anger**

This category examines participants' use of code-switching to reveal their anger which functions to gain the floor and show authority. In the first excerpt (42), Nina uses codeswitching to express her anger when she did not see her food of choice.

**Excerpt 42**

1. Nina: Moon khe natha wanan. **I don't like samosas.**

(I don't like it.)

2. Mehro: *Ise kiya huwa he? What's wrong?*

(What is wrong with her?)

3. Hina: Chdio bas, khao jaldi, class ahe.

(Come on, eat quickly, [we] have class.)

4. Nina: **I don't like samosas.**

5. Mehro: Sandwich poe khaendasee. *Bas ab* khatam kayio jaldi.

(Later [we] will get sandwich [es]. OK, now finish it quickly.)

6. Nina: **Is it your order? When I said, I don't like, it means I don't like.**

Nina seemed angry when she saw a samosa in her lunch box and expressed this in Sindhi and then translated this into English using intersentential code-switching (turn # 1). As explained in excerpt 23, the word *samosa* is plural according to Sindhi grammar but in the translation, Nina re-pluralises it for morpho-syntactical adjustment according to English grammar rules. Hoffman (1991, p. 112) claims that such adjustment which occurs within a word boundary is 'intra-lexical code-mixing'. Mehro, using inter-sentential code-switching, first asks in Urdu what is up with Nina before translating the same question into English (turn # 2). This time, Nina is infuriated and switches to English. Nina asks if she is being ordered to eat the samosas (turn # 7). She loudly complains that she does not like samosa and recycles the same statement. Throughout this interaction, Nina uses English as a symbolically a prestigious language to express her mood and to express her authority.

On a similar theme, excerpt (43) illustrates a conversation which occurs between Sabeen, Soomal and Dua, an acquaintance from another class. In this conversation, one class prefect is criticising another class prefect.

### Excerpt 43

1. Sabeen: Tum bohat zor se boltee ho. *Seriously main mazaq nahee kar rahee.*



*Main tumhare class main aee thee to tum itnee zour se cheekh rahee thee ka main ne apne kano ko hath laga liye the.*

(You speak very loudly. Seriously, I am not kidding. I came into your class and you were screaming so loud that I put my hands over my ears.)

2. Soomal: *Main iss lye cheekh rahee thee ke wo*

(I was screaming because they...)

3. Sabeen: *Tumharee awaz **student** ke awaz se ziyada thee.*

(Your voice was louder than the rest of the students.)

4. Soomal: **No!** *wo **student** bohat shor karte hain. To main ek larkee...jahan pe so larkiya baat karen gee woha pe ek larki chilae ge koe faraq nahe pure ga.*

(No, the students were screaming. When a hundred girls are shouting, then my screaming as a single girl will not make a difference.)

5. Dua: *Humree class se ziyada koe ache class nahe ho saktee. **Ok.***

(There is not any other better class than our class. Ok.)

6. Soomal: *COLLEGE-WARA na budheen. Mae khe **threatoon** pae dee.*

(The college authority will not listen to you. You are giving threats to the lady.)

Sabeen, the class prefect, criticises her interlocutor Soomal (the prefect of her class) using Urdu as her L1 (turn # 1, 3). Soomal justifies herself in Urdu, Sabeen's L1, embedded with English borrowing (turn # 2, 4). Here Soomal uses Urdu as 'participant-related' (also called 'preference-related') code-switching which is 'the switching of the speaker into the interlocutors' language' (Auer, 1988, p. 192-93). She uses Urdu code to defend her position as it is Sabeen's preferred language. During the argument, Dua jumps into the conversation and using Urdu says that her class is the best; she stresses this by shifting to English tag code-switching saying 'ok' (turn # 5). Her stress on the word 'ok' is metaphorically meaningful to remind Sabeen to stop arguing. Soomal judges the situation, and, switching back to Sindhi (Soomal and Dua's L1) warns Dua that the college authorities may find out about her threat to Sabeen (turn # 6). Soomal uses

Sindhi code to exclude Sabeen from the discourse and creates an in-group association with Dua. In this turn Soomal coin a new word *college-wara* (college-authorities) blending the English loanword *college* with the Sindhi phoneme *wara*. Another interesting word Soomal uses is *threatoon* where she pluralises the English word *threat* by suffixing the Sindhi phoneme *oon* to create a plural as per Sindhi grammar rules. She applies the same rule to make a plural under which the English loanword *plate* is pluralized as *platoon*. Applying Poplack's (1988) structuralist approach, this indicates that she has violated the free morpheme rule and switches to a bound morpheme from another language which is grammatically incorrect in both English and Sindhi. Such insertion of a morpheme is possible when a word is a loanword (e.g. plate) but in code-switching, the word retains the properties of the native language. However, this is not linguistic interference rather indicates Sabeen's highly developed linguistic competence in Urdu and English which she exploits according to her own expressive needs.

In the same vein, excerpt (44) contains an interesting example in which Haya code switches from English to Sindhi in order to express her frustration. Sohni then switches from Sindhi to English to clarify her position.

#### Excerpt 44

1. Haya: **How many girls are total [in the delegation receiving committee]?**

2. Sohni: Allahe kahan kanhan khe **select** kayio athen.

([I] don't know who else has been selected.)

3. Haya: **How many girls are selected?**

4. Sohni: Pan te and biyan classan ma b ahin. Hostel-gate te hoondio. Inhan khe sujandaseen keen?

(There are three of us. There are other girls from different classes. They will be at the hostel-gate (the hall of residence entrance). How will we recognise them?)

5. Haya: **My God!** Aon puchan pae ketrion chorchrion delegation receiving committee me ahin?

(My God! I am asking how many girls are in the delegation receiving committee.)

6. Sohni: **Oh! I think six.** (she opens a file to double check and replies) **Yes, six**

**girls.**

7. Haya: Po cho ta **total six** ahin.

(Then say that the total [number of girls] is six.)

Using English, Haya asks twice about the number of girls selected for the delegation receiving committee (turn # 1 & 3). Sohni does not reply to her question. She seems worried about how she will recognise the other members (turn # 2 & 4). In turn # 4, Sohni uses the English loanword *classoon* which is pluralized by mixing the Sindhi plural-marking phoneme *oon* which is an instance of semantic integration of loan vocabulary into the host language. Failing to get a direct response, Haya repeats the same question switching to Sindhi to reveal her frustration. Sohni, realising Haya's frustration, switches from Sindhi to English to reply (turn # 6). This excerpt shows an interesting switch by Haya from English to Sindhi to reveal her anger in order to attract attention and Sohni's switching from Sindhi to English is used to clarify her interlocutor's query.

This is similar to the following excerpt (45), where three Sindhi speaking participants argue about their teachers' behaviour with students. During the argument, they use code-switching to impose their authority over their opponents.

#### **Excerpt 45**

1. Farah: Ke **teachers** kuch **students** khe **undue favour** diyan theyoon.

(A few teachers give undue favour to some students.)

2. Soomal: Assan ja **teachers** suth ahin. **We respect them.**

(Our teachers are good. We respect them.)

3. Sabeen: **Yes**, *he theek kehrehe he.*

(Yes, she [Soomal] is right.)

4. Soomal: *Ise pata nahe zkia* **problem** *he* **teachers** *se?*

(Why does she have problems with the teachers?)

5. Farah: Mu khe ko **problem** nahe. Per **I feel it so.**

(I don't have any problem but I feel it so).

6. Soomal: Aoon b in class me ahiya **but I don't feel in the...**

(I am in the same class but I don't feel in the... )

7. Sabeen: *Tum ase na bolo ise.*

(You should not speak like that.)

8. Soomal: *Dekho agar koe **issue** he to **teachers** ke pass jao bat karo.*

(Look, if you have an issue then go and talk to the teachers.)

Using core borrowing and code-mixing, Farah complains about her teachers' behaviour (turn # 1). Soomal and Sabeen show disagreement (turns # 2 and 3). This time, Soomal switches from Sindhi to Urdu to include Sabeen as an in-group member (turn # 5). Farah embeds English into Sindhi to justify her opinion about the teachers' perceived discriminatory behaviour (turn # 5). Soomal then takes the floor and code-switches Urdu and then English in anger asks that Farah must talk directly to her teachers (turn # 6, 8).

These excerpts in section 5.2.3.3 indicate that in a trilingual context, code-switching across Sindhi, Urdu and English languages allows for greater creativity and productivity and increases the speakers' potential to express emotions such as anger, conflict, frustration etc. This indicates that Sindhi multilingual participants switch into English, as the more prestigious language to signify their power and to control the floor. Such an act bolsters their identity and allows them to 'search for a social role' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 14). It also indicates their authority as they demonstrate that they know how to use their linguistic competence in different situations according to their will and mood.

### 5.3.2.4 Code-switching to express humour

The current data reveals instances when the Sindhi participants express humour via code-switching, puns, jokes, mocking and irony. There is a significant overlap between these expressions for different reasons which are explained in each case in the following excerpts.

**Excerpt 46**

1. Sabeen: [addressing Soomal] **You always shout in your classroom.**
2. Farah: *Ye humara **first year** he. Ab tak college ke itnee samach nahee he. Class me primary bacho ke class ke tarah buhat shor hota he.*

(This is our first year. [We] don't know much about college [norms]. In the class we are very noisy like primary [school] children.

3. Soomal: *In ko khamosh karne ke lye mucche poee taqat laganee partee he ke ye khmosh to ho classroom me.*

(To make them silent, I apply full force to maintain silence in the classroom.)

4. Sabeen: *Hatho se roktee thee kiaya **force** laga ke.*

(Do you apply the force of [your] hands to make them silent?) (All laugh loudly).

Sabeen is addressing Soomal (section A's class monitor) using Urdu, her L1, saying that Soomal shouts in the classroom (turn # 1). Farah, a class mate of Soomal's, realises the tense situation and using Urdu to joke that being first-year students, they behave like primary school children (turn # 2). Here, her use of 'we-code' is used to foster a sense of collective identity with her fellow class prefect and the other class mates. Soomal defends herself in Urdu (her interlocutor's L1) and says that she applies her full force to maintain silence in the classroom (turn # 3). Sabeen, in a humorous fashion, asks Soomal if she uses physical force to maintain discipline in the classroom (turn # 4). She uses English word 'force' as a pun to create humour and as an attempt to change her identity from a critic to a friend.

The humour is enacted via code-switching in excerpt (47). Here the speaker uses code-switching to mock her interlocutor.

**Excerpt 47**

1. Soomal: *Muche Khuda ne awaz asee dee he k me ek cheekh maroon to sumcho ke **Pin-drop silence** or pore class khamosh.* Keen? Sahe ahe na?

(I have been gifted by God with a voice that I shout once then [it is] pin-drop silence and the whole class [is] silent. How [is this]? Is [it] ok?)

2. Dua: Wah re wah! **Great.**

(Very good. Great.)

3. Fareena: Wado dialogue hanyio athee.

(What a dialogue.)

4. Dua: Sahee ahe. Chhike rakhees. **Good.**

([It] is right. Tighten [her] up. Good.)

When Soomal is criticised by Sabeen for shouting in class, Soomal defends herself and praises herself in Urdu saying in a light tone that she has been gifted by God with a voice so loud that when she shouts, total silence descends on the classroom (turn # 1). Then, in the same turn, she switches to Sindhi and mockingly asks her friends how her reply to her counterpart was. This use of intersentential code-switching from Urdu to Sindhi seems to mock her critic. Soomal's mocking brings smiles to the faces of her classmates. Fareena praises Soomal using the English loanword 'dialogue' (turn # 3). Dua, praises Soomal in a humorous way using a slang Sindhi phrase *chhike rakhees* (tighten [her] up) (turn # 4). The humorous effect is also created by shifting to slang vocabulary to mock her. If Dua had used the Urdu or English equivalent of this Sindhi phrase, for instance, it would have lost its humorous quality and may have sounded antagonistic or cynical. By switching language, they preserve their respective personal identities (as class prefects), individual identities (as friends) and social level identities (as group members).

A similar instance of humorous code-switching is evident in another excerpt (48). This time, the participants are involved in an intense discussion. When it becomes prolonged, another group member interrupts and introduces a new topic in a humorous way. In this instance, the participants are mocking the President of Pakistan, General Parvez Musharraf, who is famous for

being strict, but in an interview, he confessed that he does not dare to disagree with his wife on any issue.

#### Excerpt 48

1. Shami: Parvez Musharraf khe ditho ho. Hik interview main chawe pio ta “ma bahar etro **strict** nazar endo ahia, per ghar main panhanje **wife** agia galaheendo b nahiya”. Moon khe edee in bande te hairait thee ta he etro **strict** hoondo ghar main b.

(Did you see Parvez Musharraf [the former president of Pakistan]? In an interview, he said, “people think I am a strict [person] but in the presence of my wife I cannot utter a single word”. I was surprised at this because I thought he must be strict at home.)

(All the women burst out laughing)

2. Ruby: Ghar main izat honed ahe per iha **level** na hoondree **as compare to society**.

(At home, he has respect but not at the level [his position as president] as compared to [the respect he has in] society.)

First, Shami discussing a TV interview with Pakistan's President General Parvez Musharraf says that he confesses that he does not have the courage to disagree with his wife on any issue (turn # 1). Describing this interview, Sahmi mixes a slang Punjabi word (a local Pakistani language) *bande*, which means an extremely down-to-earth person. She deliberately switches to Punjabi slang as a pun to mock the president's contradictory personality. There are certain words in some languages which are considered funny and lead to humour and are more appropriate for joking “as L [low code] in some set{s} of situations” (Ferguson, 1958, p. 328). For example, in Paraguay, Spanish is the H (high) variety but switching to Guaraní as the L (low) variety is used for humorous effect. Similarly, in India, people tend to use Punjabi as an L variety for humour

and jokes over Hindi (Vaid et al., 2003 and Nanda, 2015). Siegel (1995, p. 100) claims that “in Fiji, some Hindi code-switching is used for joking”. In Pakistan, code-switching to some dialects of indigenous languages (e.g. Punjabi and Siraeki) is considered to be more witty and humorous (Fareed, et. al. 2016). However, it is also important to mention that certain jokes can be comprehended by those who can understand the languages in which it is uttered. In this conversation, Ruby also contributes to this humorous theme by saying that the president enjoys more respect in public compared to at home (turn # 2).

Next, excerpt (49) similarly to (48) shows that literary genres of irony and pun are used for witty and humorous effect.

#### Excerpt 49

1. Nazia:      Hita mahoon **shift** thee **cities** me wanjan tha per panhanjan nidhan sharan khe **change** natha kan.  
  
(People migrate to cities but they do not want to change their small towns.)
2. Iqra:        **One change is obvious.** Agge mayoon burqan me huee hane burqe me nahin.  
(One change is obvious. In previous times, women wore burqas but nowadays they wear shawls.)
3. Najma:      Per in jo kehro faendo.  
  
(But this [change] has no use).
4. Nazia:      Hin khe khabar nahe ta burqe main ken hulbo ahe. Thoro SHUTTLECOCK-BURQO hin khe parayoo tha ta khabar pawes.  
(She does not know how difficult it is to walk in a *burqa*. Let her use a shuttlecock-burqa<sup>2</sup> so she knows [the difference].)

In the above excerpt, three participants are talking about the development of towns. Embedding English into Sindhi, Nazia shows her disappointment that no new development has taken place in towns (turn # 1). Iqra, using English intrasentential switching, says that one change is

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<sup>2</sup> Shuttlecock-burqa: a common design of burqa which is cone-shaped like a shuttlecock.



obvious; that nowadays women wear shawls instead of burqas (turn # 2). Najma says that such a change is useless (turn # 3). Her reply elicits a response from Nazia, who humorously asks the others to make Najma wear a *shuttlecock-burqa* so that she knows how difficult it is to walk in one (turn # 4). She coins a new word *shuttlecock-burqa* as an example of loanblending which acts like simile by comparing the cone-shape of the burqa with a shuttlecock. Such use of simile is used “when the speaker cannot think of an exact equivalent in their own language(s), or because the particular metaphor or simile is unlikely to be in use in their own L1” (Backus, 2001, p. 126). This use of figurative language for humorous effect is tied to the situational context and illustrates the difficulties women face when wearing burqas.

The next excerpt (50) illustrates how humour is created via code-switching to mock others.

### Excerpt 50

1. Shahida: Yaar CSS kaya poe **bureaucrats and MNA will propose me.** (Friends,  
I will pass the CSS (Central Superior Service examination) then the  
bureaucrats and MNA [Members of National Assembly] will propose to me.)
2. Mona: **Yes, or maybe some high ranked bureaucrat.**
3. Qamar: *Yeneke* **assembly members are always free to follow female  
bureaucrats.** Uff! **It means assembly members do not have any work** per  
rugo muhinjee bunhee dostan puthia bhajanda. Een na?  
([It] means [national and provincial] assembly members are always free to  
follow female bureaucrats. Uff! It means assembly members do not have  
work to do but they will be after my two friends. Isn't that so?)  
(Loud laugh)

In the above example, Shahida and Mona, aspiring candidates for civil service jobs, use intrasentential switching from Sindhi to English to say that if she passes the CSS exam, then the bureaucrats and the MNA [Members of the National Assembly] will propose to her (turns # 1 and 2). Next, Qamar, who is not interested in this type of career, embeds Urdu tag code-

switching in English and says that the national and provincial assembly members have nothing better to do and then, switching to Sindhi, she says that they will only be after her two friends (turn # 3). Her trilingual code-switching acts to mock her friends and generate humour as well as sharing their intimate thoughts indicating their informal in-group relationship.

The examples in this section show that generally, humour is created by using metaphorical language, in the form of puns jokes, mockery and irony employing trilingual code-switching and code-mixing in Sindhi, Urdu and English. This humorous function of code-switching expresses the group's hidden intimacy in their relationships. It is important to note that humour expressions are strongly related to the particular linguistic context of Sindh. For example, if one has never heard of *Parvez Musharraf*, or does not know what a *shuttlecock burqa* could be or cannot understand the word *banda*, then the humorous effect will be lost. Therefore, Jensen rightly says that 'humour is local' (2009, p. 3). The above examples indicate that humour is deployed through code-switching as a tool to demonstrate the speaker's identity as well as being correlated with their 'social frame work' to indicate the relationships between speakers, establish conversational topics and the purpose of the codeswitching used (Groos, 2000, p. 1284).

### **5.3.2.5 Code-switching for euphemistic expressions**

Another category that appeared in the data analysis was the frequent use of English codeswitching for euphemistic expressions which are considered culturally taboo in Sindhi society. For instance, people do not generally use local vocabulary for this function, rather, they switch to English to discuss love, love interests, fiancés, sex, homosexual people, private or intimate body parts, and pregnancy because according to Pakistani religious sensibilities, such expressions can create upset. The data analysis reveals that the multilingual Sindhi women switch to English to discuss taboo subjects.

The following excerpt (51) illustrates one such interaction between three participants discussing their choice of life partner. They switch to English because, as explained earlier, conservative Sindhi society frowns upon females discussing such topics.

**Extract 51**

1. Qammar: Shadi nahe karni cha.

(Don't you want to get married?)

2. Mona: **Yes. Engagement kaje and after CSS marriage.**

(Yes. [I will] do **engagement and after CSS [Central Superior Service,] marriage.**)

3. Shahida: **I will marry with CSS because hin jo schedule and reservations ahin** The CSS hee sumchee sage tho.

(I will marry with a CSS [officer] because his schedule [job-demands] and reservations [selected socialisation] can only a CSS [-officer-wife] understand.)

When Qamar asks in Sindhi about the marriage plans of the others (turn # 1), Mona code switches to English, saying she would like to get engaged now, and after her CSS examination, she would like to marry (turn # 2). This switching into English allows her to discuss this normally taboo topic. She utters the first clause of the sentence starting in English, mixing in the Sindhi verb *kaje* (would do) creating a difficulty in identifying the ML in the first clause. Applying Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Matrix Language Frame, in the first clause of the sentence the Sindhi verb provides the structure to the clause, therefore, the ML of the first clause can be considered to be Sindhi. The second clause in English is used as the ML without a verb. This example provides a complex structure of code-mixing and code-switching back and forth between English and Sindhi. Then, Shahida also reveals her marriage plans with a CSS officer; switching to English code as the ML and embedding Sindhi (turn # 3). Both participants switch to English in an attempt to convey their feelings on this taboo topic as Sindhi expressions can be a sensitive issue in Pakistani culture. Although all the women in this group belong to the elite class which is known to be a more modern and liberal segment of society, they still feel the need to use English to be on the safe side in conservative Sindhi society.

The use code-switching to discuss personal issues is the common language behaviour in the multilingual Sindh society as indicated in excerpt (52). This conversation is between twin sisters and a friend. One sister is consistently impolite. The other sister, who previously was using

trilingual code-switching in Urdu, English and Sindhi, exclusively switches to Sindhi, their L1 to exclude the other group members when scolding her sister.

### Excerpt 52

1. Mehro: *Hum ne socha tah recording me acha bolege per tum to...*

(We thought we will share good things for this recording but you are...)

2. Hina: ....*Iss **issue** per baad me bolege **after recording**. Pehle **lunch** karlo.*

(...[We] will talk on this issue later after the recording. First, finish your lunch.)

3. Nina: **I don't want to eat.**

4. Hina: Disse pae ta recording pae theye tadah b tu ihio pae kareen.

(You know we are recording but even so, you are misbehaving.)

5. Nina: Moon cha chaio?

(Did I say?)

6. Hina: Anja kuch chawano ahe. Madam chaa socheedee, kerio jahil aurtoon ahin.

(Still, you need to say something. Madam (the researcher) will get the impression [about us] that we are bad-mannered.)

7. Nina: Bhala bas.

(Stop now.)

8. Hina: Iha khabar huje ta perawan manhan somoh kaeen ghalheje.

(One must know how to speak in public.)

9. Nina: Bas hane. Mic te b beizatee. **I am leaving.**

(Stop now. [You are] insulting me in front the mic [microphone]. I am leaving.)

First Mehro uses Urdu, her L1, to highlight Nina's rude behaviour, expressing her regrets that they are not giving a good impression on the recording (turn # 1). Before she finishes, Hina interrupts and embeds English into Urdu as the ML, and asks the group to discuss this issue later but first to finish their lunch (turn # 2). Nina rudely says she does not want to eat (turn # 3).

Hina, Nina's sister, switches from Urdu and English to Sindhi exclusively to remind Nina that she is being impolite and must consider her speech in public more carefully (turns # 4, 6 and 8). Hina's code-switching into Sindhi, the group's L1, has the effect of defining the boundaries between Hina's and Nina's interactions and utterances meant for the other members of the group. Generally, in code-switching where a sensitive issue is concerned (i.e. scolding someone), speakers switch to a language which they know the other interlocutors do not understand (Baker, 2011). However, in this conversation, Nina, who was previously using trilingual code-switching in Urdu, English and Sindhi, exclusively switched to Sindhi (shared by her and Hina) to remind Hina to be more polite. This is similar to Rubino's (2014) findings in her study of Sicilian-Australian immigrant families, where parents switch to Sicilian in order to discuss private matters and exclude their children from their conversation. Her use of mixed code indicates her disagreement with her sister as well as empowering her to give her greater authority over her.

In this section, the above examples indicate that in order to discuss the taboo topics and sensitive personal issues, the use of code-switching is indispensable. The participants switched to English when discussing taboo topics in order to avoid religious and cultural restrictions. The participants also switched from trilingual code-switching to their L1 (Sindhi) to exclude others from their personal talk. Thus, these excerpts show that for certain taboo topics, speakers choose to use a different language (in this case, English) to their everyday language(s) (Nguyen, 2014).

#### **5.4 The absence of code-switching in participant's conversations**

So far, we have discussed the use of code-switching in the daily interactions of the female multilingual Sindhi participants. However, interestingly, the data shows that the multilingual participants refrain from any code-switching to Urdu or English when they discuss Sindhi cultural and traditional customs or Islamic rituals. In these cases, the only language used is Sindhi. One such example is noted when three participants discuss Sindhi marriage ceremonies in excerpt 53, below.

##### **Excerpt 53**

1. Haya: Ha rasmoon waghera be theioon aeen laoon b.

(Yes, rituals etcetera were also held and [students presented] *laoon* [*laoon* is a Sindhi ritual which involves softly striking the heads of the bride and groom together].

2. Preh: Aeen *nikha* waghera purhayio ho.

(And *Nikha* was held etc). [The Islamic way of announcing the couple are husband and wife by reciting verses from the Quran and getting the consent of the bride and groom] was also held.)

3. Haya: Paisa jeke huwa ihe khani Ma'm wajee ghoria.

(Ma'am also went to give money [to poor people] as per tradition.)

In the first excerpt, Haya explains to Preh that on the cultural day, students presented a skit highlighting a traditional Sindhi marriage ceremony including *laoon* (a Sindhi ritual in which the relatives push the heads of the bride and groom together as a sign of their approval of the marriage) (turn # 1). Next, Preh says that the *nikah* also held (the marriage vows made by the bride and groom which occur after the recitation of verses from the Quran) (turn # 2). In the third part, Haya describes the skit and says that their teacher gave a *ghoar* (i.e. the bride and groom's family members distribute money to the poor as a sign of their happiness) (turn # 3).

In this part of the conversation, when participants are discussing these traditional Sindhi rituals, no code-switching was observed. This may be related to the absence of Urdu or English equivalents of the Sindhi cultural vocabulary, such as *laoon*, *nikah*, *ghor*. Herzfeld (1996, p. 3) relates such language switching to "the cultural identity that links speaker with a particular culture as a means of self-representation". Similar results are found by Wong (2000), who states that multilingual Japanese speakers switch to their L1 for cultural and religious purposes because the culture and religion are predominantly perceived through their L1. Another reason is that such topics demand that speakers' choice of language appropriately suit their expressions (Hakuta and Cancino, 1977). Similar is excerpt (54) in which the participants are discussing preparations for Eid. As explained earlier, Eid is an important Islamic celebration as it marks the

end of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Muslims, who are financially stable, sacrifice animals such as cows, buffalo, goats, lambs or camels on this day. The meat is then distributed among their neighbours, relatives and the poor. Excerpt (54) indicates three instances of English lexical mixing with frequent use of Arabic loanwords when discussing Islamic religious rituals.

#### Excerpt 54

1. Anila: Diyo khabar eid jee tayaree kaeen thee hale? Tayaree kayio pia ya na?

(Tell [me], how are the Eid preparations going? Are you doing them or not?)

2. Rabia: Hin dafe asan na kae ahe.

(This time we are not doing [any shopping]).

3. Anila: Taha kae ahe?

(Are you doing [shopping]?)

4. Saliha: Ghana manho na pia kan.

(Many people are not doing [shopping for Eid]).

5. Anila: Mahagai je kare baba chaio ta kapra natha wathee sagoon.

(Due to high prices father said we cannot afford new dresses [for Eid]).

6. Tabo: Ka galh nahe. Agee eid te wathjo.

(No issue. [You will buy new dresses] for next Eid).

7. Rabia: Ha. Shayed ageen Eid te.

(Yes. Maybe next Eid).

8. Anila: Tu cha warto

(What have you bought?)

9. Lali: Asan **normal** kae ahe. Ganan mahin kapra b na warta ahin.

(We did normal [shopping]. Many people have not purchased new clothes.)

10. Anila: Hin dafe asan b na kae ahe. Asa kapra b na warta ahin.

(This time we have not done [shopping]. We have even not bought new dresses.)

11. Lali: Moon kapra warta ahin.

(I bought a dress.)

12. Anila: Wah! Hee **shopping** kare aee ahe.

(Great. She has done [her] shopping.)

13. Lali: Moon gharrho joro warto ahe.

(I bought a red dress.)

14. Anila: Hee kunwar theendee garrhee jore me.

(She will be a bride in a red dress (Pakistani bridal dresses are red.)

15. Tabo: Ihio sahe ahe pahreen **shopping** kaje rush kha bachan laa.

(It is better to finish shopping before it gets busy [in the shopping malls].)

16. Anila: Aeen qurbani?

(And animal sacrifices?)

17. Lali: Qurbani mehal aoon nahiya disandee.

(I don't like to see sacrifices [of animals].)

18. Tabo: Ama chawadee ahe soor purh, sajdhae-shukar kar per aoon andar band.

(Mother asks to recite the Quran, Kneel down before God as he rewarded us but I shut myself up in my room.)

19. Rabia: Sunate-Nabvee salallaho-ale-wasale nibhaen ghurje.

([One] must follow the sayings of the holy prophet, peace be upon him.)

Gumperz (1982) states that code-switching is not a uniform phenomenon rather it varies from group to group and individual to individual within a speech community. This notion is also supported by the current study's data as fewer instances of code-switching were found in excerpt (54). Heller (1988, p. 3) states that three main factors restrict the use of more prestigious languages in use within a particular speech language community. These are *speech economy* (how social boundaries constrain access to linguistic resources), *individual speech repertoires*



(where specific individuals are located within the community in regards to speech economy) and the *linguistic relationship* (the underlying grammar of the languages used) (Heller, 1988, p. 3). The participants' demographic information shows that all these three factors are linked with the absence of code-switching seen in particular interactions. The participants in excerpt (54) are from working class socioeconomic backgrounds and received their early education at government schools. As explained in section 5.2., such schools are considered to give a lower quality of education compared to private schools, especially, in terms of producing students with good verbal English skills (cf. Chapter Two and Chapter Six). If we compare these students with those who received their schooling at private English-language-based schools, they tend to be fluent in English and Urdu and have more opportunity to access more well-paid careers such as in the civil service. This allows them to play a broader role in the social domain in comparison to students with poorer English and Urdu skills. Thus, the ability or lack of it to code switch to more prestigious languages plays an important role in consolidating socioeconomic segregation (Woolard, 1988).

Another factor relating to the absence of code-switching to English in excerpt (54) is that as the participants of this group come from monolingual working class areas of Kotri, they tend not to use English in their domestic settings. Further, their communities are geographically divided on language grounds. For example, the *Behar colony* is made up of Bengali refugees; the *Pathan colony* is a predominantly Afghan refugee area and *Khuda ke Basti* is populated by Sindhi speakers (cf. Chapter Two). Therefore, speakers from such communities tend to have fewer opportunities to interact with speech communities who use different languages. This linguistic segregation creates a 'strong social network' that solidifies such speech communities' bonds (Milroy and Milroy, 1985, p. 363) (cf. Chapter Three). Members of these close-knit speech communities are generally monolingual due to their weak social ties with other language-communities. Technically speaking the participants in excerpt (54) are multilingual (as their questionnaires reveal), however, as they come from mainly monolingual speech communities, they tend to have less linguistic resources with which to code switch to English and Urdu.

To sum up, the data analysis of this group shows frequent use of Arabic loanwords and core borrowings when discussing Islamic religious rituals. Switching to English and Urdu is obvious by its absence in this excerpt. Such language behaviour correlates to Pakistani religious education which predominantly uses Arabic vocabulary. Thus, the participants in excerpt (54)

may not know the English equivalents for these Islamic religious terms and customs. Most Arabic core borrowing has retained the status of loanwords in Pakistani languages (Islam, 2011). This finding of the current study contrasts with that of Barnes and Mahomed's (1994) on the use of code mixing between Arabic and English in an Indian Muslim community in South Africa. Barnes and Mahomed conclude that this community frequently switches to English and Arabic as English is their L1 yet during religious discussions they frequently use Arabic lexis as a mark of their Muslim identity. However, in Pakistan, Islamic teaching tends to be carried out in Urdu or Sindhi so native-Arabic switching when discussing religious topics is common.

## **5.5 Lexical Borrowing**

The results of the current study show frequent borrowing of English, Arabic and Urdu lexical items. Although this study did not originally set out to analyse this use of lexical borrowing, however, in the analysis, this point is mentioned in order to distinguish instances of borrowed vocabulary from code-switching for non-native Sindhi speakers. A detailed account on loan and core borrowing is given in Chapter Six. This section briefly summarises and analyzes a selection of examples of lexical borrowing identified in the data.

The data gathered in the current study highlights that two types of borrowing were present: (i) lexical borrowing or loanwords (henceforth loanwords) and (ii) core borrowing. As explained earlier, loanwords are defined as lexical items borrowed from another language in the absence of an equivalent in the main language used by the speakers and core borrowing is considered to be an in-between stage between code-switching and loanword use (Poplack et al, 1988) (cf. Chapter Three). In the current study, foreign lexical items which appear in the Sindhi-English Oxford Dictionary (2008) are considered to be loanwords.

### **5.5.1 Loanwords**

The results of the current study show frequent borrowing of lexis from English Arabic and Urdu by the Sindhi-speaking participants. However, lexical items from English are most frequently used in the absence of equivalents in Sindhi. Most of these loanwords are related to technology, medicine or diplomacy etc. The data analysis shows that established English loan borrowing follows a hierarchy of first nouns, then adjectives and finally verbs (cf. Table 6.1) as well as

single and compound nouns and adjectives. These are the most flexible items in terms of borrowing compared to other parts of speech (Poplack et al. 1988) (cf. Chapter Six). Examples of such borrowing are given below.

1. Hane mobile system ghano wade wayio ahe.

(Nowadays [the use] of mobile phones is at its peak)

2. College ge canteen me hikro **new food-shop** khulio ahe.

(A new food-shop is open in the college canteen.)

The data analysis reveals that English verbs were borrowed less frequently by the Sindhi speaking participants compared to nouns and adjectives. This is due to the difference in word-order between English and Sindhi, as English follows an SVO (subject-verb-object) word order whereas Sindhi follows SOV (subject-object-verb). Also, the fact that some English verbs are irregular in their past simple and past participle forms (i.e. arise, arose, arisen) make such borrowing more difficult for Sindhi speakers, therefore, English loan verbs are always accompanied by a single or compound verb in Sindhi to indicate tense, number, and gender as indicated in the following examples from the data.

1. Ajkalh ja baar sajo dehn browsing kanda tha rahan.

[Nowadays of children whole day compound auxiliary verb.]

(Nowadays children are busy browsing whole day.)

2. **Last year** ho **exam** me fail thee hue.

[Last year she exam in fail compound auxiliary verb.]

(Last year she has been failed in the exam [examination].)

In example (1), the loanword *browsing* is attached with a compound verb [*kanda tha rahan*] in Sindhi to mark for gender and tense (i.e. the present continuous tense), although the English loanword *browsing* itself shows the tense. Similarly, in example (2), the English bare infinitive

verb *fail* is used in combination with the compound auxiliary verbs [*thee hue*] to mark for gender and tense (cf. Chapter Six).

The data shows that the loanwords are syntactically and phonetically integrated into Sindhi although some derivation from English loanwords is present in order to integrate these items into the syntactic and phonetic rules of the Sindhi language. Such English loanwords are pluralized by speakers making phonological changes according to Sindhi grammar rules. For example the word *system* (/s st m/) is pronounced as /s st ma /, similar to the pronunciation of *group* (/ ru p/) as / ru pa / and *class* (/kl s/) as /kl s / in the local context. (cf. Chapter Six).

In terms of borrowing from Urdu, the data analysis indicates that lexical items from Urdu are borrowed far less frequently compared to English items. Most lexical borrowing from Urdu is related to cultural and traditional events or food items as shown in the following examples.

1. Muhinjee **favourite** hamesh buryani ahe.  
(My favourite dish is *buryani* [A Pakistani rice-meat dish].)
2. Dolkee me subhnee kha wadheek mazo ho.  
(I enjoyed the *dolkee* [A singing performance at a marriage ceremony].)

The results show that Arabic lexical borrowing (as in excerpt (54), is related to greetings or common Islamic religious expressions to indicate speaker's Muslim identity.

1. Aslam-o-Alikum. **How are you?**
2. Walekum salm. **I am fine.**
3. Inshallah me imtahan me pass thedus.  
(God willing, I will pass the exam).

### 5.5.2 Core borrowing

Core borrowing was frequently used by the participants in the present study. These consist of lexical items which are syntactically and phonologically integrated into the Sindhi language system but due to the presence of equivalents in Sindhi, such borrowing is described as core borrowings. As such items can be considered to be positioned in-between loanwords and code-switching, it is not easy to distinguish core borrowing from loanword use and code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 258). However, to some extent, we can distinguish core borrowing on morpho-syntactical grounds in combination with an awareness of the language behaviour of their speech community in terms of the situation and the settings in which they occur as well as the function they serve. Secondly, core borrowing can be identified by lexis which is not included in Sindhi dictionaries as lemmas. Also, as the researcher is a native Sindhi speaker English teacher, distinguishing between core borrowing, loanwords and code-switching was made easier. This was done on the basis of the purpose such items serve. For instance, loanword is used where equivalent items in the native language do not exist, while core borrowing is used for economy of speech, to add clarity to a speaker's intended meaning, self-promotion, to add prestige and identity (Blom and Gumperz 1972, p. 424).

Like loanwords, English also provides the vast majority of lexical items for core borrowing which is increasingly replacing Sindhi vocabulary. This can be seen in participants use of vocabulary such as *teacher, student, mood, library, examination; hello, thank you, sorry; I love you, sweet heart, my love, life partner, toilet, yes, no, and, but*; and other more general words such as *mood, bore, cultural day* etc. Use of such borrowed items indicates that English core borrowing is now an accepted norm in Sindh (cf. Chapter Six). Further, the results also indicate a few instances of Urdu core borrowing of tag words and interjections.

Common Urdu core borrowings are indicated in italics in the following examples (1) (2) and

(3):

1. *Acha.* Monn khe khabar na hue.

(Ok. I did not know.)

2. *Halanke* ihe educated ahin per kam jahalan jehra athan.  
(Though they are educated but behave like illiterate people.)
3. Iho b *mumkin* ahe ta ho subhane asan khe join kare.  
(This is a possibility that she may join us.)

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented excerpts from the empirical data demonstrating the social and interactional functions associated with the participants' use of code-switching within the Sindhi context. The data analysis shows that multilingual code-switching among Sindhi, Urdu and English are frequently used by these educated Sindhi women in their daily interactions. Along with this, switching to Arabic lexis is also common when topics of discussion relate to religious topics. The data analysis also indicates an inherent historicity in terms of the impact Urdu, English and Arabic lexis have had on the Sindhi language; revealing the historical connectivity of Sindhi with these languages (Bradley, 2013). The current study's data shows that the main functions of code-switching are to allow speakers to establish and negotiate their various socioeconomic identities in two ways; (i) explicitly and (ii) implicitly. In the former, the participants constructed explicit identities based on ethnicity, feminist ideals, in-grouping and out-grouping, and formal and informal identities based on sociolinguistic, cultural and religious commonalities and differences. In the latter, code-switching is used for metaphorical purposes such as quotation or reported speech; to express anger and humour; reiteration and reformulation; and for religious and culturally taboo expressions and personal talk. For example, in changing code for quotation and reported speech, participants construct a double identity; the quotee and their representation of them. Similarly, in code-switching to express anger and frustration, the speakers demonstrated their negative emotions as a person in an authoritative position.

The Sindhi-speakers in this study switch between English, Urdu and Sindhi with such competence that on occasion, it is difficult to identify the ML. However, the data analysis suggests that Sindhi is the preferred ML (as was expected) because the participants are Sindhi by ethnicity thus speak Sindhi as their L1. The next most popular ML was Urdu, which was used by

participants who were less fluent in Sindhi, while English was the least popular ML. The data analysis shows that when Sindhi and Urdu were used as the MLs, English appears as the most frequently embedded language (EL). A few instances of Urdu and Sindhi switching were noted when English was applied as the ML. Arabic borrowing is also common in the repertoire of educated Sindhi women. Most of the participants switched using intrasentential code-switching at the lexical and phrase-levels, while intersentential code-switching and tag code-switching were less frequently used. The data shows frequent use of English lexical borrowing in Sindhi specifically where lexical items do not exist in Sindhi. Apart from established loanwords, core borrowing from English is also a common linguistic device used by educated, urban Sindhi speakers.

The current study indicates that speakers' use of code-switching is motivated by specific social factors. The most critical factor is the level of speakers' linguistic competence. This is related to firstly, the type of schooling they had, and secondly, the type of social networks they belong to. Participants from private schools where English is taught to a high standard frequently code-switch into English and Urdu at the intersentential and intrasentential levels compared to participants from Sindhi government schools. Secondly, speakers' social networks also determine how (as well as the extent to which) they use code-switching. Urban participants are more likely to have multilingual social networks and thus tend to be more familiar with speaking in a few different languages (i.e. English and Urdu), whereas participants from rural areas are more likely to belong to monolingual social networks. The data analysis shows that educated Sindhi women construct specific identities to regulate their interpersonal relationships via their use of code-switching on sociolinguistic grounds in terms of in-grouping and out-grouping other interlocutors. Hence, code-switching is not simply the language behaviour, it also acts as a social phenomenon to level and maintain established social-economic boundaries among Sindhi social classes (cf. Chapter Seven). In summary, educated Sindhi women's use of code-switching allows them to achieve a much fuller and richer expression in their spoken language compared to using a solely monolingual approach to communication.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Discussion**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The present study offers a detailed analysis of the social functions which are achieved via the use of code-switching as manifested by educated Sindhi students in their daily interactions. The participants' use of code-switching was analysed in close conjunction with the participants' social background in terms of class, linguistic background and place of origin i.e. rural or urban. In this chapter, first, the contribution this study makes to the current understanding of how code switching is exploited by speakers in order to achieve specific social functions is outlined. This is followed by a discussion of the ways in which multilingual code-switching is involved in this process. Next, the types of code-switching which appear in the results are discussed in relation to how they are used to carry out specific social functions. This is followed by an outline of the main functions of codeswitching and an explanation of the factors which motivate the participants to employ it. The social and grammatical constraints which pertain to code switching are then discussed and a detailed analysis of lexical borrowing. Finally, it gives concluding remarks about the consequences this study's findings have for the study of code switching within the field of Linguistics.

#### **6.2 Multilingual code-switching and code-mixing**

First, the current study's findings lend support to the initial hypothesis that the multilingual Sindhi participants do indeed use code-switching as a language strategy to achieve particular social functions. Participants' language use showed clear evidence of the use of four languages i.e. Sindhi, Urdu, English, Arabic and lexical items from other native languages, which indicates the existence of more than four separate linguistic systems available for them to draw upon to express themselves. Specifically, the participants use Sindhi and Urdu, Indo-Iranian languages, as their L1s, in addition to English, an Indo-European language, as their main academic and 2<sup>nd</sup> national language. This is in addition to Arabic, a central Semitic language, as their language of



religious teaching and other local languages such as Punjabi, and Pashto, reveal the outstanding linguistic competence of the participants. One of the most outstanding features of this study is that it presents a rich understanding of the ways in which code-switching is used in combination with such a diverse selection of languages. This study is related to previous sociolinguistic research on code-switching (e.g. Gumperz, 1982, Myers-Scotton, 1993, Heller, 1988, Romaine, 1985, Auer, 1995 among others) which focuses on the social functions of code-switching across two and three languages, at most. For instance, Myers-Scotton (1993) researched Kenyan participant's use of trilingual code-switching between English, Swahili and Shona; Hoffmann (2001) investigated trilingual code-switching between German, Spanish and English; Wei (2002) explored trilingual code-switching using English, Chinese and Japanese in America, and Rubino (2014), studied code switching among Italian, Sicilian and English. However, this is the first study in the discipline of linguistics that investigated the code-switching phenomenon in more than four languages. The findings of the current research contributes to an understanding of code switching's social functions in four languages, namely Sindhi, Urdu, English, Arabic, as well as in local languages such as Punjabi and Pashtu. Therefore, the results of the current study provide a new dimension to the sociolinguistic and structuralist fields of knowledge in terms of uncovering the complex code-switching mechanisms used by multilingual speakers in the Pakistani context.

In this study, the participants' use of multilingual code-switching reveals more than simply their linguistic preferences and competence. It also uncovers processes such as "the structuring and affirming of the role" as well as "relationship, identity and cultural heritage" (Rubino, 2014, p. 270). The multilingual code-switching used by the participants reflects their historical, social and cultural bonding with Urdu, English and Arabic as well as laying bare Pakistan's rich linguistic scenario which has seen Sindhi being subject to 70 year's influence from Urdu, 300 years' from English, and 800 years' from Arabic (cf. Chapter Two). The participants' use of multilingual code-switching can be understood as being a product of "contact and necessity", where Sindhi tends to function as their L1, Urdu as their lingua franca, English as the language of officialdom and academia, and Arabic as the language of religion (Edwards, 1994, p. 39). The participants' advanced linguistic competence is illustrated via their use of multilingual code switching in this study suggests that they are confident enough to keep their language choices open according to the requirements of their immediate conversational context. For instance, the participants' use of

discourse-related code-switching (i.e. “the use of code-switching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance”) as well as participant-related code-switching, also called preference-related code-switching (i.e. code-switching motivated by speakers’ or interlocutors’ language competence or language preferences according to situation and need) (Auer, 1995, p. 4) (cf. Chapters Three and Five). Specifically, the female Sindhi participants preferred to use Sindhi as the ML when discussing traditional and cultural rituals while Islamic religious festivals were discussed almost exclusively in Arabic using prominent intrasentential switching. Likewise, the participants employed preference-related code-switching using English as the ML to discuss topics which are considered culturally taboo or reveal anger, as English is afforded a prestigious status in the Pakistani context. Accordingly, the results showed that participants chose to use a specific language appropriately by judging the linguistic competence and social backgrounds of their interlocutors during informal conversations. For instance, in excerpts 17, a participant spoke in Sindhi with an interlocutor who was not fluent in Sindhi which seemed to be an obvious attempt to exclude her from the conversation, while in the excerpts 11-12, the participants actively switched to Urdu, their interlocutors’ L1, in order to include them in the conversation.

Although the participants in this study tended to speak more than three languages (i.e. English, Sindhi, Urdu in combination with local languages such as Punjabi, Siraeki and Pashtu, the majority tended to speak Sindhi exclusively as their ML. This was followed by Urdu as the L1 of participants from private English schools as such schools discourage native languages (including Sindhi) and enforce the use of English or Urdu as students’ L1 (cf. Chapter Two). Rafiq’s (2010) study also points out that although such policies are often criticised, they have yet to be challenged in any efficient way. Finally, English appears as the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest ML this study. Such advanced linguistic competence of the participants presented a challenge during this research as, at certain points it was difficult to distinguish the ML and EL. This was especially true when they used a mix of English and Sindhi in phrases or clauses. At this point, Myers-Scotton’s (1992) Matrix language frame (MLF) model was useful in identifying the ML in use by applying the ‘System Order Principle’.

Here, functional words (i.e. pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions etc.) provide the utterance’s syntactic-structure and define the ML, while the inserted morphemes (i.e. nouns, adjectives, determiners, interjections etc.) can be considered as originating from the EL (Myers-Scotton,

1993b, p. 59). To compound matters further, it was also difficult to distinguish the specific ML and EL in more complicated cases, for example, when two functional words from two different languages were employed in a single utterance. Such cases were solved by taking the inflecting verb as the criterion by which to identify the ML as suggested by Treffers-Daller (1994). For instance, in excerpt (51), English provides the majority of the morphemes although the verbal inflexions are derived from Sindhi and provide the utterance with meaning and structure.

Another interesting facet to the use of Sindhi as the ML is the role played by ethnic identity. The overwhelming use of Sindhi as the preferred ML seems to be influenced to a large extent by the participants' ethnic and linguistic ideologies. The Sindh's historical and political topography (cf. Chapter Two) reveals that linguistically, Sindh remains a relatively intolerant province of Pakistan. For instance, in excerpts 13-17, participants express their unwillingness to communicate in Urdu despite being competent Urdu speakers. This gives an indication of Sindh's current politico-linguistic situation which seems to be lacking in linguistic tolerance and reveals that Sindh is still divided linguistically into two opposing groups – Sindhi and Urdu language speakers (cf. Chapter Two).

The results also demonstrate the use of Urdu as L1 by particular ethnic, Sindhi-born speakers. This highlights the low status of the Sindhi language within the official, professional, and academic domains of modern-day Pakistan. This phenomenon can be accounted for as English is the language of Pakistan's former colonisers, and Urdu, the language of Muslim refugees who settled in Sindh, continues to fulfill communicative functions at the social and official levels in Pakistan. The Pakistani Government, in its education and language policies, has largely neglected the inclusion of native languages. Following the Government's approach, English private schools in Pakistan have also restricted the use of native languages by emphasising that English and Urdu are to be used. Such steps have clearly motivated many Pakistani's, especially in urban areas, to adopt Urdu and English as their L1s as they regard them as having a greater social status (Rahman, 2006).

The current study's findings demonstrate that when Sindhi is used as the ML, the participants commonly switch to English, Urdu, Arabic and other native languages. However, when Urdu is used as the ML, participants did not switch to Sindhi or other native languages except English and Arabic. This fact suggests that in the Pakistani context, the popularity of Urdu, the main language of the Indian Muslim refugees, and English, the language of Pakistan's former

colonisers, speakers feel less inclined to use their native languages as they are fast losing their status in mainstream society (Mansoor, 1993).

The results show that the overwhelming majority of participants use English as their preferred EL when using Sindhi or Urdu as their ML. The reason for this language choice is that the elite class prefer to use English as their L1 as a linguistic status symbol. This trend is then followed by speakers from the middle and working classes who make up the majority of the population. This extensive use of code-switching to English has wide-ranging sociopolitical implications as it becomes ever more firmly established as Pakistan's official and academic language revealing its power and importance in daily interactions. The results also show the infrequent use of Urdu and other native Pakistani languages such as Punjabi, and Pashtu as ELs. These languages closely resemble Sindhi in terms of syntactics, morphology and phonology, but these languages share almost identical vocabulary and offer less to fill the lexical gap in the Sindhi language. Another reason for this phenomenon, as explained earlier, is that although Urdu is the second-largest spoken language in Sindh province, Sindhi speakers perceive Urdu as an inferior language used by refugees as indicated in excerpts (11-14) (Shah, 1978). However, these are only tentative conclusions as the present study is the first to contribute to the examination of multilingual code switching in Sindh. it is recommended that future research is needed to investigate these notions.

### **6.3 Types of code-switching**

The results of the present study provide instances of three types of code-switching as defined by Poplack (1980 and 2000). The first type is intrasentential code-switching in which a change of language within a sentence can be observed. This type of switching is generally known as lexical or phrase switching. The second type, intersentential codeswitching, refers to when a speaker switches languages at the sentence level. Finally, tag code-switching includes the inclusion of independent lexical items such as exclamations or interjections (cf. Chapter Three). Next, the findings show that most language shifts employed by the participants were intrasentential code-switching at the word, phrase and clause levels. The most common type of code switching which appears in the current study is lexical code-switching. This is a more complex multilingual switching where the speaker employs two and on occasion, three, languages simultaneously in a

single utterance. The speakers with advanced linguistic competence rely on intrasentential and lexical switching (Poplack, 1980). However, this study's finding contradicts Poplack's as participants used lexical code-switching in Arabic and other native languages although they stated in their demographic questionnaire that they have no linguistic competence in these languages.

This finding shows that the participants, along with intrasentential switching, also employ intersentential code-switching. Most commonly, intersentential switching is employed first in English, and then in Urdu. This intersentential switching in English can be considered to be a marked choice by participants from both rural and urban areas except in the case of its use by urban-elite speakers. The current study's findings show that intersentential codeswitching is used at clause or sentence boundaries when one clause or sentence is in a different language (i.e. English) and the other is in a different language (i.e. Sindhi) in the same utterance retaining use of both languages independently. Such switching reveals participants' advanced linguistic competence. The participants were Bachelor's and Master's students and as such, can be considered to have had a significant exposure to both Urdu and English as academic languages. The current study's findings show that the tendency for participants to employ intersentential code-switching to English is used more frequently by those from the urban-elite class who received English-language schooling. This indicates the significant influence of English as the language of prestige and power in Pakistan.

The findings also indicate that the research subjects frequently resorted to tag codeswitching which generally does not cause any grammatical disruption because tag vocabulary is less integrated into the ML and acts as an independent part of a sentence (Polack, 1980). The results show that when participants use Sindhi as the ML, they most frequently use tag code-switching into English, followed by Urdu tag code-switching, and on occasion, use both English and Urdu tag switching in a single turn initially and medially (i.e. excerpts 5 and 38), without violating either language's syntactic rules. It is interesting to note that English and Urdu tag code-switching is most commonly used by participants from urban areas rather than those from rural parts. This phenomenon may be related to the close contact urban language behaviour.

The current study's findings demonstrate that participants who use Sindhi as their L1 use trilingual intrasentential switching to English, Urdu and Sindhi. This differs from those who use

Urdu or English as their L1, as this group tend to use bilingual code-switching in English or Urdu. However, there was one exception to this. Mehro (Group 1) used Urdu and English as her L1s and also used trilingual sentential code-switching in Sindhi, English and Urdu.

#### **6.4 The functions of code-switching**

The present study shows that the multilingual female participants from various sociolinguistic backgrounds employed code-switching in order to achieve specific social goals. This finding answers the main research question “what functions does code-switching realise in the informal interactions of educated Sindhi women?” The findings of the current study demonstrate that the predominant use of code-switching is to express and maintain their social identities in two ways. First, use of code-switching as a direct strategy for constructing a speaker’s identity explicitly, and second, using code-switching metaphorically to fulfill functions such as quotation, reported speech, reiteration and reformulation, idiomatic expressions, translation, expressing anger, humour; and euphemistic expressions.

The findings demonstrate that the participants in the current study use code-switching to express their various socioeconomic identities. This addresses the second research question, “how do multilingual Sindhi women use code-switching as an expression of their identities?” Thus, in order to construct their identities, the participants employed various code-switching strategies. First, the most common strategy is using code-switching for self– ascription and/or ascription by others so that speakers can project their identities as individuals. This study’s findings also show that Sindhi women use self-ascription as a translanguaging strategy to define their social identities in relation to social class (i.e. elite, middle or working class) and whether they identify with a rural or urban upbringing. In terms of self-ascription, intrasentential switching into English is commonly used, although participants from elite-urban backgrounds tended to employ intersentential switching between English and Urdu to demonstrate their social status (excerpt 1). However, they also used other-ascription to define and mark their interlocutors’ identities based on social status, negotiating identity through shifts in language use (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Hence, the participants adopted code-switching to construct in-group and out-group identities. They also shifted code by varying dialect and using formal and informal codes. For instance, participants drew on *we-code* and *they-code* in the Sindhi language to level or maintain social

boundaries in their interpersonal conversations. Similarly, by using code-switching they construct tangible gender identities (excerpt 2). This finding contradicts Gumperz's (1982) claim that we-code and they code is used by different ethnic groups to construct their ethnic identities. On the contrary, the current study's findings demonstrate that both we-code and they code are employed by speakers belonging to the same speech communities and it is used as a tool – formally and informally – to level and/or maintain social boundaries between speakers. As explained in section 5.3.1.2, in Sindhi, you-code consists of two types: *tawha-code*, the plural you-code, and *tu-code*, the singular you-code. The *tawha-code* is used to convey formality, indicating an out-group association, while *tu-code* is used in informal interactions and indicates an in-group association. Similarly, *assan-code* (we-code) links with informal in-group identity and *tawha-code* can be seen as similar to 'they-code' as a formal out-group association. For example, in excerpts 3 and 4, for participants who were friends as well as classmates, their personal choices for language use were subjective, thus demonstrating that “speakers within any community and social category do not always speak alike” (Bolonyia, 2005, p. 11). The finding of the current study suggests that the linguistic choice of formal or informal code defines the rights and obligation set between the speaker and listener and is a tool to negotiate their in-group or out-group identities.

The results also show that participants from urban and rural background use code-switching in specific different ways. For instance, those from the urban elite class seemed to be aware of their higher social class in relation to those from the middle and working classes. In Pakistan, it is important to note that for the urban-elite class, English and Urdu are unmarked codes whereas for those from rural backgrounds they are considered marked codes.

Participants from urban-elite backgrounds mostly resorted to code-switching between English and Urdu as a sign of their high social status in order to express their privileged status with their interlocutors. These linguistic clues indicate that members of the urban-elite class have internalised Urdu and English code-switching as a symbolic sign of their status to create social boundaries between them and those from less economically established or rural backgrounds (excerpts 3, 4, 5 and 6) (Hamza, 2008, p. 194). Hence, Urdu and English codeswitching is an unmarked choice for speakers from the urban-elite class although it is a marked code choice for those from rural backgrounds. From the researcher's perception, as a member of the same ethnic community as the participants, the Sindhi language (as the L1) is regarded as more appropriate

for informal, friendly interactions. This notion is supported by Giles et al.'s 'imposed norm hypothesis' which states that a 'prestige' language is one which is considered to be the language which is most pleasing to particular social groups such as the elite class, middle class or working class etc. (1974, p. 406). For example, in excerpt (7) a participant from an urban background switched between English and Urdu in an attempt to present herself as a modern woman. This can be compared to a participant from a rural background who initially showed persistence in using Sindhi but, as the conversation progressed, she recognised her interlocutor's linguistic clues (i.e. switching between English and Urdu) as a sign of their higher social class. As a result, she too followed suit and promptly began to also use English-Urdu code-switching to match her interlocutor's speaking style. Here, this participant's change to the use of English and Urdu can be understood as a response to her interlocutor's choice of language to construct an identity of 'self' and her 'interlocutors'. This finding is supported by Tabouret-Keller (1998) who states that certain participants in her study switched much more frequently to English which encouraged their interlocutors to also project their social identities by also choosing to speak English. Thus, this indicates that "identity is not simply a matter of how I see myself but also of how I am seen by others" (Tabouret-Keller, 1998, p. 315).

However, the construction of in-group and out-group identities involving participants from similar sociolinguistic backgrounds is a complex phenomenon. For instance, in excerpt (1) where participants are discussing their career choices in the civil service, those from the urban elite class switch to English as an unmarked code as their interlocutors are from similar sociolinguistic backgrounds. In addition, such shifts of code appear to be used by speakers as a language tool to establish a 'sound and coherent' identity (Bassiouny, 2014, p. 264) and project themselves as suitable candidates for such high ranking careers as competency in English is an important criterion

Similarly, the construction of speakers' cultural identities through the use of code-switching was also seen in spoken interactions between participants from urban and rural backgrounds. For instance, those from rural background demonstrated pride about their rural culture and considered urban, metropolitan culture as less traditional and less worthy of praise. The findings show that whenever these women from monolingual speech communities felt a need to switch into English and Urdu, they did. For instance, in excerpts (5 & 8) a speaker from an urban background switched to English to show her ignorance about aspects of urban culture, while



another speaker from a rural background corrected her by switching to English, her interlocutor's code. This code-switching to English is used primarily for the promotion and maintenance of speakers' rural-cultural identities and to demonstrate their separateness from urban culture which also underlines the divisions within Sindhi society in terms of geographic-sociolinguistic positioning.

As explained above, that the results show that speakers' choice of code is used to construct their ethnic identities in the context of linguistically divided Sindh by using Urdu, Sindhi and other local languages. Although this antagonism between Sindhi and Urdu speech communities is, to some extent, normalised, language planners have failed to convey a positive impression Sindhi native speakers, who form the majority. For instance, this is evident in excerpt (12), where a participant consistently replies in Sindhi to her interlocutor using Urdu, which reveals their linguistic prejudice against each other. The story of one participant's unwillingness to speak Urdu may be based on a prior traumatic experience during ethnic violence between the Sindhi-Urdu-speaking communities in 1998 as explained in Section 5.3.1.5. Such incidents can affect an individual's language choices and serve as signposts revealing their ethnic associations. In excerpt (14), for instance Sindhi was being used as the ML as a consciously selected code for excluding one participant (Sabeen) from the discussion who cannot speak Sindhi. When Soomal requested that they should speak in Urdu in order to involve Sabeen, the Urdu-speaking participant, the reaction of the rest of the group members was negative. Contrariwise the findings show speakers' linguistic tolerance as in excerpts (11) and (12) in which participants switched to Urdu in order to put their non-Sindhi speaking interlocutor at ease. It was also observed that the similarities of their linguistic abilities allowed participants to adopt two identities simultaneously, first as multilinguals, and second as members of their respective ethnic groups. This discussion shows that construction of language identity using code-switching is influenced by a range of linguistic ideologies within the linguistically sensitive context of Sindh. The speakers' choice of code impacts the social relationship speakers share with their interlocutors, thus revealing the underlying sociolinguistic context.

The underlying social situation of Sindhi women is illustrated that the female Sindhi participants are able to employ code-switching to indicate women's marginalised position in Sindhi society. For instance, they use code-switching as a means of demarcating themselves from men, as in excerpts (9 and 10) where they switch to English to discuss issues women face in modern-day

Pakistan; lamenting on the social and domestic conditions of women compared to men. For such purposes, English is used to emphasise the issues Sindhi women face and show their willingness to achieve equal rights in Sindhi society.

Participant's use of Arabic to demonstrate their Islamic identity was also an important finding of the current study. "Within Islam, Arabic is considered holy language" (Jaspala and Coyle, 2009, p. 7) and this explains why participants used common Islamic words and phrases in Arabic to discuss religious topics. The use of Arabic expressions instead of their equivalents in Sindhi seems to be based more on religious reasons than cultural ones. For instance, saying farewell in Arabic (Allah hafiz - God will protect you) seems to cleave more to religious aspects as God's protection is being invoked, compared to the Sindhi equivalent 'Allah wahee' (goodbye). It is noteworthy that code-switching in Arabic is confined to the religious domain indicating the complex socio-religious link between participants and Arabic (cf. Chapter Two). However, unlike the Muslim participants, the findings show that a Hindu speaker expresses her religious identity by switching to English (15). The use of lexical mixing to English (i.e. the repetition of the word goat in English) is intended by the speaker to attract her listener's attention and highlight that she is forbidden by her Hindu faith from consuming beef but can accept goat meat.

Furthermore, apart from the construction of explicit identities, the results show that participants also created implicit identities using code-switching metaphorically for a range of specific functions. For example, participants employed code switching to express humour through pun, simile, mocking, and slang words (i.e. excerpts 46 and 49). Next, figurative language used by participants illustrates the idiosyncrasies of particular situations. For instance, in excerpt (49) one participant used the phrase shuttlecock-burqa to comparing the cone-shape of this particular style of burqa with a shuttlecock in order to illustrate the difficulties women face when wearing such an awkward piece of clothing. In regards to the expression of humour, code-switching played an important role in defusing tension when interlocutors disagreed on something. Being multilingual, the women were fully aware that the use of specific languages or dialects can be considered as humorous in themselves. For example, in the context of Sindh, Punjabi slang tends to be more suitable for mockery and satire because it is known as a language which allows the expression of wit in ways which Pakistanis tend to find very funny. For instance, in excerpt (48) when the two interlocutors were involved in an argument, another participant switches to slang Punjabi vocabulary to make a joke, using the word *bande* (which means an extremely down-to-

earth person) to refer to the President. She deliberately switches to Punjabi slang as a pun to mock the president's contradictory personality in his role as president and as a husband. This can be seen as a deliberate use of participant's linguistic competence to diffuse the tension between the group members; to "break the ice and shift into a more casual and friendly gear" (Mashiri, 2002, p. 231). This example implicitly indexes the speaker's identity as a pacifying influence.

However, code switching was also used to express negative emotions such as anger, warnings or frustration (excerpts 42-45). It is interesting to note that for negative expressions, the participants tended to switch to English as a high-status language and to express frustration "as a means of imposing a negative identification on the opponent" (Myers-Scotton, 2016, p. 433). This switching to English as a marked code can be seen as an attempt to redefine their rights and obligations in terms of their interpersonal relationships with the other interlocutors. However, participants also switched from English to Sindhi (excerpt 44) to express frustration. This indicates that for the expression of anger or frustration, code switching from their L1 to L2 or vice versa is indispensable. There has been a long debate as to why bilinguals switch languages during moments of anger or excitement. Psycholinguists believe that in anger, speakers tend to run out of words in their L1 (Pavlenko, 2007). Keeping in mind the high level of the participants' linguistic competence in the current study, it is assumed that did not run out of words in their L1, but rather that this use of code-switching allows them to assert their own self-determination and the antagonistic aspects of their personas. Rubino (2014) states that code switching in anger serves as a signpost of speakers, identity towards their interlocutors and to attract attention and gain the floor.

Reporting the speech of others and quotation is another function fulfilled by code switching, as revealed in the findings. This highlights that participants employed code switching as a premeditated strategy to add authenticity to their speech by reciting the exact words of the quotee and bringing the listeners closer to the original utterance. By using 'double voice' (where participants reproduce the original utterance and mimic the quotee), participants assumed a dual identity – their own and the quotee's identity (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 200) (cf. Chapter Three and Five). They dramatise their utterance by using mimicry and shifting their role from listener to narrator. This finding demonstrates that for quotation, participants' prefer to use English, especially for quoting a person in authority such as a teacher. This is linked to the fact that in the Pakistani academic and social contexts, English is the predominant language of instruction

English. Further, code-switching to English to reproduce famous quotations indicates English's social status as a highly respected language in terms of communicating received wisdom (cf. Chapter Six).

These findings show the extensive use of code-switching for reiteration as well as for functions such as self-repair, adding emphasis, clarification, qualifying a message, translation and recycling (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1995). Reiteration can be considered a type of quasi-translation from one language to other (Auer, 1995). The findings suggest that when participants make errors or slips in their spoken utterances, the use code switching for self-repair and self-correction is predictable (Schegloff, et al 1977). Such acts seem to enhance the clarity of a speaker's intended meaning, although Brown and Levinson, (1978) have claimed that code switching for repair is actually a face-saving strategy. This is similar to speakers' use of code-switching to add an additional sentence in order to qualify a previous utterance. For message qualification, the participants tended to use quasi-trilingual translation into Sindhi, Urdu and English to achieve a sense of authenticity and to elaborate on their points (i.e. excerpts 37-41). However, non-systematic switching from one language to another at certain points can be considered as a sign of participants' confusion and relatively uncertain state of mind as claimed by Grosjean (1982). This differs, however with the researcher's opinion as participants' use of code-switching seems to be more connected with an attempt on their part to clarify their meaning using English and Urdu as high-status languages. This strategy is also employed when speakers use idiomatic expressions, as, by adding an additional sentence or idiomatic expression in another language, this seems to be a strategy to qualify, clarify, or emphasise their statements (i.e. excerpts 28-36). Interestingly, the findings reveal that the Sindhi participants use multilingual intrasentential switching for idiomatic expressions, using Urdu, English, Arabic and Persian. This indicates the historical contact of Sindhi with these languages and the social acceptance of such language use (cf. Chapter Two). For message qualification, the participants tended to use code-switching and quasi-translation as strategies to supplement their utterances. The choices of unmarked and marked codes reveal speakers' firmly held intentions to hold their interlocutors' attention.

Pakistan is a highly conservative society in terms of discussing matters related to sex, the human body, pregnancy, and romance (cf. Chapter Five). Such cultural constraints are highly influenced by Islamic religious and cultural prohibitions. Sindhi women are under socially imposed pressure

to avoid such topics in their local languages, and so, tend to switch into English to do so. That is to say, speakers use code-switching to avoid possible offence to interlocutors by using Sindhi or Urdu, as English carries different connotations which helps to diminish offence. For instance, in excerpt (51) where participants are discussing their choice of life partner, they switch to English to diffuse the possible negative impression this topic may have on their interlocutors. By switching to English, they successfully communicate their message as well as expressing their identity as modern, broad-minded women without violating Pakistani cultural and religious speech protocols. In such attempts, English code-switching's functionality is bivalent. First, it fills the gap created through cultural censorship of such issues and allows participants to discuss these topics in public, and secondly, code-switching allows the free expression of their emotions which they would be unable to achieve in Sindhi or Urdu. Thus, code-switching to English acts as a type of linguistic catharsis for Sindhi women in a society where discussing intimate topics and their associated emotions are curbed by cultural and religious considerations.

Further, the use of code-switching as a euphemistic strategy also appeared in a conversation between two sisters, Hina and Nina, in excerpt (52). Hina, who was previously speaking using trilingual code-switching in Urdu, English and Sindhi in a group discussion, exclusively switched to Sindhi, their L1, to scold her sister, Nina. Switching to their family language was a purposeful effort by Hina to discuss private matters and exclude the rest of the group from their conversation. The multilingual competence of the sisters in this extract allowed them to bypass the religious and cultural censorship imposed on them by traditional linguistic norms.

In summary, the current study provides a unique insight into the functions of code-switching in terms of constructing speakers' identity. The overwhelming use of English and the infrequent use of Urdu and Arabic to construct speakers' identities were highlighted. To this end, this study encourages further research into micro and macro level code switching involving the other sectors of the educated population.

## **6.5 Factors contributing to the use of code-switching**

It is important to discuss the specific social factors involved in code switching in order to answer the second research question, "What common factors are linked to the use of codeswitching by young, educated, multilingual Sindhi women?" The answer to this question involves a

consideration of demographic factors such as age and gender; and sociological factors such as race, religion, and social class, as well as sociolinguistic factors including topic, interlocutor and situation (Wei, 2000). Considering these factors provides a thorough analysis in order that we can understand “who speaks, what language, to whom and when” (Fishman, 2000, p. 89). In order to determine such factors, the participants’ demographic information was collected via questionnaire. Following Romaine (1989) and Wei (2000), the researcher has divided these factors into two broad categories: (i) external sociolinguistic factors, and (ii) internal sociolinguistic factors. The former include factors relating to historical-socio-economic aspects, social networks, topic, interlocutor, and situation; while the latter relates to sociolinguistic factors such as speakers’ linguistic competence, intentions and expression of emotions, as well as other linguistic clues indicated through their use of code-switching. However, analysing participant’s emotions and intentions entails the use of a psychological approach which falls outside the remit of this project, and, therefore, is not discussed, although other significant motivational factors which appeared in the current study’s findings are discussed below.

### **6.5.1 External sociolinguistic factors affecting code-switching**

Various studies have demonstrated the innumerable external motivational factors which determine participants’ use of code-switching. These include historical, political sociolinguistic, psychological factors, and, the majority of scholars have stated that situation, topic, interlocutor and speaker’s intentions form the motivational forces behind codeswitching (cf. Chapter Three). There was an absence of situational code-switching in the current study’s results as this type of switching is related to changes in physical setting, such as workplace and the nature of the speaker’s social network etc. Thus, the current study was unable to offer any contributions to the understanding of situational code-switching as the data was collected in an informal single setting. Other motivational factors such as the characteristics of interlocutors are discussed in the previous chapter. Further, the current study’s data demonstrated that participants employed code switching in order to focus on the sociolinguistic commonalities or differences between themselves and their interlocutors in order to construct in-group or out-group interrelationships. Similarly, topic choice appears as another significant motivational factor for the use of code switching. For instance, participants switched into English to discuss taboo topics, reveal anger, or demonstrate their high social status (cf. Section 6.4).

Other motivational factors such as historical, sociolinguistic, economic and political changes were discussed in detail in Chapter two. This indicates how such factors have affected Sindh's sociolinguistic topography and have worked to dismantle the dominant monolingual landscape and change Sindh into a multilingual society. In the current study, ethnicity, age, gender and education were all stable factors (cf. Chapter Two) as all participants were women of almost the same age. However, factors which varied between them were their diverse social networks and socioeconomic backgrounds which produced marked differences in their use of code-switching within the context of daily interactions.

Such factors as participants' socioeconomic background appeared to be a significant force motivating code-switching. For example, the findings show that participants from well-educated, stable, urban backgrounds had a wider exposure to diversified cultures and languages which allowed them to attain a good level of fluency in Sindhi, Urdu and other local languages as well as English (Talat, 2005) (cf. Chapter Two). Such social network allows them to frequently make use of code-switching. On the contrary, those from monolingual, working class backgrounds generally located in the suburban and rural areas, tended to be mostly monolingual (Rahman, 2006). It must be noted here that code-switching is indeed more common with speakers from urban backgrounds compared to those from villages and towns. Such monolingual social networks tend to provide fewer opportunities to practice or hear code switching into English or Urdu. Similarly, participants from monolingual backgrounds tended to use code switched less despite being multilingual. The strong social networks within their speech community form a 'close-knit community' and establish 'weak social ties' with other language-communities' (Milroy and Milroy, 1985, p. 363) (cf. Chapter Three). Such a situation allows them to preserve their conventional linguistic behaviour. For example, participants of group 7 (excerpt 53) were mostly from monolingual slum areas of a suburban part of Kotri and the results of the data analysis show that they were less frequent code-switchers to English or Urdu. Despite the fact that these women were multilingual, due to their social networks, they tended to develop into infrequent code switchers. This result concurs with Milroy's who, in his study of Belfast communities, found that due to 'close-knit social networks', people are less likely to codeswitch (1987, p. 142). Such language behaviour is more like a 'community of practice' (i.e. the understanding of language variation shared in the discourse of specific groups within a specified domain) (Garcia, 2009). Thus, being members of such a community of practice, these participants have been assimilated into monolingual linguistic behaviour which has been carried

forward to their college (Eckert, 2000). This demonstrates that code-switching serves as an important index by which speakers' social affiliations can be analysed in terms of learning and sharing from their domain (De-Fina, 2007).

This finding demonstrates that the participants' socioeconomic factors also influence their range of academic opportunities as participants from stable economic backgrounds who have received private English schooling enables them to achieve advanced competence in English and Urdu from an early age, compared to those from Sindhi government schools which only introduce Urdu and English in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (at the age of 10-11). Further details on this are given in the next section.

### **6.5.2 Internal sociolinguistic factors affecting code-switching**

Aside from extra-linguistic factors, intra-linguistic factors also play an essential role in determining speakers' use of code-switching. The results show that the key intra-linguistic factor involved in the participants' use of code-switching is their multi-linguistic competence as explained in the previous section. Intrasentential code-switching tends to be used by certain participants in the current study and it can be considered to incorporate "enough knowledge of two [or more] grammatical systems to allow the speaker to draw from each system only those rules which other shares, when alternating one language with another" (Poplack, 2000, p. 241). Participants are actively judging their linguistic competence in order to produce appropriate uses of code-switching in a given context. Similarly, their use of intersentential code-switching reveals their advanced linguistic competence of where and when to use a particular language. Participants advanced linguistic competence is interconnected to the type of schooling participants were exposed to (cf. Section 6.2). For instance, those who received private English-language schooling from an early age tended to have gained advanced linguistic competence in English and Urdu compared to those from Sindhi government schools where the language of instruction is either Sindhi or Urdu. In such schools, English is introduced at 10 or 11, which affect the students' linguistic competence. This claim is based on the findings that intrasentential and intersentential switching into English and Urdu tends mostly to be used by those from private English schools whereas those from government schools tended to employ lexical switching between English and Urdu. It also highlights the inadequacies of Pakistan's government schooling system (cf. Chapter Two). However, the use of tag-code-switching in



English and Urdu was frequent by both those who attended private schools as well as public schools.

As explained at the beginning of this section, participants' emotions and intentions pertain to a psychological approach, which is outside the remit of this study. However, the functions achieved by use of code-switching in the current study show that the participants themselves triggered code switching according to their own communication needs and desire to express themselves in an appropriate language. The use of participants' code switching in a metaphorical sense relates to the indirect expression of their intentions, mood and perceptions in order to secure specific social functions. For instance, in excerpt (13-14), it was noticed that some participants resisted switching to Urdu and preferred Sindhi and English even though certain speakers did not understand Sindhi. Here, it can be inferred that Sindhi was their preferred personal choice of language as they may view Sindhi as superior to Urdu. This finding concurs with Mansoor's (1993) finding, where urbanised Punjabi participants seldom switched to Panjabi because they viewed it as a low-status language used only by those from rural areas. Equally, some participants revealed their anger by switching into English (as a prestigious language) in order to assert their authority and outgroup other speakers (excerpts 42, 43 and 45). Likewise, one participant in excerpt (48) uses slang Punjabi (*bande*) for humorous effect and in excerpt (49) a simile with the English word *shuttlecock* is used to create a joke. Hence, it can be seen that the participants manipulate their linguistic competence in order to fulfill a variety of diverse social functions according to their own wishes, moods and perceptions.

This discussion indicates that the functional distribution of code-switching strongly correlates with specific external and internal factors. The significant occurrence of codeswitching (or its noticeable absence) is interconnected to participants' external motivations such as their education, type and extent of social networks, as well as internal factors such as linguistic competence and zest of expression. However, there is a need for future research in this area to investigate speakers' internal motivations for making use of code-switching.

## **6.6 Loan borrowing**

The results of the current study reveal that participants make a significant use of English loan borrowing also known as loanwords. However, for reason of time and space, I am unable to

devote an additional chapter to an analysis of all the instances of lexical borrowing. Therefore, I have limited this section to include an analysis of examples of lexical borrowing from English, Urdu and Arabic along with the analysis of code-switching (cf. Chapter Five).

As explained in Chapter Three, lexical borrowing or loanwords consist of vocabulary borrowed from a different language due to the lack of an equivalent in the recipient language (Haugen, 1950). The most striking findings found in the current study in relation to this area is that borrowing was more prevalent in smaller sentence constituents such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs than larger constituents such as lexical phrases. The results show that a huge number of loanwords are borrowed from English in the absence of equivalents in Sindhi and Urdu. The loanwords are integrated morphologically, syntactically and phonetically into the Sindhi language and are registered in the Sindhi-English Oxford Dictionary (2008).

Although a morpho-syntactic study of these items does not fall within the scope of the current study, in order to understand the lexical borrowing process and distinguish it from code-switching, it is important to touch on the morpho-syntactic aspects which facilitate as well as resist the lexical borrowability of English into Sindhi. Sociolinguistic scholars have distinguished code-switching from lexical borrowing on the grounds of the frequency of use and the level of integration the item(s) has into the recipient language. This project proposes that loanwords, especially single items occurring in English lexical borrowing, are differentiated from code-switching on the basis of the nature of their syntactical integration in the recipient language. Lexical borrowability is possible in monolingual societies by borrowing lexical items from different dialects irrespective of the speakers' level of proficiency in order to fill in gaps where such items do not exist. While code-switching is common language behaviour seen in bilinguals' speech depending on specific personal and sociolinguistic factors. Unlike, code-switching, loan borrowing does not require a high degree of linguistic competence of the speakers; rather, they tend to acquire the borrowed word without needing to comprehend its language of origin fluently. Moreover, "despite the etymological identity with the donor language, established loan borrowing assumes morphological, syntactic and often phonological identity with the recipient language" (Poplack, 2001, p. 2063).

The results of the current study show the significant use of English, Urdu and Arabic lexical borrowing. This links to the linguistic history of the Sindhi language when "modern Sindhi borrowed various lexemes at various times in history" (Pirzado, 2009, p. 23). The findings show

that English is a generous word-donor to Sindhi, revealing the power of a self-reliant and fertile language, coining new terminology for emerging concepts in science, technology, medicine, business, education, diplomacy, and politics etc. Nowadays, the majority of native speakers ignore the origins of the foreign loanwords due to partial assimilation into the recipient languages (Hudson, 1996, p. 56). For instance, the Sindhi equivalent of the English loanword *plate* is *raqabee*. However, generally, Sindhi speakers consider *plate* as a native word because the Sindhi equivalent has become obsolete and has even disappeared from local dictionaries. Table 6.1 indicates the list of borrowed vocabulary items from English, Urdu and Arabic in the current study's data.

Table: 6.1

**English, Urdu and Arabic loan borrowings in the Sindhi language**

| English loan borrowing   | Urdu loan<br>Borrowing                        | Arabic loan<br>borrowing  |
|--|---|---|
| Autograph, blackboard, B.A., bore, browse, B.Sc., burger, bus, call-packages, class, class- fashionable, fellow, classroom, classrepresentative, class-time, college, computer, counter, CSS, dialogue, diary, disposition, DMG-group, driving, engineer, engineering, fail, fashion, fee, foreignservice, full-suit, gas, glass, graduate, graduation, Google, hostel, hosteller, interview, Inter-science, M.A., MPA, MNA, miss, mic, ma'am, mark, mobile, mobile-system, mood, mummy, note, notice, number, order, package, pass, petrol, plate, policy, position, policy-maker, positionholder, presentation, practice, proctor, sandwich, school, science, section, shopping, SMS, software, souvenir, subject, telephone, train, training, university. | Biryani,<br>handhighost,<br>haleem<br>dholkee | Aslam-<br>oalikum,<br><br>wal-e-kum-<br>salam,<br><br>Inshaalah,<br>subhanallah<br>Alham-o-<br>lilah<br><br>Shwarma |

Table 6.1 indicates instances of English loanwords related to cultural and traditional domains which are used to fill in absences in Urdu while the Arabic loanwords are related to Islamic practices. Although the participants do not have great linguistic competence in Arabic (according

to the questionnaires they filled in) their use of Arabic is limited to greetings or Islamic religious expressions which Muslim societies adapt as a mark of their Islamic identity.

This table also indicates that English nouns, verbs and adjectives constitute a large number of loanwords. The table also shows the noticeable lack of borrowability of functional English words (i.e. auxiliary verbs, pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions). The findings show that borrowability follows the ‘categorical hierarchy’ whereby words from specific word classes tend to be borrowed more easily than others (Poplack, et al., 1988). English nouns and adjectives show more tendencies of borrowability because generally, they are less incorporated into the structure of Sindhi, Urdu or other Pakistani languages (Pirzado, 2009). The findings show that the English loanwords, generally nouns, are filtered through inflexion and derivation according to Sindhi syntactical rules in order to adjust to the syntactic and phonetic properties of Sindhi. Inflexion (also known as inflection) is created when properties of a loan item remain unchanged in terms of lexical category (Islam, 2011). For example, the English word *plate* /ple t/ is phonologically changed into /ple tæ/ by Sindhi speakers. Similarly, participants used the gender of borrowed vocabulary on the basis of its sound and meaning in terms of Sindhi. For instance, the participants attached a phoneme /:u/ to make a word feminine and plural /ple t:u/ [plates], while the plural of the English word ‘glass’ is considered masculine and is pluralized by adding the phoneme / / to change it to / l s / (glasses). Moreover, the results indicate that during the code-switching the change across word’s internal morpheme is implicated. In this process the intra-lexical at morpheme level in which a root morpheme from English is annexed with inflectional morpheme from Sindhi in order to adjust it in to the host language. This finding is identical with the study of Bentahila et al.’s (1983 and 1992) in Morocco where French root morpheme is generally added with Arabic inflexion. Bentahila et al. (1992) report some examples that in which the Arabic morphemes are affixes with French verb stems for adjustment when Arabic is used as ML. Similar is the finding of Berk-Seligson (1986) is indicating the violation of free morpheme constraint in Spanish-Hebrew code switching. One such example is *talfén* (phone call) in which the Hebrew stem is attached to a Spanish verb ending (Berk-Seligson, 1986, p. 333).

Another noticeable feature of borrowed words is derivation. Here, the properties of the borrowed items are changed and from their roots, new vocabulary is coined. For instance, the word *shopper* (shopping bag) is derived from the English loanword *shopping*. Such derivations have

no parallel meanings in the English lexicon (Islam, 2011). Interestingly, the result reveals no such inflexion or derivation in the case of adjectives or verbs. Table 6.2 indicates some examples of the implicit rules of morphological changes which the Sindhi participants used in terms of inflexion, derivation, gender, and pluralisation.

Table 6.2

**Patterns of English loan words in Sindhi and  
morphological changes**

| No | Pattern of Borrowing | English borrowed words | Borrowed in Sindhi with morphological changes |
|----|----------------------|------------------------|---|
| 1  | Inflection           | Plate /ple t/          | /ple tæ /                                     |
|    |                      | Glass / l s/           | / l s /                                       |
| 2  | Gender Distinction   | Teacher /ti .t /       | /ti .t r/                                     |
|    |                      | Female teacher         | /ti t r:u/                                    |
| 3  | Pluralisation        | Systems /s s.t ms/     | /system /                                     |
|    |                      | Points/p nt/           | /p nt:u/                                      |
|    |                      | Members /m mb s/       | /m mbr n/                                     |
| 4  | Derivation           | Affect / fekt/         | / fekti:/ (who is affected)                   |
|    |                      | Shopping               | <i>Shopper</i> (shopping bag)                 |
|    |                      | Clock /kl k/           | /k l k (hour)                                 |

Furthermore, the findings of the present study show frequent use of English borrowed vocabulary in the presence of equivalents in Sindhi. Although core borrowing is syntactically and phonologically integrated into Sindhi, due to the presence of equivalents in Sindhi, it is described as core borrowing. It is interesting to note that specific English lexical items are integrated into Sindhi to such an extent that many Sindhis may not even know the local equivalents. For example, in Sindhi, the equivalents for *hospital*, *class* and *library* are

*dawakhano, ustad, shagird, darjo and kutab-khano*, respectively. Thus there is no hard and fast rule to distinguish core borrowing from code switching or loanword use. The current status of borrowed words can be derived from an analysis of Pakistani electronic & printed media, and Sindhi corpora. Myers-Scotton's theory on borrowing (2006) is also ambiguous as it states that singly occurring items should be considered as belonging to the embedded language, which does not help distinguish between loan and core borrowing. Core borrowing and established borrowings bear a resemblance when they both integrated into the morphology and syntax of the host language while, embedded-language words in codeswitching are not morphologically integrated into the recipient languages (Myers-Scotton, 2006). However, in certain cases the distinction between code-switching and borrowing is unclear when “there are no distinct boundaries to define an established borrowing from a singly occurring instance of a foreign lexical item” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 258).

However, being a native speaker and language English teacher, the researcher feels able to offer a method of distinguishing between core and established loan borrowing and codeswitching, and I concur with Kossmann (2013) who states that though core borrowing is in frequent usage in the daily interactions in a language community, not all such items constitute lemmas in the language's dictionary.

The results of the current study show a significant use of English core borrowing in Sindhi, although the current data on core borrowing has not analysed as a separate category due to the limited time and scope of this study. First, it is difficult to ascertain if particular words are, in fact, core borrowing or code-switching, because in some speech communities, the same word may constitute code-switching, and in others, it may be regarded as coreborrowing. Second, in the local context of Sindh, so far, no studies have investigated core borrowing from other languages. It is difficult to ascertain if a particular item constitutes code-switching or core borrowing as the study's main focus is on the use of code-switching.

Moreover, there is a need to categorise the use and prevalence of core borrowing in all Pakistani speech communities, and especially the urban Sindhi speech community.

In the current study, core borrowing was considered to be represented by items in popular usage in Sindh as found in the data. The purpose served by the core vocabulary items in terms of loan borrowing used in place of the absence of equivalents in Sindhi while core borrowing serves the

purposes of economy of expression, precision of expression, selfpromotion, prestige, xenophobia and expression of identity and fashion (Blom & Gumperz 1972, p. 424).

Table 6.3 provides a list of popularly used core borrowed vocabulary items from English, Urdu and Arabic vocabulary which appear widely in the data. Furthermore, I observed that such vocabulary is commonly used in day-to-day interactions by Sindhi speakers. However, certain words which are considered to be examples of core borrowing by some may be considered to be examples of code-switching by others.

Table 6.3

**English loan borrowings in Sindhi**

| <b>English core borrowing</b>   | <b>Urdu core Borrowing</b>           | <b>Arabic core borrowing</b> |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| book, chemistry, collect, commitment, complex, cultural-day, degree, farewell-party, doctor, driver, final year, first-year, foodmela, female-dominancy, gate, gender-balance, join, library, light, list, madam, magazine, master, meeting, mummy, ok, papa, partone, party, pass, practical-life, primary, psychology, result, sir, shopping, sign, smart, system, teacher, transfer, type, zero. | Acha, wajah, halanke, Ehsas-ekumtree | Inshaalah, subhanallah       |

Table 6.3 above indicates a wide range of core borrowing vocabulary used by the participants. Like loanwords, core borrowing also follows the hierarchy of firstly nouns, then adjectives and finally, verbs. The table also indicates a few instances of Urdu lexical core borrowing which is mostly tag switching. Arabic core borrowing is related to the domain of religion. Such Arabic and Urdu core borrowing was used by participants from urban backgrounds, a feature which was noticeably absent from the speech of those from rural backgrounds, although Arabic core borrowing was used in the religious discussions. However, English donates a significant number

of loanwords and core borrowing to Sindhi which have become morphologically, phonetically, and syntactically integrated into the Sindhi language.

### **6.7 The absence of code-switching and lexical borrowing**

The results of present study show that there are certain situations where an absence of codeswitching can be related to sociolinguistic as well as structuralist aspects including constraints which block the use of code-switching and lexical borrowing. Heller (1988, p. 3) explains three factors which restrict the distribution of higher-status languages within a speech community in terms of the notions of speech economies (how social boundaries constrain access to linguistic resources), individual speech repertoires (individual's position within the community's speech economy) and their linguistic relationships (i.e. the language varieties' grammatical qualities). The first two factors have already been dealt with above, while the third is more linguistics in nature and forms the focus of the next section.

The findings indicate that most lexical switching and lexical borrowing, in order of frequency, is firstly nouns, adjectives and then verbs. No evidence was found of borrowing or code switching for pronouns, adverbs, prepositions or auxiliary verbs, thus raising the important question of why speakers find it easy to borrow and code switch in Sindhi using particular items and not others. I will try to answer this question from the structuralist perspective. Poplack (1980), Poplack and Sankoff (1988) and Muysken (1995) explain that apart from stylistic and metaphorical motivations for code-switching and borrowing, linguistic considerations are also important when considering the absence of code-switching and borrowing. According to Poplack (1980):

“code-switches [lexical borrowing also] will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other.”(p. 586).

The current study's findings show that intrasentential code-switching occurs at a point where the surface structure of both languages is same as the 'equivalent constraint theory suggests (Poplack, 1980 and Sankoff and Poplack, 1981). For instance, when a participant switched to English or borrowed an English noun or adjective to simply replace the Sindhi equivalent, this



poses less of a threat to the organization of the sentence because nouns and adjectives are “relatively free of syntactic restriction” and are adjusted without causing any changes to the syntactic structure of the ML or the meaning of the switched or borrowed word (Romaine, 1995, p. 125). Similarly, phrase and clause code-switching which occurs at such points also does not conflict with the syntactic rules of either language (Poplack, 1980).

As described in Chapter Three, code-switching and borrowing cannot occur between bound morphemes; rather, shifts in language take place where “the order of any two language elements, one before and one after the switch, is not excluded in either language” (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981, p. 5). Similarly, switching and borrowing of main verbs in English in Sindhi and Urdu is also subject to this notion. Interesting evidence is present about switching and borrowing English main verbs in their bare form, without any participles, affixes or internal changes. The bound-morpheme constraint makes it impossible to switch a verb with its affixes or bring intra-lexical changes within verbs to function as required in a sentence. The reason for this is that in Sindhi, the main verb is strictly regular and is modified by auxiliary and compound verbs that indicate the gender, number, and tense, unlike English verbs. For instance, in the example below, the participants switch (in bold in example 1) and borrow (underlined in example 2) English verbs in their bare forms in order to use them according to the syntactic rules of Sindhi.

1. Hin ta **exam** je tayaree **start** kare chadee ahe.

(She exam preparation start aux.verb+ aux.verb + aux.verb.)

(She has start[ed] preparation for the exam.)

2. Hea **test** me fail thee hue.

(She test in fail aux.verb+ aux.verb.)

(She failed in the test.)

In example (1), the compound Sindhi verb *kare chadee ahee* describes the gender, number, and tense without intra-lexical switching on the main verb (start). Rather, it is used according to the syntactic rules of the Sindhi language. Similarly, in example (2), where the loanword fail is used in its bare form and interconnected with a Sindhi auxiliary verb to indicate tense, number and

gender. Another reason for the less frequent use of switching and borrowing English verbs is due to the different word order of Sindhi compared to English word order. As explained earlier, Poplack (1980) states that code-switching is least possible when the basic word order of two languages is different. Sankoff and Poplack (1981) quote an example from Punjabi, which, similar to Sindhi, follows a SOV structure [subject+ object+ verb] unlike English which is SVO [subject verb+object]. The verb position in both languages differs and causes the verb to be non-congruent to allow switching between a verb and an object in English and Sindhi. The Sindhi-speaking participants either omitted or repeated Sindhi auxiliary or compound verbs when switching to English verbs, as example 3 (below) from the corpus shows. The gerund form of the English verb (driving) used with the particle 'ing' to show aspect is repeated in its Sindhi equivalent compound verb to maintain the syntactical rules of Sindhi.

3. He driving kare rahio ahe.

(He driving compound verb [doing is])

(He is driving)

Example 3 presents a violation of English grammar and word order although it follows Sindhi grammar. It is also a possibility that a Sindhi verb cannot be switched in English without bringing any internal changes, affixes or participle. Below, we consider how a Sindhi verb will work if it is switched in an English-ML sentence:

He is running

If we replace the English verb running with the Sindhi equivalent *dorr* [run].

He is dorr.\*

This is an ill-formed and meaningless sentence because the Sindhi verb is standing alone and acts as a noun, not as a verb. In case we add a morpheme 'ing' as continue with a Sindhi verb:

He is dorring.\*

Here *dorring* is ungrammatical and a violation of Sindhi lexical switching because the free morpheme (*dorr*) is attached to the bound English morpheme (*ing*) defying the syntactical rules

of both English and Sindhi. In such situations, the Sindhi verb loses its lexical and phonological meaning and status. This finding concurs with Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) finding that code-switching and borrowing do not occur where the syntactic rules of both languages are violated. It is important to note that there is no such constraint when the participants used intrasentential switching at the word, phrase and clause level in Urdu or other local languages because these languages share similar SOV word order and have similar syntactical rules.

The data revealed a conspicuous absence of code-switching either in English or Urdu in some cases. It is important to understand the reasons behind the presence or absence of code-switching and code-mixing in a particular segment of society before reaching a definite conclusion. This helps us to understand the intra-societal distribution of linguistic codes in Pakistan. Some of the socio-linguistic and academic reasons have already been described earlier, such as socioeconomic background, speaker's area of origin (i.e. rural or urban); speech community, and schooling (i.e. Government schools vs. expensive private English schools). One important finding is the lack of English code-switching which occurs when participants discuss religious issues. The role of the English in Pakistan in terms of religious teaching and educational institutions is very minimal. Religious teaching in Pakistan is copiously sprinkled with Arabic terminology as a mark of Islamic identity. The participants refrain from code-switching in English when discussing religious topics as they may wish to demonstrate their Islamic identity and also, they may not know the English synonyms or these may not exist (i.e. Eid).

The results of the current study suggest that occasionally participants coined new single or compound nouns by hybridization or loan blending of Sindhi words or morphemes with English words or morphemes and, this process of cross-blending and mixing creates new words which contain properties of both languages but which have different meanings and structures. Backus (2005) considers code-switching as "a possible mechanism of contact-induced language change". This means that code-switching can be considered to be indicative of a process of language change (p. 325). The coining of new words by the amalgamation of Sindhi lexis with Urdu and English lexis indicates an innovation in the language-change process which may ultimately contribute to huge changes in these languages in the Sindh and constitutes a new, modern style of speech.

All the above-mentioned factors may be associated with the absence of code-switching in the interactions of this group. Moreover, those who have access to a variety of languages have a

broader role to play in the social domain in comparison to those who have poorer code-switching abilities due to socioeconomic segregation (Woolard, 1988) (cf. Chapter Seven).

This discussion shows that the most striking contribution of this study is that it represents the first ever study on English and Urdu loanwords and core borrowing, with participants switching to smaller constituents (e.g., adjectives, adverbs, determiners, nouns, and verbs) than larger constituents such as phrases. The contribution of the current research is that it is clarifying the distinction between code-switching and loanwords as well as speakers' motivations for their use.

### **6.8 Concluding remarks**

To sum up, it can be concluded that English code-switching is a common phenomenon in the Sindhi context and that code-switching, code mixing and lexical borrowing are dependent on particular social factors. In Sindh, code-switching is correlated with different socio-linguistic factors such as socioeconomic background, schooling, linguistic competence, and social network. Similarly, intra-linguistic factors such as Sindhi women's inclination towards code-switching or use of mixed languages for expressive purposes, are determining factors in the presence or absence of code-switching in their spoken interactions. The results show the immense use of established loan borrowing especially from English, next Arabic and Urdu. However, English core or nonce borrowing is also a salient feature of Sindhi educated women's repertoire. The most common reason for core borrowing is to serve as a status symbol; using a word from a high-status language rather than a less prestigious one (Myers-Scotton 2002).

This discussion shows that the findings do not only reveal the reasons for and functions of speakers' particular choice of code but also reveal that code-switching has an impact on the social relationship. The use of code-switching in a particular language or avoid to switch in a specific language, reveals current sociolinguistic situation in terms of its influence on interpersonal relationships in Sindh province. The participants used code-switching to level and maintain the social boundaries between them and create in-group and out-group boundaries which play active roles on the micro scale. Hence, code-switching is not simply a linguistic ability used by speakers to express themselves in various languages as its presence or absence also conveys an implicit message and reveals the sociolinguistic intricacies of the Sindh region (cf. Chapter Seven).

Due to a lack of sociolinguistic research on code-switching, code-mixing and language borrowing in the multilingual Sindh context, the present work contributes to our understanding of the language dynamics in this area. This study may serve as a starting point for macro-level investigation of themes surrounding temporal language change due to the ingress of foreign lexical items. The outstanding contribution of this study is that it investigates code-switching and code-mixing in more than four languages. This is a significant contribution in the study of code-switching which will hopefully open new dimensions to the study of this area where code-switching can occur in more than four languages. The current study also presents, for the first time, an analysis of lexical borrowed items from such a wide varieties of languages. Finally, this study contributes to the research as it is the first ever study to focus on educated Sindhi women's language use.

The current study leaves many interesting questions for further research, for example, to investigate the phenomenon of borrowability and what specific language constraints on borrowability exist. Romaine (1995) claimed that borrowing in a bilingual community “start[s] off as code switches, and achieve[s] a status of loanwords by recurring over time in the speech of more and more individuals” (p. 124). There is a need to investigate how far code-switching is progressing in Sindhi via lexical borrowing, as this seems to pose a serious threat to the survival of the Sindhi language in the presence of languages such as English and Urdu. Thus, there is a dire need for further investigation into code-switching in order to uncover the extent to which Sindhi is under threat from English and Urdu. Some of these issues were addressed in Chapter Seven.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Final remarks and suggestions for further study**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The findings of the current study reveal that code-switching represent a commonplace daily interactional phenomenon in spoken communication among educated, multilingual, Sindhi women as a conscious strategy to achieve particular socio-communicative goals. The findings show that the principle function code-switching achieves is the construction of speakers' various identities which are tied up with their socioeconomic backgrounds and communicative intentions. The participants use code-switching in order to index their interpersonal relationships with their interlocutors; thus, widening the scope of codeswitching as a mere language practice for interpersonal communication, to leveling and maintaining their social boundaries. Such use of code-switching can be seen as part of a complex social process, as explained in previous chapter, relates to the ways in which individuals and groups interact with each other and, adjust, modify and establish interpersonal relationships which influence their social interactions (Heller, 1988). Hence, code-switching acts as a verbal expression of the prevailing social norms within the context of the language(s) itself and in the broader context of social behaviour (Gumperz, 1982).

This chapter includes final remarks on code-switching where it is assessed beyond merely the words spoken but as a social-relational process on a wider scale. In addition, particular concerns regarding the future of the Sindhi language are also discussed in the light of the prevalence of code-switching from Sindhi to Urdu and English and core borrowing from English. Finally, suggestions for future research are discussed along with the limitations of the current study.

#### **7.2 Final Remarks**

The purpose of the present project was to focus on the functions of code-switching in the informal interactions of educated, multilingual, Sindhi women. The participants used unmarked and marked code-switching following the rights and obligations set out in the particular

discourse they were engaged in (Gumperz, 1982 and Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Hence, “CS functions as an indicator of some kinds of consensus about mutual role relationships between participants in an interactive event” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 62). The use of code-switching facilitates the tendency to respond positively (by including interlocutor in the in-group) as well as negatively (by ousting interlocutor to the out-group), revealing the participants’ social identities in the context of their interpersonal relationships. Thus, code-switching can be interpreted as a repetitive pattern of social interaction that has a consistent direction and forms a speech community’s overarching linguistic framework. It is negotiated through expressions of power, authority, resistance, and creating, or leveling, social, ethnic and religious boundaries (Bourdieu, 1977; Gumperz and Gumperz, 1982; Gal, 1979; Heller, 1988; Blommaert, 1992; and Woolard, 1988). This thesis goes beyond simply the spoken words of the participants involved; ultimately, it focuses on how they construct their interpersonal relationships on the micro level (in small-scale interactions) which then shapes Sindh society on the macro level (in terms of large-scale social stratification processes). In the social process, multilingual speakers deploy their different languages on a micro scale with their interlocutor in the group discussions, then infer the meanings this code-switching has for them, and hence, this process serves to negotiate the terms of their interpersonal relationships, which ultimately shapes society on a macro scale (Pfaff, 1979).

The results of current study show that the Sindhi women perceived and practiced codeswitching to achieve their particular social goals such as the quotation or reported speech, reiteration or reformulation, to express anger and humour, or for euphuism. These various functions are tied to the construction of multiple social identities, for instance, multilingual identities, feminine identities, and to level or maintain social boundaries in terms of ingroups and out-groups. This finding highlights “what makes [their] social identities so social” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 57). To interpret the social meaning of code-switching as a tool of social-identity formation, the historiography and sociolinguistic situation of the Sindh as well as the demographic information of the participants were crucial to this study. Broadly speaking, the results indicate that in the usage of code-switching, no single factor can be taken as has having priority; a myriad of factors are involved and interconnected. For example, participants’ linguistic competence relies on their schooling; schooling follows the state education system, which is governed by the education policy and, in Pakistan, generally education policy is politically motivated. In order to

understand the reasons behind the language choices made by the speakers, these were examined in relation to the participants' sociolinguistic history and relevant linguistic historical events within the context of this study, as Gal (1988) suggested. The participants' switching and mixing across three languages (i.e. Sindhi, Urdu and English) and occasionally combined with instances of lexical switching in Arabic, as well as one or two instances of idiomatic expressions in Persian, is concrete evidence of the linguistic changes taking place in the Sindhi language and the historical and political context of Sindh, in particular, that turned it from a monolingual to a multilingual state. The first remarkable linguistic change occurred when Arab conquerors introduced Arabic in Pakistan in 712 AD. Then the Mughals brought a dramatic change to Pakistan's linguistic landscape, especially Sindh, by introducing Persian in 1530. This was followed by the introduction of English as the official language along with Sindhi in 1832 by the British Empire. In 1947, Sindh was annexed as a province of the newly born country of Pakistan and it was then conquered linguistically by Urdu, the language of Indian Muslim refugees who constituted 5% of the population, as well as English, the language of the elite class. This led to the neglect of Sindhi, the language of 78% of the population. In-fact, Sindhi still faces a struggle for survival in modern-day Pakistan (Memon, 1964) (cf. Chapter Two). Such a situation has meant that Sindh is a linguistically sensitive region where language choice is regarded as the benchmark of one's identity. The current study also sheds light on the various social groups from different socioeconomic and social networks in order to measure the context code-switching occurs in, not only as a medium of communication but as a yardstick to explore the 'micro dimension of interpersonal communication' as well as the "macro dimension to expose the linguistic situation and the socio-cultural associations of the context in which code-switching is use" (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994, p. 412).

The findings show that the participants of the current study constructed their social identities in two ways; via situational and metaphorical switching. They created explicit identities using situational code-switching – changing their language in response to their interlocutors, topic, and situation. They created implicit, social-class based identities using metaphorical code-switching from which their interlocutors could infer the meaning of their utterance in terms of achieving a particular social function. The situational and metaphorical codeswitching is used to negotiate participants' social relationships. For example, participants resorted to situational code-switching for private talk, when two sisters switched from mixed code to Sindhi and excluded others from



their interpersonal interaction. In another example, the women changed from Sindhi to Urdu showing sensitivity to the addressees' preferred code. Other times with a change in the topic, the women changed languages as a sign of ingroup association. By shifting languages, the Sindhi women shifted their roles accordingly as an attempt at increasing group cohesion and sociability. In the same way, almost all the metaphorical switching intends to construct implicit identities. For instance, participants used English to express their opinions on taboo issues indicating their attachment to English as a means maximize the negative affect and to escape from the cultural constraints. To reveal their anger, participants tended to resort to English in order to display a formal style of speaking, as well as exploiting the power and authority of this 'high-status' code because "the language authorised by the state is often used as a symbol of power and prestige within the bilingual group" (Gal, 1988, p. 246). Romanie (1995) and Rampton (2005) in their findings suggest that the use of English in Punjabi-English speakers for negative expressions signal their prestige of knowing English as a high-status code and to achieve a more powerful expression of their authoritative identity. Likewise, for quotation or reported speech, code-switching was used as a double-voicing device for mimicry, thus indicating the dual identity of the reporter and the quoted person. Subsequently, the use of informal and formal *assan-code* (we-code) and *tawah-code* (they-code) indicates the parameters of broader social boundaries within the group on socio-economical and linguistic grounds.

Use of code-switching is related to the availability of languages to the speakers and also their linguistic competence in that language (Gumperz, 1982, Myers-Scotton, 1992, Auer, 1995). The findings display that a few Sindhi-speaking elite and upper-middle-class participants adapted English and Urdu, the official languages of the country, as a symbol of power. They gain access to Urdu and English and use them as 'linguistic practice bound up in the creation, exercise, maintenance or change of relation of power' (Heller, 1988, p. 159). Their private education enables them to understand and communicate fluently in both languages as indicated in the data analysis of excerpt 1 in Chapter Five, where an elite-class woman switched to English to show that she was an eligible candidate for a Government position. She was fully aware that competence in the English is a basic criterion for such high-ranking jobs. Members of the elite classes in Pakistan adopt English to distinguish themselves from other social groups as well as maintain their status as the ruling class as displayed in excerpts 4 and 5 in Chapter Five. Here, when two classmates, one belonging to the urban-elite class and the other, middle-class from a

rural background, interact, the eliteclass speaker demonstrates her elitist, urban identity by switching into marked English and Urdu codes. She thus isolates herself from her interlocutor linguistically on socio-economic grounds. This instance indicates that urban elite women use code-switching as a tool ‘to show power over the less powerful’ (Al-Khatib, 2003, p. 420). Such use of code-switching is employed by speakers in order to assert their own, perceived level of social prestige (Blom & Gumperz, 2000).

This construction of identity by linguistic exclusion on sociolinguistic grounds indicates the potential of code-switching as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Generally in the societies certain linguistic resources, especially the official language/s of the states, are treated as high or valuable code/s and are available to the ruling and elite; but not accessible to all on an equal basis, creating a linguistic bifurcation which ultimately affects social norms (Bourdieu, 1977; Heller, 1988). This also indicates that the unequal distribution of sociolinguistic resources to a specific class who exploit such ‘valuable’ codes as a tool to demonstrate their power and status (Heller, 1988). For example, in Pakistan the use of English is perceived as a marked and high-prestige language associated with power and social standing and the criterion for securing a high ranking position of employment. Children from these socially-established classes have better access to English- medium schools and those who cannot afford such education are deprived of it and consequently, are also deprived of the opportunity to apply for professional jobs. The findings indicate the frequent use of English by the women from financially stable classes, and thus, on occasion, the use English code to create social relationships which are unstable in nature if interlocutors differ in these respects. At this point, Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) notion of *markedness* helps to explain the precise relation of code-switching to the dynamics of the elite’s use of high-status codes in the notion of ‘elite closure’. This states that being conscious of socio-economic position generates the ‘consequences’ or ‘rights and obligations sets’ which “then become part of the mental grammar of consequences” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Contrary to Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) views, for monolingual speakers or those with multilingual competence in English, learning and developing their skills in this high-prestige language, in reality, do not have such accessibility to these codes because of the failures of Pakistan’s national education policy. For instance, in the current study, all speakers were trilingual, but those who were from monolingual speech communities and localities where bilingualism was rare, in practice, refrained from switching as frequently as those from urban areas where code- mixing is an

acceptable language practice. This indicates the existence of an unequal distribution of English as a high-status language.

The choice to code-switch is symbolically significant in spoken interactions in terms of expressing one's ethnicity and ideology. In this study, the participants' use of Sindhi as their ML can be seen as their way of establishing their Sindhi ethnic identity, as, if speakers use or avoid a particular language, this may be associated by their interlocutors as an indication of their socio-ethnic identity (De Fina, 2007). For instance, in the current study, one participant avoided speaking Urdu on two separate occasions (captured in the recordings) even though she was fluent in Urdu, she chose Sindhi, as a marked code in that particular situation. At a later stage, it was discovered that she has extremely sour memories of Urdu speakers, as her childhood home was looted by them in ethnic riots. Her linguistic repertoire projects her ethnic identity indicating the stressed nature of the relationship between the two major linguistic communities: Sindhi and Urdu. However, on many occasions, participants used code-switching in Urdu as a positive, friendly, gesture. For example, in one instance of an intergroup communication among six participants, five switched to Urdu in order to include a woman who could not communicate in Sindhi. In this example, the participants extended and fostered a cooperative relationship by adopting the marked code to form the group's social identity. This discussion shows that the study of identity construction through code-switching at the micro level leads to a deeper understanding of inter-relationships at the macro level within a speech community. This shows that social relationships are manipulated through code-switching in order to maintain or level social boundaries. It is important to comprehend both the social and the linguistic processes at work within the context of Sindh. Hence code-switching then becomes "an important part of [the] social mechanisms of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries" (Heller, 1988, p. 1).

The extensive usage of English and Urdu languages is interesting as well as enriching the Sindhi language; it also exposes new dimensions of language behaviour in this multilingual educated speech community in Sindh. At this point, the significant use of code-switching to English demonstrated in the current study is a matter of concern for the maintenance of the Sindhi language and it raises many serious questions:

Is the extensive use of code-switching into English anglicising the linguistic terrain of Sindh?

Does the copious use of code-switching signal dramatic changes in the lexicon and grammar of the Sindhi language?

Is the frequent occurrence of English core lexis in Sindhi leading to permanent integration into the Sindhi lexicon; replacing the equivalent words and ultimately altering the structure of the Sindhi language forever?

My concerns are based on the concrete realities which emerged in the current study about the maintenance of the Sindhi language in future, added to the fact that Sindhi has already been declared one of the worlds' most endangered languages by the UN. Gumperz (1982, p. 64) expresses similar concerns regarding the massive use of code-switching in a society, stating that:

...there is little indication that code-switching is merely a deviation from monolingual norms that will soon disappear. The other reasons are also associated to put the linguistic situation on the edge of risk. The increasing displacement of formerly stable populations and the growing ethnic diversification of metropolitan centres, the communicative uses of codeswitching are more likely to increase than to decrease.

The most important fact is that the copious use of code-switching, especially by the elite and educated classes, contributes to the propagation of code-switching in English as a fashion as well as a sign of modernism, power and prestige in daily interaction, eclipsing the synonyms and equivalents in the local languages. It is generally believed that people from the middle and working classes in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent imitate the language style of the elite (Malhotra, 1980); this practice of English-switching is spreading from one corner of the country to the other due to the large-scale adaptation of this linguistic fashion from the elite classes. If this situation continues, before long the English code-switching lexicon will become established loanwords, as Romaine (1995) has suggested, that shifting in a bilingual community "start off as code-switches, and achieve a status of loanwords by recurring over time in the speech of more and more individuals" (p. 124). My concerns are strengthening the study of linguistic history of Sindhi language which shows that many English lexical borrowings have integrated into Sindhi replacing the equivalents permanently, for instance Sindhi word *raqabee* is non-existent and

replace by English loanword *plate*. Similarly *chapan* is replaced by English synonym *print*. I believe that this ongoing high frequency of English lexical switching is accelerating the integration process which will bring about a significant shift in the native Pakistani languages because of code-switching "results in calques, and clauses that pave the way for direct structural borrowing" (Backus, 2005, p. 335). My apprehension is strengthened by the current research, and furthermore, this notion is supported by a thorough investigation by Weinreich (2001) on the linguistic heritage of Northern Pakistan. He indicates an alarming situation where many languages of the Kalash valley, one of the oldest civilisations in South East Asia, have become extinct. Similar are the findings of Baart (2003) who indicates the death of *Domaakí*, an ancient language, which has shifted to Pashto language (one of the official languages of KPK province of Pakistan) through the process of lexical borrowing and code-switching. An analogous case is Punjabi, the second major language in Pakistan after Urdu, which is threatened by shifting to Urdu through code-switching, as Urdu is known as the prestige code in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993 and Nazir, et al, 2013). Summarising the situation, Baart (2003) states that the country's ancestral languages are under pressure to give way to the officially protected and more dominant languages such as Urdu and English.

In the same vein, under the spell of English as the prestigious language the results of present study reveal the new trend to coin the new single word or compound, known as loanblended vocabulary where Sindhi women blended Sindhi with English words or morphemes. This loan or cross-blending appears as linguistic innovation of new style of speech as modern Sindhi women bring the changes in the Sindhi as well as English lexicon. The results of the current study suggest that some points where participants used the loanblending or hybrid noun and compound nouns by mixing Sindhi and English which neither belong to Sindhi nor to English rather created a third language for example *foodmelo* (food-festival) where an English noun and a Sindhi noun are blended to form a new compound word. Similarly, the word *memberan* (members) which is derived from the English root word *member*, is pluralized by adding the Sindhi morpheme *an*. Such deviation is distorting the rules of grammar of both languages involved in. The results show that the trend of coining new words by blending the different languages is a limited phenomenon.

The findings show that the plethora of core borrowing also points to the occurrence of an alarming linguistic situation for the Pakistani linguistic-ecosystem because it is inevitably

bringing in structural changes. Although investigating core borrowing was not the main point of the current thesis, the occurrence and use of such core borrowed vocabulary is analysed in order to distinguish it from code-switching as it seems to represent codeswitching for non-native Sindhis. Loanwords, as explained in Chapters Three and Six, is the borrowing to fill the gap, while core borrowing, on other hand, represents an in-between stage created by loan borrowing and code-switching. It can be assumed that this significant use of core borrowing presents a serious threat to maintaining the originality of the Sindhi language because a great number of English core borrowings are in the process of replacing their equivalents in Sindhi. Examples of these are system (*dhancho*); class (*darjo*); teacher (*ustad*), student (*shagird*); school (*darsgah*) and so on. In the same vein, this frequent core borrowing of English lexis has brought an etymological change in the usage of local vocabulary. For example, a few decades ago, the Sindhi word *darsgah* was used in all kinds of academic institutions. However, currently, this word has lost its use, except in old books. Equally, the word *madarsa* was equivalent to school. Nowadays, the original meaning of *madarsa* has shifted and it is now used for institutions where learners receive a Muslim religious education. Similarly the English word *corruption* is restricted only to corruption involving money, in the same way, the English word *shopping* is restricted to buying items such as dresses, boots and cosmetics, excluding the use of *shopping* for buying groceries, food or furniture etc. Likewise, *school* is confined to the academic institution where students get education from 1<sup>st</sup> grade to grade 10<sup>th</sup>, excluding the higher level academic institution.

This is similar to the position of the frequent Arabic lexical core borrowing which is occurring under the recent revival of Islamic religious ideology. The popularity in the use of Arabic lexis as an Islamic tradition and fashion has now made some local vocabulary defunct. For example, the Arabic greeting *Alhamd-u-lillah* is rapidly substituting the Sindhi equivalent *Allah jo shukur*, and *Aslam-o-alikum* has been swapped for the Sindhi equivalent *bhalee kare aya*. In the same way, Arabic expressions such as *jazakall*, *mashallah*, *subhanallah*, *insha'Alla*, *murrhabba Muslim brother*, and *Muslim ummah* have substituted local expressions under the spell of Islamisation. The Sindhi equivalent items only tend to be used by older people in the rural areas of Sindh or in the repertoire of Hindu-Sindhi community. Such is the potential threat to the country's rich linguistic heritage.

The trends discussed above in the innovation and propagation of new words or the introduction of new speech patterns such as code-switching, code-mixing, loanblending and core borrowing in the Sindhi language can induce language change which ultimately leads to language change or language shift. As Backus (2005, p. 319) states “whenever speakers conform to convention, the system remains stable. Whenever they do not, they either produce an innovation, or they reinforce ongoing change. If the innovative or ascendant element is a word of structure from another language, this change is contact-induced”. If such a situation continues, the Sindhi language seems set to lose a voluminous amount of its native vocabulary as well as the borrowed words would lose their original meaning, pronunciation and their essence. Though these are purely my concerns based on the findings of the current study, it still requires the macro investigation to know the actualities of such concerns.

My concerns do not mean to predict that Sindhi is dying out, but that the frequent use of code-switching and lexical borrowing is bringing about a rapid, unnoticed shift in the nature of daily spoken interaction in Sindh, especially in the repertoire of the educated classed. Scholars (e.g. Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 2010; Nazir, et. al. 2013) confirm that modern technology, globalisation and the powerful role of electronic and social media are contributing foreign vocabulary, especially English, as the borrowed words into indigenous languages of Pakistan including the Sindhi. Maybe my concerns that the Sindhi language is at the edge of change of shift is the pure speculation at this stage; however, without more thorough research this cannot be determined since approaching code-switching from a sociolinguistic perspective is complicated. In any case, one thing is sure, that linguistic history tells that frequent switching and mixing the code and core borrowing is the start of a language’s decline because such language switching can “achieve the status of loanwords by recurring over time in the speech of more and more individuals” (Romaine, 1995, p. 124). The high degree of integration seen in the frequent code-switching in English by participants in the current study is solid evidence to suggest that code-switching and core borrowing indeed affect important social processes such as establishing social class and status as explained earlier. As mentioned earlier, one can say that Sindhi is not yet the omni-code of Sindh in the presence of the two other major influential official languages, Urdu and English, along with many regional languages and dialects. However, English represents the linguistic characteristics of the elite and educated classes, as 52% of Pakistan’s population is illiterate and 42% receive only primary education (until the 5<sup>th</sup>

grade) (UNICEF, 2014). This means that a large percentage of the population cannot read or write in English (because English is introduced after the 5<sup>th</sup> grade). In the rural parts of Sindh, the situation is further aggravated due to low literacy rate. In such a situation, the availability of English code, as linguistic capital, is available to only a small percentage of the population. This situation suggests that the core borrowing is rapid in educated class but the shift of language is slow.

My concerns may seem awkward for some who believe that language is not meant to remain in a static form. I do not believe in linguistic endogamy or linguistic virginity, neither do I suggest linguistic isolation. I agree that the Sindhi language must adapt to new vocabulary in order to be able to keep up with new concepts and adjust itself to the mainstream jungle of dominant languages such as English and Urdu; but not at the cost of losing the Sindhi language or shifting the language. When I say that code-switching to English by plurilingual Sindhi women is not a temporary phenomenon, rather, it is likely to become a permanent structural feature, I consider it a threat to Sindhi language because the language repertoire of the educated classes currently undergoing a transitional phase. Similar concerns were revealed by Rahman (2010) and Nazir et al. (2013) that when this transitional period is over, it is highly likely that native languages of Pakistan (including Sindhi) are likely to experience complete change. I strongly believe that language represents a speaker's identity, ethnicity, and culture and that the change, shift, or death of a language represents the death of an entire culture and civilisation. Without the Sindhi language, the inhabitants of Sindh will not be able to maintain their 7000-year old Sindhi identity. Associating immense use of English code-switching and core borrowing and due to the social pressure from high-status languages such as English and Urdu and their linguistic marketing, there is an urgent need to sustain and maintain our minor and native languages and culture which are the mark of identity, culture and civilisation.

### **7.3. Suggestions for further study**

This study contributes to the field of sociolinguistics and is the first to discover the phenomenon of multilingual code-switching in Sindh, Pakistan. The hope is that this thesis will fill the gap in the sociolinguistic study of code-switching in more than three languages. Bearing in mind the current, limited examination of code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing in the linguistic



context of Sindh, it is hoped that this study will provide a pathway for further research on the use of tri-lingual code-switching in Pakistan. The current findings suggest that the Sindh's linguistic context is an interesting area for further study. The immense use of code-switching, code-mixing, lexical borrowing, loanwords and loanblending calls for more research into language maintenance in the linguistic jungle of minor and dominant languages in Pakistan today. It seems that local Pakistani linguists have so far not investigated code-switching or recorded instances of foreign lexical borrowing and its integration into the Sindhi language. This area deserves much more investigation.

This analysis has attempted to discover results which can further be used at the macro level to explore how certain socio-economic factors directly contribute to the presence or absence of code-switching in a society. I hope that further research will be carried out to elucidate the reasons and factors which condition speakers' inclination towards the copious use of English rather than the national language, Urdu, which, grammatically and phonetically, shares many similarities with the Sindhi language. The findings of the current study suggest that research into code-switching alone cannot provide a complete enough picture of shifts in multilingual speaker's language use; rather, shifts in language use must be investigated in relation to the specific socio-linguistic context of the speech community in question.

The findings of the present thesis have implications for critically examining the practice of multilingualism in Pakistan. Although the historical forces which have triggered this new linguistic development in Sindh have been highlighted in Chapters Two and Six, there is still a need for much more solid research into such linguistic transformation as they can potentially cause major historical and socio-political changes. It is also important to investigate the social variables involved; personal; educational; social class; societal power relationships, and the symbolic meaning an individual can convey via their choice of language, especially in Sindh, which is bifurcated into language zones, as explained in Chapters Two. An ethnographic investigation of the participants is important because in many cases, it has been observed that "groups that may seem homogeneous through a wider analytic lens, but become sharply differentiated when ethnographic details are brought into close focus" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 597). There is a need for education and language policy in Pakistan to end the class-based, two-tiered education system and provide a quality education to all, because education is the sole way in which linguistic competence in Urdu and English can be developed, in order to allow

individuals to secure the jobs they are capable of. The enormous use of English in official domains and the absence of native languages require the Government's attention in terms of revising their language policy and giving importance to native languages in order to ensure their futures.

There is also an essential need for thorough research in listing the foreign, borrowed, vocabulary used in the Sindhi language in order to provide a better understanding of its role. There is also a dire need for thorough research investigating the syntactic constraints of Sindhi-English/ Urdu/ Arabic languages in terms of code-switching and borrowability.

#### **7.4 Limitations**

The limited background information on the participants was one of the principle limitations of the present paper. Although a questionnaire was used, precise information about their backgrounds was still limited. Ideally, one could have the opportunity to go back and ask for additional information, such as the specific, individual reasons as to why participants code-switched in the specific language, but a follow-up was not possible due to time constraints. During the design of the questionnaire, this aspect came up in discussion but was passed over due to the focus on the other socio-economic and linguistic factors. This study collected data from trilingual participants, and, although their socio-economic and eco-sociological statuses were the obvious variables which significantly influenced their linguistic competence in terms of their use of code-switching. However, having taken into account the potential shortcomings of the data collection methods, I contemplate that this study did indeed produce reliable data.

#### **7.5 Concluding remarks**

This study contributes to the field of sociolinguistics and is the first of its kind to investigate the use of trilingual code-switching in the Pakistani context. It is hoped that this research will fill the gap in the sociolinguistic study of code-switching in more than three languages. In light of the results, it can be concluded that in the Sindhi linguistic context, codeswitching is a systematic, ruled-governed, communicative strategy. This use of mixed language is a characteristic feature of the language behaviour of educated, multilingual, Sindhi women in informal settings within

the context of Pakistani plurilingual society. The findings suggest that several various intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic factors function as the prime causes for the presence and absence of code-switching. The current study is not simply an investigation of the linguistic strategies of thirty-two participant's daily interactions; it represents a language profile of educated, Sindhi women from diversified social realities. Their multilingual switching has provided the opportunity to analyse codeswitching as a social phenomenon used to construct participants' identities and define their inter-group relationships.

Although the findings of the current project highlight the particular socio-economic and educational factors that contribute to the employment of code-switching, there is still a need to investigate the extent to which nonlinguistic factors especially socio-economic and politically-motivated language decisions, influence the linguistic topography of the Sindh. However, this question has been left open-ended for future scholars to investigate.

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**Appendix 1****Permission letter for the recordings from the colleges**

To

The Director Colleges,

Hyderabad Division,

**Subject: Request for permission for collection of data for research from Government Girls Colleges, Hyderabad and Kotri.**

Dear Sir

I am Farida Yasmin Panhwar, working as Assistant Professor at the Institute of English Language and Literature, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan. At present I am working on my PhD thesis at the School of English, University Sussex, Brighton, UK. My research is on use of language. For this purpose, I need to collect recordings of natural speech of young Sindhi multilingual women from the following colleges:

1. Government Girls College Hyderabad
2. Government Girls Nazareth College Hyderabad
3. Government Girls Degree College Qasimababd, Hyderabad
4. and Government Girls College Kotri

It is further assured that the data will be used for academic purposes only.

Thanks

Farida Yasmin Panhwar,

Research Scholar, Sussex University, Brighton, UK

Email: [fp50@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:fp50@sussex.ac.uk) , [farida\\_panhwar@hotmail.com](mailto:farida_panhwar@hotmail.com)

Supervisor: Simon Williams: [S.A.Williams@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.A.Williams@sussex.ac.uk)

## **Appendix 2**

### **Consent form for participants and parent**

Dear students and parents

I am Farida Panhwar, working an Assistant Professor in the Institute of English Language and Literature, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan. At present I am working on my PhD thesis at the School of English, Sussex University, UK. My research is related to use of language by Sindhi educated women outside the classrooms. For this purpose, I want to record the interaction of some students in the group from your college. This recording will take be conducted outside classroom at some social zones during lunch breaks or after class times. This recording will be property of Sussex University and it will be used for the academic purposes only.

If you are interested in joining this research, please fill the consent form. Same will be signed by the head of your family/guardian to ensure that they would not have any objection to the recording.

You are free to withdraw any time if you do not feel comfortable during recording. You also have the right to contact the researcher or her supervisor if you change your mind and wish to withdraw your participation.

### **PART A**

#### **TO BE COMPLETED BY PARTICIPANT**

I agree to take part in the audio recording for this research. I have read and understood the instructions and I know what the study is about.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name of College: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

**PART B****PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN**

I agree to grant permission to my daughter (named above) to join the audio recording for this research. I have read the information about the research and have no objection on the participation of my child in this research.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship to child \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

This form must be completed and returned to the researcher for the named woman to be included in the study.

Thank You

X

Farida Panhwar

PhD Research Scholar

Research Scholar, School of English, Sussex University, Brighton, UK,

Email: [fp50@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:fp50@sussex.ac.uk)

Supervisor: [S.A.William@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.A.William@sussex.ac.uk),

Co-supervisor: Justyna Robinson: [Justyna.Robinson@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:Justyna.Robinson@sussex.ac.uk)

### Appendix 3

#### Checklist

**Group No:**

**Date:**

**Venue/s:**

**Name of college:**

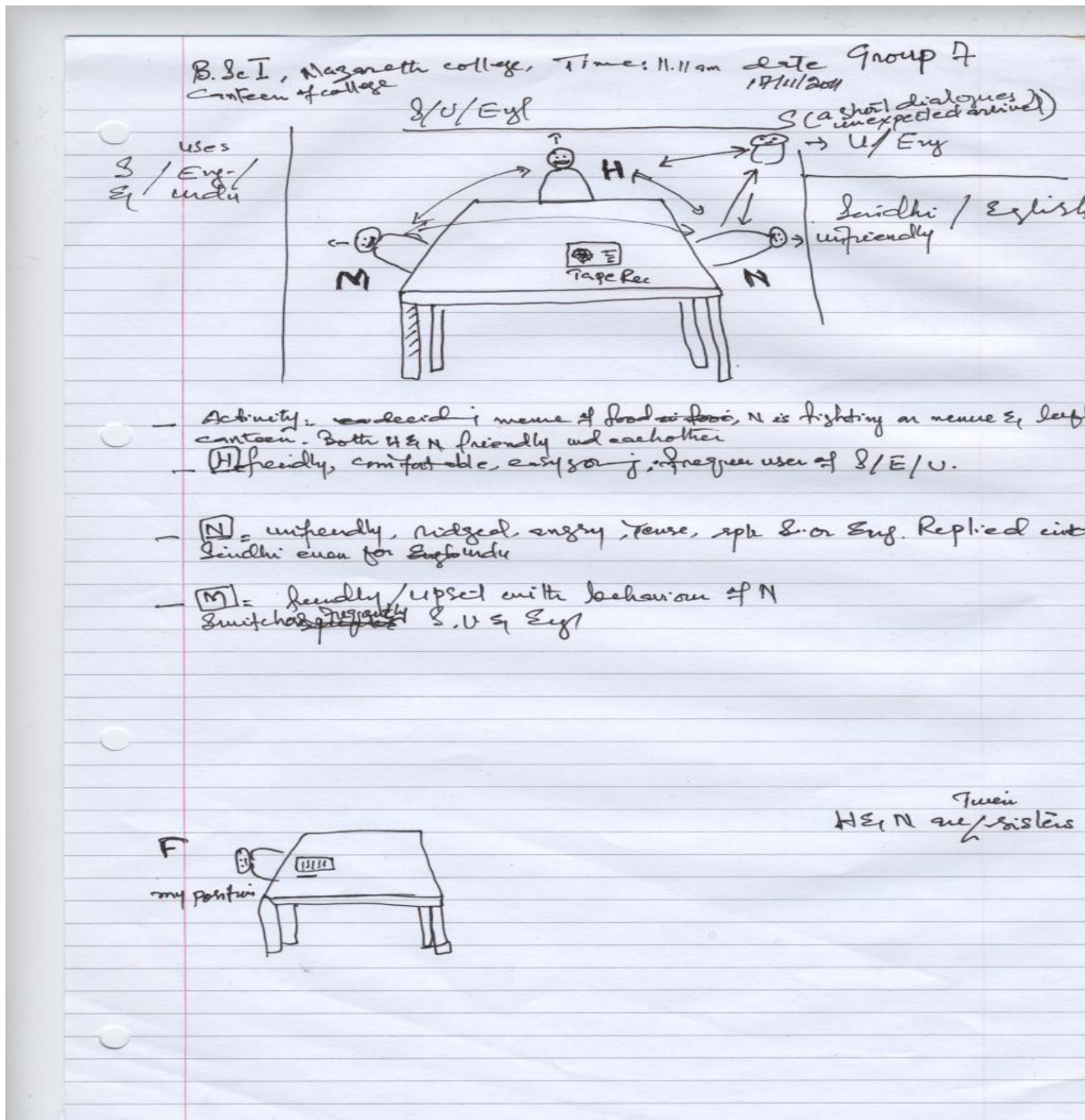
**Total # of participants:**

| S.<br>No | Names | ML |   |   |   |   | EL |   |   |   |   | Types of code-switching |              |           |
|----------|-------|----|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|
|          |       | S  | U | E | A | O | S  | U | E | A | O | Intra.<br>CS            | Inter.<br>CS | Tag<br>CS |
| 1        |       |    |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |                         |              |           |
| 2        |       |    |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |                         |              |           |
| 3        |       |    |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |                         |              |           |
| 4        |       |    |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |                         |              |           |
| 5        |       |    |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |                         |              |           |

(Abbreviations: ML: matrix language ML; EL: embedded language/s; S: Sindhi; U: Urdu; E: English; A: Arabic; O: other language/s.).

## Appendix 4

A sketch portraying the seating arrangements during a typical recording session.



## Appendix 5

## Observation notes after an audio recording

NOTES

Group 7 Nazareth college. canteen. 13/11/2011 12:57

I ~~have~~ arrived at the college in 10-30. contacted with teachers & she told me to wait in staffroom. She introduced me to Hgm. I told them about research. They were cooperative & friendly.

I asked them for permission from home, & they asked about the study & education system in UK. We decided to meet next day in canteen. They ~~were~~ <sup>have</sup> given get break of one hour.

Next day we meet ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> the outside the staffroom. We ~~told~~ <sup>decided</sup> them to sit on a table <sup>corner of</sup> canteen, where there is less crowd. I sat next table. They filled about 4pm. I placed the recorder on the table. Ha Smiley I tested the recorder that it is working or not.

They started talk naturally & spontaneously. One participant was bit angry & unfavourable. After recording I asked reason & she told she is loose due to behavior of her one teacher.

## Appendix 6

### Demographic Questionnaire

#### **Introduction of researcher and study**

I am Farida Panhwar, working an Assistant Professor in the Institute of English Language and Literature, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan. At present I am working on my PhD thesis at the Sussex Centre for Language Studies, School of English, University of Sussex, UK. My research is related to *code-switching* in a society where people speak more than one language. Code-switching is the use of more than one language in the same conversation. This questionnaire will be used for academic purposes only.

#### **Instructions**

**NOTE: Please tick ( ) the appropriate box. You can tick more than one box, if you like. You are free to skip or not to reply to any question, if you don't like it. You are free to withdraw any time if you don't feel comfortable during answering the following questionnaire. You also have the right to contact the researcher or her supervisor if you change your mind and wish to withdraw your participation. The contact details are below:**

Farida Yasmin Panhwar, Research Scholar, Sussex University, Brighton, UK

Email: [fp50@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:fp50@sussex.ac.uk)

Supervisor: [S.A.William@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.A.William@sussex.ac.uk)

Co-supervisor Justyna Robinson: [Justyna.Robinson@sussec.ac.uk](mailto:Justyna.Robinson@sussec.ac.uk)

X

Farida Panhwar

PhD Research Scholar



### Demographic Questionnaire

1. Your name:.....
2. Name of your college:.....
3. Date of Birth:.....
4. Class: .....

**5. Where are you from?**

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| Rural area | Urban area |
|------------|------------|

**6. Where did you spend your childhood?**

|      |      |         |
|------|------|---------|
| City | Town | Village |
|------|------|---------|

**7. Where do you live now?**

|      |      |         |
|------|------|---------|
| City | Town | Village |
|------|------|---------|

**8. What is the annual income of your family?**

|                        |                          |                      |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| RS. 5000 To<br>100,000 | RS.200,000 To<br>500,000 | RS.600,000 to10,0000 | RS.10,0000 or more |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|

**9. Which is/are your second language/s?**

|        |      |         |     |       |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Mix | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|

**10. What language/s do you communicate with your parents in?**

|        |      |         |     |       |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Mix | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|

**11. What language/s do you communicate with your brothers/sisters in?**

|        |      |         |     |       |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Mix | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|

**12. What language/s do you communicate with in your education-circle.?**

|        |      |         |     |       |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Mix | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|

**13. What language/s do you communicate with in your social-circle?**

|        |      |         |     |       |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Mix | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-----|-------|

**14. What was your medium of instruction in primary school?**

|        |      |         |       |
|--------|------|---------|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-------|

**15. What was your medium of instruction in secondary school?**

|        |      |         |       |
|--------|------|---------|-------|
| Sindhi | Urdu | English | Other |
|--------|------|---------|-------|

**16. How often do you use Urdu in your conversation?**

|       |           |        |       |            |
|-------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|
| A lot | Sometimes | Rarely | Never | Don't know |
|-------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|

**17. How often do you use English in your conversation?**

|       |           |        |       |            |
|-------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|
| A lot | Sometimes | Rarely | Never | Don't know |
|-------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|

**18. To what extent are you confident in speaking Sindhi?**

|                  |             |                      |                      |                        |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Very comfortable | comfortable | Somewhat comfortable | Not very comfortable | Not comfortable at all |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|

**19. To what extent are you confident in speaking Urdu?**

|                  |             |                      |                      |                        |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Very comfortable | comfortable | Somewhat comfortable | Not very comfortable | Not comfortable at all |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|

**20. To what extent are you confident in speaking English?**

|                  |             |                      |                      |                        |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Very comfortable | comfortable | Somewhat comfortable | Not very comfortable | Not comfortable at all |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|

**21. Do you use other language/s with Sindhi language in conversation?**

|     |    |            |
|-----|----|------------|
| Yes | No | Don't know |
|-----|----|------------|

**22. If yes, which language do you use frequently with Sindhi in your daily conversation?**

|      |         |     |       |            |
|------|---------|-----|-------|------------|
| Urdu | English | Mix | Other | Don't know |
|------|---------|-----|-------|------------|

**23. Why do you use more than one language in a single conversation in your daily conversation?**

|                 |               |   |                  |                                    |                                  |
|-----------------|---------------|---|------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| It is my habit. | It is a need. | In my circle people speak more than one language. | It is a fashion. | It is the symbol of social status. | Any other reason/s.....<br>..... |
|-----------------|---------------|---|------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

**24. If you use only mother tongue in your conversation with others, what is/are the reason/s?**

|   |                                |   |                                  |
|---|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| I don't like to use more than one language. | My community does not like it. | All the people around me speak one language only. | Any other reason/s.....<br>..... |
|---|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|

**25. How do people around you react when you use more than one language in a single conversation?**

|          |          |                |         |            |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Positive | Negative | Mixed reaction | Neutral | Don't know |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------|------------|

**26. How do you react when someone uses more than one language in a single conversation?**

|          |          |                |         |            |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------|------------|
| Positive | Negative | Mixed reaction | Neutral | Don't know |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------|------------|

**27. Do you think that use of many languages influence your mother tongue?**

|     |    |        |            |
|-----|----|--------|------------|
| Yes | No | May be | Don't know |
|-----|----|--------|------------|

**28. If yes, to what extend does it influences your mother tongue?**

|        |                 |          |            |            |
|--------|-----------------|----------|------------|------------|
| A lot. | To some extent. | Not much | Not at all | Don't know |
|--------|-----------------|----------|------------|------------|

**29. Do you approve of the use of Urdu when you are speaking in your mother tongue?**

|                  |         |                |            |                     |            |
|------------------|---------|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| Strongly approve | Approve | To some extent | Disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Don't know |
|------------------|---------|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|

**30. Do you approve of the use of English when you are speaking in your mother tongue?**

|                  |         |                |            |                     |            |
|------------------|---------|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| Strongly approve | Approve | To some extent | Disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Don't know |
|------------------|---------|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|

**X**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Student and sign