



**Article Title**

**The Sociolinguistics of English-Urdu Code-Mixing in Speech**

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**ISSN (Print):** 2707-6873  
**ISSN (Online):** 2788-8347  
**Volume:** 5  
**Issue No:** 2  
**Year:** December 2024  
**Issue DOI:**  
<https://doi.org/10.52700/ijlc.v5i2>

**Article DOI:** [10.52700/ijlc.v5i2.268](https://doi.org/10.52700/ijlc.v5i2.268)



**How to Cite:**  
Zafar, Y. (2024). The Sociolinguistics of English-Urdu Code-Mixing in Speech. International Journal of Linguistics and Culture, 5(2), 127-151. <https://doi.org/10.52700/ijlc.v5i2.268>

**Abstract:**

*This dissertation is a study of English-Urdu code-mixing in the speech of educated Pakistani speakers. The study is divided into five parts. The first part is the "Introduction" in which the background of the research plan has been described. The second part is "Development towards Code-Mixing" and "Code-Switching" in which the development of Code-Mixing and Code-Switching from a single use of Urdu is given. Finally, the theories and studies of Code-mixing are reviewed. The third part focuses on the data collection and methodology of research. The fourth part is about the analysis of data on Code-Mixing. The data is analysed according to different social and situational variables. The fifth part is "Conclusion". And is represents the findings of research.*

**Keywords:** Urdu, English, Code-Mixing, Code-Switching

**Introduction:**

A few communities have been studying for their language behavior and code-switching, some in native language environments and some in foreign language environments. Gumperz, Kachru and Verma have done some work on Hindi-English code-mixing (which is very similar to Urdu-English code-mixing both systematically and paradigmatically), mostly in native language environment, the study on Urdu-English code-mixing in Pakistan has not been touched. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the theories of code-mixing and code-switching on one hand and to study the social variables governing code-mixing on the other hand. They study became possible because of educated Pakistani speaker.

The focus of the study is English-Urdu code-mixing, but secondarily, it is also to distinguish other intra speaker variation. The data is analyzed according to different social and situational variables. The data analysis of words, clauses, sentences, inter-sentential and intra-sentential

levels. Linguistics and sociolinguistic methods are drawn upon for determining the degree of switching.

### **Code-Mixing and Code-Switching**

Code-mixing and code-switching have been discussed by two schools of thought. According to one school of thought code-mixing and code-switching are the same i.e. both terms can be used for one manifestation. Gumperz and Hernandez-chavez (1975: 158), however, talk of code-switching as a type of borrowing. The code-switching types could be thought of as constituting a continuum ranging from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words. Speakers could borrow items of various sizes, depending on various linguistics factors, in constituting a code-mixed / code-switched discourse.

Romaine (1989) supports this idea by quoting based on frequency of switchable constituents given by Poplack (1980). According to the other school of thought the linguistic devices of code-switching and code-mixing are two distinct manifestations of language dependency and language manipulation i.e. these are two distinct types of communication strategies. This manifestation can be noticed in the way multilingual or multidialectal use of a language assigns areas of functions to each code. Kachru (1983) separated these two devices. For him code-switching entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another. In the same article, Kachru also agrees that the areas of function of code-mixing and code-switching are not necessarily mutually exclusive, though in a certain context they can be separated. From the work of large number of sociolinguists (Gumperz 1976) it is obvious that ultimately code-switching and code-mixing are manifestations of one and the same thing i.e. the two terms converge at the same point. Thus, in the present study the two terms are regarded as synonymously single communicative strategy. So both these terms are used according to the situation.

### **Definitions of code-mixing**

Different scholars have defined code-switching and code-mixing in different ways:

Verma (1976, p: 156) States “code-switching as a verbal strategy used by speakers in much the same way as creative artist, switch styles and levels (i.e. from sublime to the mundane or the serious to the comic and vice-versa)”. Each type of coding or code-switching is appropriate to the topical and situational features that give rise to it. Kachru (1979, p; 28) defines code-switching as “a device used in the functional context in which a multilingual person makes alternate use of two or more language”.

### **Kinds of Constraints:**

Code-switching is a subconscious process which is subject to different kinds of constraints. Five levels are recognized at which these constraints work.

1. Social

2. Situational
3. Interactional
4. Rhetorical and
5. Syntactic

Social variables are sometimes referred to as speaker's variables in literature, something that is very understandable because social variables are the social characteristics of speakers, such as education, socio-economic status, occupation, etc., that affect the frequency of speakers switching patterns negatively or positively. Situational factors refer to audience, topic, setting and role relationship while social variables are independent of situational variables, situational variables are affected by social variables. Interactional factors refer to the motivations and objectives of participants during an interaction, such as negotiation of speaker identities, convergence or divergence, emphasizing certain aspects of a topic etc.

Interactional factors involve the interpretations of social and situational variables by participants. The influence of rhetorical factors can be seen in the use of switching for certain features of language as compared to that for others. For example, direct quotes and parenthetical remarks are encoded in foreign language and terms of endearment are encoded in first language. The search for universal syntactic constraints on code-switching continues but there is hardly any agreement among linguists about them. Usually function words remain in the matrix language and context words are switched.

#### **Aims of the Study:**

This is a data-oriented study which deals with the role of English-Urdu code-mixing in the speech of educated Pakistani speakers. It has investigated that code-switching in bilingual or multilingual speech is not a 'grammarless language mixture or gibberish'. The study attempts to find out what social and situational variables affect code-mixing. The study will also seek to find out the linguistic patterns of code-mixing.

#### **Objectives of the Study:**

The objectives of the study are the following:

1. What affects Urdu and English code-mixing?
2. The study will analyze what social variables are involved in code-mixing.
3. The study will consider the reasons why people mix codes.

#### **Research Questions:**

1. What linguistic and contextual factors contribute to the code-mixing of Urdu and English in everyday conversations?
2. How do social variables such as age, education, and social class influence the frequency and manner of code-mixing between Urdu and English speakers?

3. What are the primary motivations behind the practice of code-mixing among Urdu-English bilinguals?

**Scope of the Study:**

The scope of the study is ambitious in the sense that it is hoped to contribute to the development of a comprehensive method to record to the extent of the influence of English on Urdu in Pakistan. The quantitative technique is expected to shed light on the relationship of social and linguistic realities in the speech community under investigation. It is also expected that the results of this investigation would be general enough to be applied to other speech communities with similar social and language behavior.

**Sociolinguistics Background:**

The Indian sub-continent is linguistically one of the most diverse parts of the world. Kachru calls it a dinosaur of multilingualism, (1983). Among the several languages spoken in Pakistan. Urdu enjoy special status because it is used as lingua Franca among linguistically diverse groups. English, which replaced Persian as the official language after the end of the Muslim rule in India, enjoys, higher status than Urdu.

The presence of a number of religions adds another dimension of diversity to South Asia. In spite of great linguistic similarities, the association of Hindi with Hindu and Urdu with Muslims helped in the development of national consciousness of these religious groups as separate entities which finally led to the partition of India in 1947. It was probably because of the important role of Urdu in the independence movement, which was accompanied by the Muslim separatist movement, that Urdu was declared the sole national language of Pakistan after independence.

**Urdu in Pakistan**

Minault (1984) gives a brief and comprehensive socio-historical account of Urdu and the Urdu-speaking people around the world, the relevant points of which are summarized as follows. Urdu development during the 500-year period of Muslim rule from Hindu vernacular spoken in the Delhi region. Personalization and Persian script were the characteristics that distinguished it from Hindi. Persian was the language of the court and Urdu was the lingua franca, providing a means of communication among the court, the army, and the population. With the decline of the Moghal court, the use of Persian also declined, and Urdu took its place in the 18th and 19th centuries. The personalized lexicon of Urdu was a mark of distinction and status for the speakers of Urdu. In many ways Urdu was the heritage of Muslim rule in India for the Muslim elite and, hence, had a symbolic value and connotations of power. During British rule, Urdu acquired even greater symbolic significance and Urdu speakers formed numerous associations to improve Muslim education in India. Aligarh College, which provided leadership to the Muslim League, was one manifestation of Muslim consciousness in India. This growing Muslim

consciousness resulted in the demand of a separate Muslim state in the areas of Muslim majority: Sindh Baluchistan, Punjab. And the Northwest Frontier province. An irony was that the heartland of Moghul heritage and Urdu. The province of U.P from where the support and leadership for the Muslim League came was not to become a part of Pakistan. Partition led to a great bloodshed and migration of a great number of Urdu speakers to the areas, which now belong to Pakistan. Since the Leadership of Muslim League came mostly from the Urdu speakers of northern India. Urdu retained its central place in administration and education in Pakistan. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. Although, it is the first language of only about 7 percent of Pakistanis. Most of these native speakers of Urdu are the Muhajirs (migrants) from north India, who settled in urban areas of Pakistan. However, it is impossible to guess the exact number of those who learn and speak Urdu in Pakistan as second or third language.

The Urdu language also dominates in education. In the hierarchy of linguistic prestige, Urdu is placed lower only than English. The efforts of the universalization of education have not met match success in Pakistan and the great majority in rural areas remains mostly illiterate (UNESCO) Report 1984. However, the literacy rate among urban Urdu-speaking people is certainly much higher.

#### **English in Pakistan:**

English, the language of the colonizers, is used only as a second or third language in Pakistan, but it is the language of higher education. The arrival of the British in India, Persian bilingualism existed replaced Persian bilingualism during the 18th century for Hindus and in the late 19th century for Muslims. Although the British maintained the use of a few regional languages for local affairs, usage of English in administration, courts, and other formal discourse setting was preferred. The British adopted a policy of selective higher education in order to train an elite class to mediate masses. Therefore, the English bilinguals became a superior class, “Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect” in words of Macaulay (khubchandani 1981:2)

During the struggle for independence, the monopoly of English in education was questioned and resented. Leaders pleaded for universal education and the use of the mother tongues for formal communication in administration and academia. An aspect of this problem is that the things they placed for were also the outgrowths of Western enlightenment acquired through English contact. What the Indian educationists and reformers wanted was an English system of education without the English language. The bourgeois character of the Indian independence movement placed these educationists in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand as their class alliance with the colonizers and on the other hand the great task of decolonization. This inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie has continued to affect the political culture of India and Pakistan even after independence, and the important role of English in the domains

of education, commerce, and government administration in India and Pakistan partly results if his factor. Tension between the ethnic groups and the need for English as a language of international contact also make it indispensable or both India and Pakistan.

Prashar (1980) did a study of English bilinguals in two states of India using the questionnaire method and concluded that English has become and is becoming more and more important in the domains of education, transaction, and government. The status of English is undeniably high in Pakistan. Powerful sections of Pakistani society, such as the Armed Forces, the officers, class, the families, which control large commercial enterprises, the upper echelons of the civil Service, and the landowning class that dominates politics, cling to English, which serves as a base for class alliance. The rivalries among the regional languages and resentment of some ethnic groups against Urdu (e.g. Sindhis, Balochis) make the replacement of English with Urdu more difficult. English is accessible mostly through education and how it is placed in the education system is very important. The policies of the state schools and the private schools are very different in this regard. The medium of instruction in the state schools is Urdu of some regional language and English is not introduced at the primary level. On the Contrary, the medium of instruction in the private schools is almost English. These private schools, which are mostly in urban areas, are expensive but popular among those who can afford private education for their children. A growing number of Montessori and Kindergarten schools introduce English at a basic level. English is introduced at the secondary level (sixth grade) in the state schools and continues to be a compulsory subject to grade twelve. But the quality of English language teaching is poor in these schools, whereas it is better in private schools. After the tenth and twelfth grades there are state examinations and a number of students from the state schools are unable to get their diplomas because of their poor English. Because of the government's verbal emphasis on Urdu, more and more private schools are seeking permission to use Cambridge O Level exams for their students. At the tertiary level in general and in the technical field in particular, the medium of instruction is English. Students with poor English ability find it difficult to continue education at this level. The proficiency in English is also crucially important in finding employment in both public and private sectors. All these factors contribute to make English the language of power and authority for Pakistanis.

### **Literature Review:**

A few approaches have been adopted to study intra-speaker variation. Style-shifting and bilingual code-switching, which are all forms of intra-speaker variation, reflect the patterns of inter-speaker variation in a community (Bell 1984). Although the questions relating to the use of term, such as code switching, code mixing, style shifting, have raised controversies (Bokamba 1987), several writers have pointed out that these phenomena do not differ from each other in their underlying psycho-social dynamics (Milroy 1988). Since boundaries between

style, dialect, and language are also very hard to determine, there is no theoretical justification to treat them separately and differently. But usually style-shifting has been studied quantitatively, whereas a more ethnographically oriented approach has been adopted to study bidialectal and bilingual code-switching. The social-psychology framework of investigating patterns of evaluative reactions of listeners, initially developed by Wallace and Lambert, has also been used in the study of code-switching by Giles and his associates. In the last decade, the emphasis has been on the search for universal syntactic constraints on intra-sentential code-switching.

In addition to the ethnographic approach in the tradition of American anthropology, one of the most important developments in studying intra-speaker variation has been that the quantitative paradigm in the analysis of the distribution of [r] in New York City by Labov developed a comprehensive quantitative method of comparing linguistic variable with social variables and also provided evidence against Bernstein's (1972) distinction between 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes (Labov 1972). But this quantitative paradigm was severely criticized by the proponents of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972, Bell 1984). The focus of this criticism was not the quantitative method itself, but the assumptions underlying Labov's methodology. One of his assumptions was that attention to speech causes intra-speaker variation and that formality and informality are two ends of a continuum that can be compared by studying natural language style and reading style. Several researchers working in different settings found it impossible to replace his methodology. Labov's basic approach of correlating language variables and social variables was also questioned as very limited.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) though admitting the great contribution of Labov in statistically establishing the relationship of language and society, pointed out that language and society do not contribute to different kinds of reality and therefore the correlation the two do not state anything significant unless other features of interactional dynamics are also considered. They argued that Labov's method of beginning with the abstract linguistic system was questionable. To understand cultural values and linguistic repertoire of a community is essential. The reason for this is the fundamental relationship of code-switching and speech economy. A community's speech economy comprises of two aspects: The pattern of distribution of linguistic resources in different domains and a people's attitude towards these patterns. While the former refers to the social aspect and the latter refers to ideological aspect. Scotton (1986-1988), in the framework of her markedness model of code-choice, develops a particular theory of the relationship of diglossia and code-switching. She identifies two kinds of diglossia situations, the allocation of functions to codes is categorical whereas in broad diglossia situations it is gradient. All types of code-switching are possible in broad diglossia situations, but "overall unmarked code-switching". Which is another name for what Gumperz

calls “conversational code-switching” and some other people call “code-mixing” (kachru 1978, Bokamba 1987), is not possible in narrow diglossic situations. According to her, overall unmarked code-switching is possible only among the bilingual peers of a community in which both codes are evaluated positively. What makes code-switching socially meaningful is the separation of domains and the limited access of certain groups to certain domains? That is to say that the character of speech economy is very political.

**International code-switching:**

The ethnographic approach of beginning with the distribution of linguistic resources and speaker’s attitude towards this distribution in a community and of depending on post how analysis was successfully used by Blom and Gumperz in their study of code-switching in Norway (1972). But several studies on code-switching existed before that.

Koler and MacNamara used elicitation techniques to study code-switching and came to the conclusion that code-switching is not as natural behavior as monolingual speech. Other studies were based on natural conversation data. Hasselmo (1961) studied Swedish English code-switching and distinguished between “ragged” and “clean” switching. The ragged switching donates to switching full of phonologically transferred element of the native language and clean switching refers to switching with no such interference. Diebold (1963) studied Greek English switching and found that the transfer of phonological element was very common, confirming the distinction between clean and ragged switching.

Although these two studies moved towards what is considered “International sociolinguistics”, they really did not explain the motivation of the speaker. The study by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1971), however, suggested that code-switching serves communicative ends by conveying extra-referential meaning of formality of solidarity.

The relationship between language and social situation is direct in situational switching. Metaphorical code-switching takes place when the amount of freedom of linguistic choices allowed to speak is greater. Some situations allow the enactment of more than one relationship among the same set of individuals, which are manifested by metaphorical code-switching. Depending on the relationship and the circumstances, metaphorical switching may or may not add any social meaning to a conversation. Social meaning is created by violation of co-occurrence restrictions. Blom and Gumperz used both elicited and conversational data and objectified their analysis by getting the interpretations of the members of the target community. They made the following conclusion:

1. The two dialects are perceived by subject as representing different identities.
2. The behavioral regularities are not reflections of independently measurable social norms. They are part of what Goffman calls “rules of impression management.”



3. Difference between the expressed attitude and language behavior shows that the code-selection rules operate below the level of consciousness and may be independent of Speaker's over intention.
4. In situations which allow a greater amount of freedom of code-selection, topical variation correlates positively with frequency of code choice.

Valdes Fallis (1978) studied code-switching between male and female subject and concluded that female, the less powerful in interaction, accommodated to male's patterns of switching. This accommodation of the less powerful or lower status interactants is relevant in intergroup communication and mostly applies to style shifting. Since multilingual for switching is mainly an intra-group phenomenon, Scotten's claim that switching done by more powerful may have some validity. Many experiments demonstrated house speakers converge on several levels such as speech rate, accent, contents and pausing (e.g. Giles and Smith 1979). But several international features are too complex to be explained by simple convergence or divergence.

Thakrar, Giles and Cheshire (1982) reformulated the theory, making systematic distinctions between linguistic and psychological processes and between systematic distinctions between linguistic and psychological processes and between objective and subjective processes that operate in interpersonal communication. They found that in co-operative interactions, higher status people converge to what they believe to be the style of lower status people their interlocutors linguistically are standard variant. While the purpose of both parties is to converge, linguistically both diverge. This is defined as a situation of subjective convergence and objection divergence, but only psychologically diverging. The following table illustrates all accommodation possibilities:

Parameters of Speech Accommodation

	<b>Convergence</b>			
	<b>Object</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Object</b>	<b>Subject</b>
<b>Convergence</b>	X1	X2	X3	X4
<b>Divergence</b>	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4

Adapted from Thalerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982).

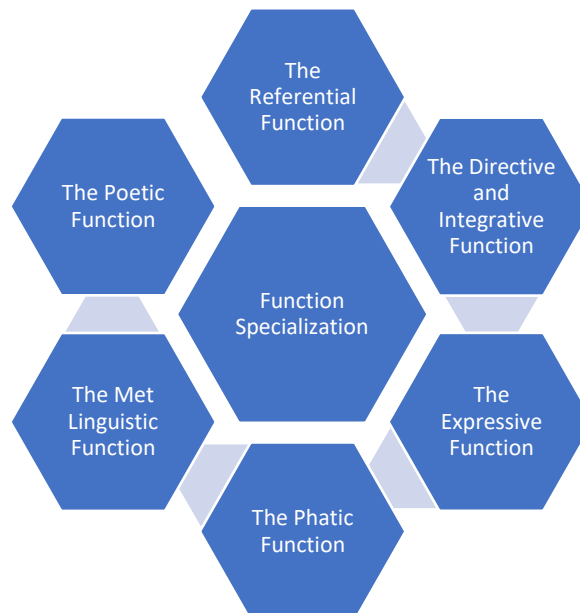
The different possibilities are X1+X2, X2+X3, X1+X4, Y3+Y4, Y1+Y4, Y2+Y3, Y1+Y2. The social attributes of interactants provided the situational basis for these patterns of accommodation. Based on the research on this theory and their own experiments, Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshir (1982) summarize its propositions as follows:

1. People will attempt to converge linguistically towards the speech pattern believed to be characteristic of their reception when they (X1) desire their social approval and

- the perceived cost of so acting are proportionally lower than the rewards anticipated; and (X2) desire a high level of communicational efficiency
2. The magnitude of such subjective linguistic convergence will be a function of (X1) the extent of the speakers, repertoires, and (X2) factors that may increase the need for social approval and/or high communicational efficiency.
  3. Objective speech convergence will be positively evaluated by recipients when the resultant behavior is (X1) perceived as such, psychologically: (X2) perceived to be at an optimal sociolinguistic distance from them: (X3) attributed with positive intent.
  4. People will attempt to maintain their speech patterns or even diverge linguistically away from those believed characteristics of their recipients when they either (X1) define the encounter in intergroup terms and desire a positive in-group identity, or (X2) wish to dissociate personally from another in an inter-individual encounter.
  5. The magnitude of such linguistic divergence will be a function of (X1) the extent of speakers, repertoires, and (X2) either factors increasing the salience of group identification and the desire for a positive in-group identity or undesirable characteristics of another in an inter-individual encounter.

### Function Specialization

Language use involves various functions of the language system. Following Halliday and Jakobson's work, MuShihausier (1980) distinguishes six functions



Rene apple and piter Muysken (1987:118) view code-switching as serving all these functions. Reference to Extra linguistic reality is the referential function of language. Code-switching serves the referential function when used for topical variation. Because of the separation of domains, some topics can ne best handled and some concepts can be expressed in one language rather than the other language. While this may not be always true, this does happen quite often

when the linguistic boundaries of domains are frequently broken. Therefore, all topic related changes such as the use of English for discussion on technical subjects, may be considered as serving the referential function.

The directive and integrative function refers to building the interactive structure by using greeting, conventional modes of addresses, imperatives, exclamations, and questions. According to apple and Musken (1987), all participant-related switches can be considered as serving the directive function. Excluding or including participants through code-switching is part of the function.

The preservation of oneself as a unique individual or as having a certain individual or group identity through language is to use it for the expressive function. Code-switching serves the expressive function when it is used to encode multiple identities (Scotton 1983)

Gumprz (1982) provides a list of what he calls conversational

Functions of code-switching, exemplifying them with data from three language pairs, Spanish-English. Hindi-English and Slovenian-German

These are shown in the table

Quotations	Addressee Specifications	Interjections
Reiteration	Message Qualification	Personalization Versus Objectifications

The fact that code-switching in three language pairs serves these same functions suggest that “its contribution to the interpretation of message is independent of the internal grammatical structure of constituent codes. Perhaps, a number of functions can be added to this list, or some general categories can be formed to provide a more general framework in which to place these functions. But it is more appropriate to consider them uses of code-switching as a rhetorically effective device.

**Urdu/Hindi-English Code-Switching:**

A number of people have worked on code-switching between languages in south Asia in general and on Hindi-English code-switching in particular. Some of the studies on Hindi-English code-switching are those of Veerma (1976) Prashar (1978,1983), and Vaid (1981).

Gumperz studied Punjabi-Hindi code-switching in Delhi in (1964) and also used data from Hindi-English Code-switching in his work on conventional code-switching (1982)

Kachru (1978) distinguishes between the term “code-switching” and “code-mixing”.

According to him, in code-switching the contextual units in which the language functions are manually exclusive. Code-mixing is the outcome of both language contact and code-switching. It is the “formal manifestation of functional uses of several languages by multilingual person” According to these definitions, code3 switching is what Gumperz has referred to as “situational switching” and Scotton has referred to as “sequentially unmarked code-choices”. Code-mixing refers to what has been named as “conventional code-switching” by Gumperz and “overall unmarked code-choice” by Soctton. The use of Hindi/Urdu and English is definitely “code-Mixing” according to Lachru’s definitions, but the term “code-switching” is used to cover all kinds of code alteration in this dissertation.

In process of mixing between Hindi-English, he mentions the following process: Unit insertion (NP and VP), unit hybridization, sentence insertion, idiom and collocation. He identifies three types of code-mixing in India: Englishization, persianization, and Sanskritization. While the former is a marker of modernization, the latter two are markers of religion and caste.

Dr. Tanveer Anjum (1991) in her Ph.D. dissertation studied English-Urdu code-switching by female immigrants of Pakistan. She explored the linguistic repertoires of a community in transition, the pattern of borrowing from English to Urdu, and social situational interactional and rhetorical, sociolinguistics and ethnography of speaking. The subjects were thirty-four women living in Texas. She considered five variables (Urdu equivalents, synonyms, and displacement membership in the lexicon, morphological integration, and phonological integration. She considered these variables important for distinguishing borrowings from switches and for determining the degree of borrowing’s integration. She recognized eight social variables age, socio-economic status, education, culture and religion, native language length of residence in USA and dominant languages) in relation to code-switching and analyzed them quantitatively. She also focused on the qualitative analysis and explore audience, topic effect and negotiation.

### **Sampling:**

Gillian Sankoff (1980) has pointed to three basis dimensions that a researcher has to make in sampling: to define the sampling universe, to access the relevant dimension of variation within a community and to determine the size of sample.

The target population of the sampling in the present research is the Pakistani native speakers proficient in English and Urdu. The problem of delineating the boundaries of the speakers under investigation is closely related to the goal of the study. Since the purpose of the research in this closely related to the goal of the study. Since the purpose of the research in to explore the patterns of intra-speakers variations involving two different languages, some degree of bilingualism is required of all the participants. The restrictions automatically exclude some native speakers.

## **Social Variables**

### **1. Education:**

The exposure to English in Pakistan depends not only on the kind of school people attended but also on the level of education. Since professional education is mostly in English, those who receive such education get exposed to English most. Since English is acquired basically through education, it is hypothesized that the higher the education level of the participant is, the more they will speak English in their speech, so education can be one social variation that led to code-mixing.

### **2. Professional Status”**

The data is comprised of three categories according to professional status:

- Speakers/ participants related to media
- Speakers related to high professional field
- Speakers including students

The hypothesis is that the frequency of code mixing will correlate positively with higher professional status.

### **3. Situational Constraints:**

In order to understand the interactional subtleties and code-mixing, it is important to understand the general and specific situational constraints on these speeches. A situation can be defined as consisting of the variables of audience, topic, setting, and participate role relationship. The main addresses in most all these settings remain the interview, high education and professional status are the obvious social characteristics of the addressee that are expected to influence the behaviors of the participants.

### **4. Topic:**

The instances of situational code-mixing that are triggered by a change in topic are analyzed. Usually, conversations are casual and informal, but some of them can be considered rather less informal because they involve some kind of analysis, such as character analysis or situation analysis. The relationship of the use of English in Pakistan on a certain register can be explored through an analysis of the topic variable. It as hypothesized that English will be used in formal speech and certain words have register and topic related.

### **5. Participant Role-Relationship:**

Participant role relationships are a very significant social variable in this study. This method has been applied to determine to which extent code-mixing affects participant relationships.

### **Size of the Sample:**

To determine the size of the sample has been one of the big problems in sociolinguistic studies. Sankodd (1980), along with other linguists, has pointed to the fact that large samples are not as necessary in linguistic research as in other research, because linguistic behavior is more

homogeneous than many other types of behavior. According to her, large samples bring increasing data handling problems with little analysis results (1980). But Milory comments that these small samples cannot be considered statistically representative. The size of the sample in most of the studies following laborian quantitative paradigm has been smaller than what can be statically significant.

### **Data Collection**

The data for this study is collected by tape recording the conversation. Generally, data consists of situations and settings of informal origin but some of them as formal too. The spoken data was collected from educated people. They were post-graduate and graduate students, officers, doctors, teachers etc. Both formal and informal conversation were recorded without informing the participants. Some linguistic data was also obtained from mass i.e. television interviews regarding fashion etc. generally the topics of conversation are social problems

### **Observation**

Participant observation is very difficult and time consuming method that anthropologists use very often. In this study not any in-depth participant observation was done but the method and context were observed to find out the reasons for code-mixing. It has also been observed that professional status and education leads to code-mixing.

### **Data Analysis**

#### **Objectives and Methods**

The data comprises of ten recordings which have been made in different sociolinguistic situations. Each recording contains comments and utterances of participants, but only significant segments of utterances and comments have been selected from the entire data. Those comments have been selected from the entire data. Those comments have been selected for analysis in which English and Urdu code-mixing is more visible. I have selected segments that show how much data on code-mixing occurs at different levels such as:

- Word Level
- Phrase Level
- Clause Level
- Sentential Level
- Inter-sentential level
- Intra-Sentential Level

Data will be analyzed by setting certain parameters. These are social variables like education, professional status, participant role and topic.

#### **Hypothesis and Framework of Analysis:**

Language symbolizes different aspects of people's identity and therefore code-mixing serves to

negotiate these aspects. Since Urdu is associated with the private and English with the official domain, it is expected that that domestic aspects and filial relationship will be emphasized using Urdu, whereas English will be used to negotiate the non-domestic aspect such as education and profession.

### **Dependent variable**

The dependent variables borrowing and types of code-mixing is important to mention so they are defined as follows.

- **Borrowing:**

A word or phrase of one language which has achieved a certain degree of integration in another language.

- **Intra-Sentential Code-Mixing:**

A word or phrase of one language which is not borrowing used within a sentence of another language.

- **Inter-Sentential Code-Mixing:**

A sentence or a clause of one language used within an utterance of another language.

- **Inter-Turn Code-Mixing:**

A response in the form of a sentence or a clause that is in a language different from the language of the last sentence of the inter lecture.

### **Levels of Code-Mixing:**

There are different levels on which code mixing has been examined. Some speakers mix codes on word level, some on clause level, and some on sentence level, inter-sentential-level or intra-sentential level.

### **Word Level:**

The first significant factor studied here is the ‘word level’. It has been observed that some participants mix English words in their Urdu discourse and some of them mix Urdu words in their English discourse.

### **Example:**

PARENTS ko samajna chahiya keh ic TIME un ko LOGIC  
our pyar sa samjhain (Recording No. 1)

### **Analysis:**

In this Urdu discourse, code mixing have occurred on word level. This is a comment of a female student. Although this is an Urdu discourse, but she mixed words like ‘parents’, ‘time’ and ‘logic’ all these words are commonly spoken in the speech of a Pakistani speaker the discussion is about ‘extra-curricular activities’ so the use of such words are topic related. The noun ‘parents’ is usually spoken in English although it has an Urdu equivalent ‘maa baap’. The words ‘time’ and ‘logic’ are also very common so it seems as if the participant has used these words

in the routine so it can be considered as borrowing.

**Clause Level:**

The next significant factor studied here is the ‘clause level’. It has been observed that some participants mix English clauses as well as words in their Urdu discourse.

**Example**

mein EMOTIONAL hoon per yeh keh I DON’T SHOW OFF  
mein SHOW nahin karti mujhe kuch ho raha ha ya mujhe dard  
hai (Recording No. 8)

**Analysis:**

This is an Urdu discourse in which the participant mixed an English clause ‘I don’t show off’. This is an utterance of a girl. The topic of discussion in this sitting is ‘like Mother Like daughter’ although the discussion is in Urdu, but the participant mixed a clause and word ‘emotional’ in her utterance. The clause and words spoken in this utterance are topic related and also the participant role is visible. The words ‘show’ and ‘showoff’ are very common within the speech of Pakistani speaker. It seems as if the participant has spoken this utterance habitually because she spoke without giving a pause or stress.

**Sentential Level:**

The next significant factor studied here is the ‘Sentential level’. It has been observed that some participants mix English sentences in their Urdu discourse.

**Example:**

THAT’S RIGHT EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND EDUCATION ARE  
RELATED ACTIVITIES lakin baaz dafa is ki waja say EDUCATION DISTURB ho jati hai.  
Bachha ko itna INDEPENDENT na karain MONETERING IS VERY IMPORTANT ON  
YOUR CHILD BEHALF.

(Recording No. 1)

**Analysis:**

In this discourse we can observe that English Urdu mixing is almost equal. The participant starts speech with an English sentence and ends his discourse with and English sentence. The topics of the discussion are extra-curricular activities’ so the use of word ‘education’ ‘activities’ ‘independence’ monitoring’ and ‘children’ are topic related. The participant is a teacher by profession, and it seems that he spoke those sentences habitually. It shows his professional status

**Intra-Sentential Code-Mixing:**

Only intra-sentential switching to English is used to encode the message of bilingual identity. In intra-sentential switching, switching of different types occur within the clause of sentence boundary



**Example:**

Aap is ko apni tafar say BEING WANTED AND BEING LOVED homa ka ahsas dilayn takay who logon ke REACTION sa DEAL ker sakay. Ick ay elava aik to haman yeh baat ACCEPT ker laini chahiye keh ADOPTAION ka pata chalna keh baad kuch nai kuch to SADNESS INEVITABLE hail akin ick o HOW TO DEAL IT. I MEAN HOW TO SORT OF DEAL IT IN WHAT WAY IT WILL BE POSSIBLE.

(Recording No. 3)

**Analysis:**

This is a conversation between a mother and a physiologist. The psychologist is very professional and topic related. She used English phrases having two adjectives untied with 'and' as 'being wanted and being loved'. The words 'deal', 'reaction', 'inevitable' etc. are widely used by doctors. So, they are topic related. In the middle of her discourse, it seems as if she was confused using repeated phrase as 'How to deal with it'. The tone of psychologists is quite formal and confident, which shows her professional status. It can also be said that she used these words habitually

**Inter-Sentential Code-Mixing:**

Usually, Pakistani speakers do intra-sentential switching in their speech, but sometimes inter-sentential switching has also been observed. In inter-sentential switching a switch takes place at a clause or sentence boundary where each sentence or clause is in one language or another

**Example:**

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY OK parha nahin tha kya. (Recording No. 10)

**Analysis:**

This is an example of inter-sentential switching. In this utterance the participant starts with English clause and ends with Urdu phrase. The word 'ok' is very commonly used in the speech of Pakistani speakers and it seems as if it will become a borrowing. The use of clause 'what do you mean by ok' might be used unconsciously and it shows the habit of speaker.

**Registral Code-Mixing:**

It has been observed that sometimes the code-mixing is according to register and related to the topic. These social variables can be analyzed in the speech of doctors. Doctors have their own registers, and they use certain words and sentences which are related to their profession.

**Example:**

HE WAS PRACTICING SINCE pata nahi kitna asra sa to is waja sa saro COMMITTEE us ko chorwa ker lia aur uc na aa ker kisi our DOCTOR ka names la diya AND THEN HE WAS RELEASED sara CHEMIST jitna bhi CHEMIST thaw aha pae I AM USING AN ajeeb say WOED who sab bike hoa thay. Mein gia PATENT ka paas mein ne us say kaha HOW DARE YOU? Mera PRESCRIPTION ko tum na REJECT kiya.

(Recording No. 7)

**Analysis:**

The doctors have their own register, and these words are spoken in their routine life. But in this discourse some phrases and clause are quite unusual as 'I am using ab ajeeb sa word'. This sentence is very unusual and not widely used. This shows her unconsciousness. In her entire discourse the dominance of English is visible. Some words are topic related, but the use of English phrases and sentences show that the doctor is trying to show her professional status and education.

**Social Variables:**

This discussion has already yielded to us some important social factors that appear to govern code-mixing at different levels. The social variables as 'topic', 'habit', and 'participant's role' has been identified in almost all the above discussion. An example is given to verify it.

**Example:**

E: MAY I COME IN SIR

B: YES, PLEASE a jain

E: SIR yed DOCUMENTS mein ne TYPE ker diye hain aap SIGN ker dain

(Recording No. 5)

**Analysis:**

In this interaction all the social variables have been identified. This is a type of exchange having three moves. In the first move the employ is asking for permission in English. In the second move the boss permits him by using a single Urdu phrase 'yes please a jain' 'yes' and 'please' both have Urdu equivalents as 'ji' and 'mehr bani' but not widely spoken. In official affairs people never use their Urdu equivalents so the use of English words is topic related. In employ and boss interaction such words are very common, so the participant role has been identified. It seems as if the boss used the phrase 'yes please' habitually. So, all the social variables have been identified within a single exchange.

**Common Features of Code-Mixing**

From analysis some features of code-mixing have been identified which are

6. The English dominance of the participants is obvious as they also emphasize the importance of English in Pakistan and Urdu is used to show Pakistani identity
7. Some words occur quite frequently in the speech of the participants and can be considered as borrowing.
8. The use of English for king ship terms are quite common.
9. Sometimes people mix some words or sentences simultaneously and according to register. Such words and phrases never have a negative effect

10. It has been observed that some people mix or use an English word not according to the situation. It looks unusual and ambiguous
11. Sometimes people mix English in their speech to show off.
12. Sometimes people use English words habitually.
13. Sometimes people use English words or phrase to emphasize their point.
14. Sometimes participants use English words or phrases in mood. As the use of phrase like 'come on', 'be good' are mood expressions.

Keeping in view all the above given factors it can be concluded that the participants in these settings have a good command of English. Since these interactions do not involve a high level of tension or conflict, these moves of power encoded by mixing of English, manifest efforts to increase bilingual identity.

### **Conclusion:**

Some important conclusions can be drawn from the data analysis in this last part. The data analysis indicates that receptivity of the Pakistani speaker for English borrowings is high. The use of English at word level indicates the same thing. This established that the mixed language is unmarked code of interaction in informal situations and confirms the observation made earlier by those who studied Hindi-English code-mixing. Anyone who insists on speaking only Urdu in such situations would be perceived as an eccentric and anyone who insists on speaking only English would be perceived as a snob. Five levels of constraints were recognized in this study social, situational, interactional, rhetorical and syntactic. The first two variables are analyzed in the data.

### **Social Variable:**

The analysis established the relationship of social variables with code-mixing which can be summarized as follows:

The dominance of English is prominent in almost all the recordings. Switching to English is used with varying degrees by participants and its frequency is affected by social variables. The early exposure to English through English schooling, which is also a sign of high socio-economic status in Pakistan, correlates positively with frequency of code-mixing. Especially those participants who attended purely English institutions tend to use English as the matrix language frequently. In the speech of some participants especially the 'television actress', 'fashion designer', 'doctor', 'teacher', and 'psychologist', the effect of socio-economic status is more obvious.

The fundamental role of education in determining the degree of code-mixing is very obvious. In Pakistan only those people are considered educated who are proficient in English. So it has been observed that most participants switch to English in their entire Urdu discourse to show that they are educated. This point can sometimes correlate negatively. But sometimes the

participants switch to English due to their higher education. They cannot explain their point in Urdu and have to switch to English to clear their point. So, this point correlates positively.

The relationship between professional status and code-mixing is also obvious. Some participants switch to English due to their profession and occupation. This fact can be observed in the speeches of doctors, psychologists, fashion designers, travel agents, teachers, and bosses. They use some English words which are part of their profession e.g. education, traveling, fashion and typing etc. Such words exist quite naturally in their speech, so these words become a part of their profession. So English switching in such situations correlates positively. Generally, these social variables (socio-economic status, education, professional status) effects code-mixing. To understand the social meanings of code-mixing, we need to see what negotiations are made through code mixing in what situations and why.

### **Situational Variables:**

Situational variables are topic, settings and participants' relationship.

#### **Topic:**

As indicated by the analysis, the situational variable 'topic' affects the speaker to do code-mixing. In almost all situations the participant switches to English because the topic demands it. Frequency of English switching increase when topic involve some kind of analysis (character. Situation, beliefs etc.).

Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that topical variation correlates positively with frequency of switching. Topical variation is one of the measures of informality and the positive correlation of the number of topics with frequency of switching indicates that switching itself is a measure of informality and informal interactions allow for more switching.

#### **Setting:**

This situational variable also affects code-mixing. Normally switching to English has been seen in informal settings. In formal settings (e.g. in office, on TV, in clinic etc.) participants switch to English. In such settings participants switch to English to keep the other person under influence. But sometimes switching also occurs in formal situations (e.g. in University, at home, among friends etc.). In such settings participants mix codes to create informality among them. So, settings affect code-mixing, and the data analysis also confirmed this observation.

#### **Participant-Relationship:**

The variable of the participant relationship also affects code-mixing. As in (Recording no. 5) it has been observed that father switches to English while talking to his children but switches to Urdu while talking to his wife. So, relationships among participants affect switching. So, it can be said that both social and situational variables affect code-mixing.

#### **Findings:**

Some important findings can be drawn from the data analysis which are as follows:

1. The terms of greeting and exclaiming feelings, e.g. hello, please, sorry, thank you are usually in English.
2. Switching to English is sometimes used for avoiding the difficult task of choosing an Urdu pronoun of address. The Urdu address system is complex and instead of being specific, people can switch to English and thus be neutral and ambiguous about relationship. Such instances of switching do not occur in the data. However, switching is used in other ways to create ambiguity and neutrality. It is used as a politeness strategy in expression like ‘sorry’, ‘thank you’, ‘if you don’t mind’ etc. It is also used to mitigate the embarrassing effect of face threatening topics, such as taboo topic (sex, disease, financial matters, age etc.).
3. Instances of switching to English for directives to children are also found. Some of these directives are in the form of questions and some in the form of statement. Switching to English for directives to children serves the function of avoiding ambiguity in interaction.
4. Some instances of English exclamations and questions are also found. Questions as intern switches, such as ‘Is that right?’ ‘Really’ etc. (frequently uttered in recording no. 4)
5. Terms relating to time, such as the names of the weekdays, the names of the months, etc. appear in English. The English variants of the names of the months, the same calendar is used in Urdu, but Urdu forms are phonologically integrated, such as janvarii, aprail etc. However, in the speeches of participants, the occurrence of Urdu forms of the names of the months is as rare as the parallel occurrence of the names of the weekdays. The use of the words “weekdays” and “weekends” is also very frequent. Urdu equivalent for these words does not exist, so they correlate positively.
6. Numbers, such as describing dates, years, and age also appear in English. Especially, the numbers above twenty are almost always in English.
7. The names of the academic fields, such as Linguistics, Literature, Economics, Fashion designing etc are always in English.
8. English is non-optionally used for the names of the hidden part of the body, such as lungs, bones etc. whereas Urdu and English both are used for the names of the visible parts of the body such as hand, head, eyes, ears etc.
9. The names of the accessories are always in English e.g. television, computer, refrigerator etc.

### **Reasons for Code-Mixing:**

The factors that lead a speaker to code-mixing are many and complex. Only few factors have identified from the data analysis.

**Lack of Facility:**

Bilingual and multilingual usually explain that the reason for their code-mixing is that they lack facility in one language when talking about a particular topic. They report that they switch when they cannot find an appropriate expression or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translation for the vocabulary needed. For example, the literal translation of ‘dupatta’ (scarf) does not convey the same meaning as in Urdu. This word has its own unique connotation in Pakistani context. Some also feel that some notions are better expressed in any one language than another.

**Lack of Registral Competence:**

Switching also takes place when the speakers are not equally competent in two languages and when the speaker does not know the terms in two languages. For example, a university or college student switches constantly from Urdu to English to discuss chemistry, literature, and linguistics etc. to their class fellows. In certain occupations more code-mixing takes place than others. For instance, engineers, doctors etc. can talk about their job only in English or with a lot of code-mixing.

**Mood of the Speaker:**

Sometimes when speakers are tired or lazy or angry the code-mixing takes place. The speakers know that with some effort and time they can find appropriate words or expressions in the base language. Very often a bilingual speaker knows a word in both languages Urdu and English, but the English word is more available at that moment when speaking Urdu language. He/she may switch on the conversation and will use equivalent words in Urdu language.

**Amplify and emphasize a point:**

Switching is also used to amplify or emphasize a point. Speaker switches from Urdu to English for adding more force to the statement and sometimes ending the argument.

**Habitual Expressions:**

Code-mixing often occurs due to the habit. Some educated speakers commonly use some English words, so it becomes their habit. Code-mixing often occurs in fixed phrases of greetings and parting, commands and requests, invitation, thanks and discourse markers such as listen, you know, goodbye etc. such expressions are often used due to habit. Usually doctors, fashion designers, and television actresses mix English words in their speech habitually.

**To show off:**

Sometimes speakers switch to English to show off that we are educated. As English in Pakistan has become a status of symbol. So, people switch to English in their Urdu discourse to show that we are fashionable and educated. Usually, television actresses use English code in television interviews. They answer the question in English although they are asked in Urdu.

**To attract attention:**

Sometimes speakers switch to English to attract the attention of the people. There could be more reasons for code-mixing but only these few reasons have been identified from the data.

This linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of social and situational variables of participants provides an insight into the nature of code-mixing. The factors and reasons analyzed above truly prove that code-mixing is a general phenomenon. It is in fact a natural phenomenon as English is the major international language. It is the most widely spoken language. English is in fact the official language of Pakistan and Urdu is the natural language so code-mixing of English-Urdu by native Pakistani speaker is quite natural, but these above elaborated social variables also affect code-mixing.

Whether code-mixing is a strategy used by those with power or less is difficult to say, but it can certainly be claimed that it is a negotiation of some kind of power. But basically, both languages are essential to the representation of identity in interaction for the Pakistani speaker.

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