

THESIS

A SUGGESTION TO USE CODESWITCHING AS AN L1 RESOURCE IN THE STUDENTS'

WRITTEN WORK: A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY RUNEELA JALAL ENTITLED A SUGGESTION TO USE CODESWITCHING AS AN L1 RESOURCE IN THE STUDENTS' WRITTEN WORK: A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

### A SUGGESTION TO USE CODESWITCHING AS AN L1 RESOURCE IN THE STUDENTS' WRITTEN WORK: A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY

Pakistani English has marked its presence in all genres and poses pedagogical implications for both teachers and students. Most students in English as Foreign Language (EFL) settings are unaware of how and when to use code-switching (CS) as an L1 resource in their written work to convey local social meanings as no common standard has been established for teachers and students. This situation negatively affects uniformity in instructional and assessment procedures. While the use of CS in academic settings is still a relatively new area of research, recent studies advocate the use of L1 as a resource in the classroom.

This focused study provides an overview of previous CS research centered on its importance as a discourse tool in the oral and written work of multi/bilingual persons who use CS to convey social aspects which cannot be appropriately communicated through the target language (TL). Some studies observe the CS patterns found in teacher talk during instruction and advocate its use as a potential L1 resource, but they fail to address how it can be regulated in students' written work without hindering TL learning.

This study fills in the gap by suggesting the use of bi-directional translation methods in conjunction with acceptability judgment tasks in order to instruct students in identifying how and when CS should be used as an L1 resource. The study is conducted with the pool of 36 students in a local university in Lahore, who read four English newspaper articles and code-switched in Urdu in pre and post-instruction stages. Paired t-test results showed significant improved results for the acceptance rates and number of attempts by the participants in the post instruction. This suggests that students can use L1 as a resource to convey concepts in the TL when properly instructed and that further research in this connection can be useful for FL learning settings.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Code-switching	CS
Embedded Language	EL
English as a Foreign Language	EFL
Foreign Language Learning	FLL
Native Speakers of English	NS
Non-Native Speakers of English	NNS
Target Language	TL
Matrix Language	ML
Matrix Language Framework	MLF
Pakistan People's Party	PPP

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the last twenty-five years the study of code-switching (CS) has become a flourishing research field in second language acquisition (SLA). It has received attention from such diverse fields as sociolinguistics, anthropology, language teaching, formal linguistics, and psycholinguistics. *The Linguistics and Language Behavioral Abstracts* (LLBA) electronic databases identify nearly 1800 matches to code-switching since 2005 (Nilep, 2008). Many journals have dedicated articles to code-switching, e.g., *World Englishes* (1989) and *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (1992).

Haugen (1953) claimed to be the first person to introduce the term CS as the use of alternate languages used in a discourse. Benson (2001) refuted it later as she pointed out that Haugen discussed the framework of CS mainly as a language “interference” and attributed switching to “low grade intelligence,” which is a different phenomenon than CS. This is in contrast to the present view which looks at the phenomenon as a discourse tool used by the proficient bilinguals.

It was in the 1980s when the groundbreaking dissertation of Braj B. Kachru at the University of Edinburgh about World Englishes impacted the studies in multilingualism. Later in the 1990s he revisited the idea and presented the model of three concentric circles (a concept described in detail in chapter 2), thus opening a new arena of studying code-switching as a legitimate phenomena. Since then it has gained attention in the SLA research circles. Auer and Poplack (1988), Scotton (1993), and many others have conducted useful research on the topic as a way to introduce this phenomenon as a

discourse strategy used by multilingual individuals who have high proficiency skills in both languages involved.

Consequently, recent research considers CS as an important social situation where bilinguals communicate using a “unique language system” representing their cultural setting. Kachru (1985, 1990, 2003), Baumgardener (1998), Myers-Scotton (1993), Seligson (1988), Baker (2008), and De Houwer (2008) consider it a natural language change that occurs due to the constant political, cultural, and social assimilations and shifts in the world. The magnitude of their work has initiated the latest trends in the research that advocates the need to study language patterns as a result of social and political requirements.

Sociolinguistics have contributed greatly to the study of CS from the perspective of a social process bridging the construction of social reality in a bilingual’s experience and the interpretation through a peculiar language system. Gumperz (1975) and Heller (1988) have studied the various impacts on language behavior due to social boundaries and political ideologies as well as how bilingual individuals are forced to draw on the linguistic resources available to them. Heller (1988), Seligson (1989), and Gal (1998) emphasized the study of patterns of CS in relation to the social and linguistic constraints. Thus two perspectives are common in the observation in the CS research: first, sociolinguistic studies that account for communicative function of bilingual discourse mainly as a product of constant economic and cultural shift in the boundaries and secondly, linguistic studies of grammatical aspects when two languages are alternatively used by a bilingual individuals.

I will approach the topic of code-switching from both perspectives to introduce the notion of CS as a natural phenomenon in the world and how grammar structures are observed in both languages. However, before understanding the social and political markers influencing language patterns today, it is important to consider the historical influences that have reshaped the regions as we see them on a map today. Without such knowledge, understanding the phenomena of code-switching would be deficient.

Therefore in chapter 2, studies from around the world follow to demonstrate how social factors in the forms of world wars, trade, and missionaries brought foreign and local languages in contact. Seligson (1988) and Gal (1998) studied how the language of power, though in the minority, impacts local languages, thus giving birth to the new varieties of English language in the region. Kachru (1985) also coined the term along the same lines and called it as “International Varieties of English” (IVEs) which is discussed in chapter 2. These new varieties have their set functions that are derived from the local norms.

Once the phenomenon of code-switching gained attention as a “legitimate” system in the research circles, sociolinguists like Myers-Scotton, Blom, and Gumperz embarked upon the suggestions to explain the social functions of the alternate use of two languages in a single course of conversation. In this connection, two popular models of studying code-switching are discussed in chapter 2. The models by Blom and Gumperz discuss the patterns of CS to distinguish between *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching*, which as a stylistic device for discourse can convey various social meanings. Though their explanation is in connection to the different varieties of

the same dialect, it still helped the understanding of the social hierarchy “which plays significant role in determining which kind of language is to be used when and where” (as cited in Callahan, 2004, p.17).

Essentially, the researchers working from the sociolinguistic approach primarily investigated social negotiation in speech patterns, which also initiated research in grammatical characteristics of code-switching. At present, it is widely believed through many analyses that code-switching does not interfere in the syntactical structures of the two grammars involved (Poplack, 1974). Myers-Scotton’s *Matrix Language Frame Model* (MLF) is discussed in the chapter 2, which serves as the reference for validating participants’ code-switches in the present study.

The models are discussed specifically for two reasons. First, these models observe bilingual language processing essentially as a part of a whole social setting to which they belong. The contemporary studies also advocate for the use of a certain amount of CS in a classroom setting because bilinguals bring with them entire social networks in which they operate outside the classroom. It helps them feel comfortable in a FLL setting, increasing their performance in a class.

Second, these models are also helpful to understand the regularities observed in CS within or between sentences. For instance, insertion models (borrowing) by Scotton (1990) have become the most influential research topic. Before Scotton, many researchers attempted to distinguish between borrowing and CS (Pfaff 1979; Bouman 1998), but Scotton’s explanation regarding single insertions is the most compelling one. Bouman (1994) does not consider “cultural borrowing” as code-switches on the grounds

that speakers have no other linguistic sign with which to denote the referent in question. However, Myers-Scotton (1995) takes into account whether the lexical item in question has entered the lexicon of the host language (Matrix Language) or not. If it is accessible to bilinguals only, then it is a code-switch. This is the parameter that I have adopted for the insertions from the Urdu language into English for the current study as well.

Along with this connection, *Markedness Model* is discussed in detail in chapter 2 which helped formulate a four point reference scheme to validate code-switching as implemented by the participants of this study. These four points are mentioned in chapter 3. These were also communicated to the students in the intervention program in an effort to put standards in place for students when they decide to code-switch in their written work.

The models mentioned above primarily investigated the linguistic features in oral communication. However, Kumar (1998; 1995), Callahan (2004), and Macaro (2004), have pointed out that these models are applicable to written work as well; for a successful code-switch to happen in writing, grammars of both languages involved should also remain functional. Recent research also points out that CS in written corpus, though performing very important functions, occurs much less frequently than in oral communication (Callahan, 2004). Currently there are three possible reasons: artificial verses authentic (Callahan, 2004), conscious seriousness of purpose (McClure, 1998), and difference in channel (Burciaga, 1992). These reasons are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

Therefore, code-switching is not an uncommon phenomenon in non-fiction. It can be observed in periodicals, non-periodicals, advertisements, and non-fiction literature. Since it has marked its appearance in all genres, it seems appropriate to allow bilingual students to use this device in their writing when it is meaningful. On the other hand, it is also understandable that it is not easy to decide the threshold for where to stop, but certain standards can be regularized so that second language learning is never hindered.

Consequently, the students are in a constant struggle to decide when to code-switch or otherwise. During this decision-making process, the only other option available is to translate from one language to another. As discussed earlier, CS performs specific functions of conveying only those concepts that are not present in L2 system—translations that are strictly concept mediated and contextual knowledge is of primary importance. The translation is not only literal word value but also includes a whole set of social connotations behind it (See figure 2). Azevedo (1993) also commented that such translation instances encountered by the bilingual students involve “socio-cultural and political connotations attendant on its use” (p. 223), which sometimes is not achieved by translation in a second language. This is discussed in chapter 3.

Thus, I employed bi-directional translation methodology to study the effects on concept activation, which in turn, could enable bilinguals to incorporate meaning with the help of their L1 (discussed in Chapter 3) into ML (in this case, English). In the view of psycholinguists, no authentic consensus on one translation method is claimed for the transfer of concepts through semantic or lexical routes. Therefore, a combination of

both is used to test the transference of concepts from EL to ML (Salamoura and Williams, 2006 ). This study and research method is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

The process of code-switching in a written context, particularly in the South Asia region, is underexplored. B. Kachru (1998), Baumgardener (1998), Annamalai (2001), Y.Kachru (2006), and Higgins (2003), discuss the features of code-switching as practiced by the speakers and teachers in oral communication and suggest the use of CS in a classroom setting using students' writings which may give insights and suggestions for pedagogical implications.

The current study endeavors to address this gap. I have chosen the genre of news writing because newspapers are disseminated for public reading after considerable revision and proofreading. Baumgardner (1998) also in his research pointed out that teachers use newspapers as their primary resource to teach argumentative and descriptive writings in a classroom. Being a developing region, most of the teaching resources used in Pakistan and India are published in Singapore; and, at times, these materials do not coincide with the local writing trends. Therefore, newspapers have become a handy resource.

This study examines the trends of code-switching among the students in the School of Communication Studies in a local university in Pakistan. It aims to investigate whether translation methods, i.e. forward (L1- L2) and backward (L2- L1) based upon acceptability judgment tasks, are helpful for students to discern the junctures for code-switching to convey the required social meanings. The research methods are described at the end of this chapter.

A paired t-test is then used to investigate the above mentioned two research methods to find out the potential statistical significance in students' performance based upon their acceptability judgment tasks in pre-instruction and post-instruction phases of the study. These observations are then used to suggest some pedagogical possibilities after testing two general null hypotheses:

1. There will be no difference in the acceptance rates of code-switched items from pre to post instruction stages of this study.
2. There will be no difference in the number of attempts of the highlighted code-switched items from pre to post instruction stages of the study.

Research Hypothesis:

1. In the pre and post instruction stages of the study, there will be a difference in the acceptance rate of correct and incorrect replaced highlighted items.
2. In the pre and post instruction stages of the study, there will be a difference in the number of attempts of Urdu code-switched items.

The phenomenon of CS involves the bilingual conceptual processing that allows retrieval process from L1 to L2 to convey specific concepts. The present study seeks to analyze the utility of the translation methods (forward and backward) and acceptability judgment tasks by the students in an ESL setting to mediate conceptual processing when students decide whether code-switch is required (no translation) or forward translation (L1-L2) is sufficient to convey the social meanings in a written text in a second language. The issue is addressed by employing students to code-switch mixed highlighted items



(potential sites to code-switch and distracters) in four English newspaper articles in pre and post instruction phases of the study. The study is detailed in chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presents the statistical and qualitative analysis of the results of two research questions. Then chapter 5 explores the limitations of the present study and suggests pedagogical implications in bilingual classrooms.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature in order to elaborate on the term “code-switching”. It identifies the historical social factors which are responsible for shaping alternate language patterns and explicates how socio-linguists analyze the language patterns among bi/multilinguals as a result of social processes. It also explains why recent studies support CS practice in written corpora in the academic setting.

Language patterns in various regions (Europe, West Africa, the Southwestern United States, and South Asia) are discussed with reference to historical events including the pre- and post- World Wars, missionary activities, and colonial invasions. Three models of studying CS in utterances are highlighted to present the views of socio-linguists who legitimize the phenomenon of CS as a natural way of communicating local norms in a second language (L2). Since this study focuses on the CS practiced in Pakistani newspapers and proposes that students use those standards in writing, the last section in chapter 2 concentrates on the analysis of CS as it is observed in English-language journalism in Pakistan.

What is code-switching?

Code-switching is essentially the use of two different languages or language varieties within a single conversation or written text. In the 1950s, after initial confusions (Weinrich, 1953; Haugen, 1954) about the phenomenon, two definitions of code-switching surfaced and are still predominantly used. In addition to the one given earlier, Benson (2001) also referred to it as a process of adjustment to the articulatory habits of the speaker which permits the listener to learn quickly certain types of

meanings and attitudes strictly understood within that socio-cultural network of the society.

The study of code-switching is generally assumed to have begun with the writings of Haugen (1956) and Weinrich (1953). They claimed to be the first to use this term in the literature. However, Benson (2001), mentions that the researchers used this term to mean “deviant behaviour patterns” (p.24) and was a negative term. Also, Haugen described the term “switching” as a clean break between the usage of one language and the other. This is in contrast to the contemporary approach which looks at the phenomenon involving two languages spoken in harmony (Poplack, 1988; Scotton, 1993).

Even today, some researchers call CS a “hindrance” in achieving proficiency level in a second language. Drapeau (1995), Sounkalo (1995), and Meisel (2004), argue that “borrowing lexical items under the cultural influence impairs the acquisition and development of the second language vocabulary” (as cited in Bouman 1998, p. 4). This definition, however, does not provide an explanation for the lexical items found in a local language and used as such in English by the people, a situation which is bound to evolve when two cultures come into contact.

Recent research supports the use of alternate language as a discourse strategy which manifests high levels of proficiency in both languages. Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood (1987), for instance, noticed in their Finnish/English oral corpus that switching was met with production difficulties such as pauses, and ratification markers only when speakers lacked a certain level of proficiency. Their corpus comprised 20

naturalistic conversations for 8 first-generation Finnish/English bilinguals. Later, Poplack (1988) again reinforced the idea that CS is “smooth transition between L1 and L2 elements unmarked by false starts, hesitations, or lengthy pauses” (p. 218) and this phenomenon is essentially different than the “switches” due to lack of vocabulary, lexical or syntactic knowledge. She discussed her point while studying CS patterns in Spanish/English among Puerto Ricans in New York.

Thus, after the initial negative understanding of the term, many researchers, including Fishman (1974), Myers-Scotton (1993), and de Houwer (2008), have made useful contributions to assert the phenomenon as positive. They argue that the bilingual speakers engaged in code-switching are “proficient speakers” who have the ability to produce well formed constituents in their dialects of either language involved in their discourse. This definition is in direct contrast to what early researchers proposed by this term when they thought that it could slow down second language acquisition.

As a result, sociolinguists started looking at the phenomenon in a positive light, and many studies investigated the social factors influencing the language patterns of bi/multilinguals. Thus, the field of sociolinguistic looked at the phenomena to investigate who is speaking which language to whom and what kind of prevalent social factors affect this choice. Furthermore, it also studies the varieties of one language as it is spoken in various regions regarding what changes a languages undergoes.

However, there is a gap in the studies. Sociolinguists study speech patterns in a certain social environment but do not deal much with the factors that have reshaped that particular social environment century before causing specific language patterns in a

community. Anthropologists' contributions to the study of the symbolic aspects of how a language changes when it comes in contact with the language of power even when it is a minority language have also been a useful contribution.

Sapir (1921) was the pioneer in setting the modern day trend in the field of sociolinguistics when he studied language as culture, rarely sufficient unto itself. He used the term "linguistic influences" (para. 1) of the central language on other languages in a region in terms of "borrowings which depend entirely on the historic facts of culture relation" (para. 2). In his studies, he discusses CS dating back to the times when tribal groups in the Southwestern States existed and presumably married into other tribes, thus easing the mixing of languages.

Recent anthropological studies by Heller (Ed. 1988) have adopted the same notion to study the relationship between language and identity in economic or class terms. Gal (1997, 2000) presented a useful combination of both aspects to effectively highlight the study of language choice to reveal the patterns of the speaker's consciousness about symbolic relationship to the language of power and how the historic position of the community finds its expression in the foreign language adopted by the people.

Another study by Muysken (1995) further elaborates that it is the language of power which drives individuals and minority groups of immigrants to adopt stylistic devices like code-switching and code-mixing in order to represent the concepts not present originally in the foreign language. Thus, a new variety is presented to the locals for use and they further incorporate local features. Seligson (1985) calls this the

“inherent resistance” of locals to the dominance of minority foreign language when they alter local and dominant languages in a single course of conversation. Her observations were in regard to the Mexican community living in the Southwestern United States.

My research for the section of the “historical outline” focuses on examples from history which demonstrate that the code-switching happens not only to preserve local identity but as a natural phenomena that allows the locals to develop proficiency in two languages as they maintain constant relationship with the language of “power” for survival. Three forces have played a pivotal role in shaping “one language one rule” domination in the world, specifically, world wars, colonial rule, and missionaries.

The language of a state, anywhere in the world, has never uniformly had a language of authority and symbolic power for all minority groups, even when that language was consistently supported by the government and education systems. It has always depended upon the economically powerful group (even when they are foreigners and in the minority) to decide which language to be used and when. This is a logical argument when looking at the English language and the status it enjoys today. Think tanks of the world foresee the shift to Chinese in the coming decade for the same reason.

The following review supports the socio-linguistic and anthropologist view that the language patterns and choices change with respect to the economic factors. The examples from around the world are also evidence of how the three forces mentioned previously have impacted, and will continue to impact, all walks of life, including language.

## Historical emergence of code-switching

The following review of the different regions from around the world describe how the three forces mentioned above act as a common thread to give rise to the CS patterns in the language of the locals. The widespread functions include the prestige factor tagged with the minority language of power which personifies itself through a variety of economic pressures influencing the lives of multi/bilingual people, especially the younger generation around the world.

### 2.01 Code-switching in European Periphery

#### Italians in Germany

The German provinces started to develop and challenge Britain's economy at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century especially in mining, manufacturing, and agriculture. To meet the demands of cheap labor, the influx of laborers from Eastern and Southern Europe was welcomed. Cheap labor was used mainly to do hazardous work that locals had stopped taking up. The post-World War II boom resulted in increased migrant labor (Rhoades, 1978). Native birth rates dropped and native workers moved on to higher jobs, thus leaving more room for migrants.

This socio-political situation resulted in a culturally and linguistically divided working class. With the onset of economic stagnation in the early 1970s, even cheaper labor from the Middle East also declined. The Italian immigrants' attempts to obtain legal rights for themselves failed, and many Germans questioned these immigrant movements toward assimilation and coexistence within the German mainstream culture (Castles & Kosack, 1983).

The demand in the mid-1980s was for the foreigners to return to their country of origin, thereby assuring the “maintenance of everyone’s race, language and culture” (Castles, 1984, pp. 191-195). Ironically, it was too late, and by this time migrants had become part of the German culture. This is still true, today, for the border town of Konstanz. The large infrastructure created to process police, business, education and government cannot be undone, which is true for the local language change as well. Thus Germany’s economy is caught in its own contradiction.

Thus, children today in Germany, are encouraged to learn both the German and Italian languages. Gal (1987) mentioned the widespread functions of code-switching ranging from informal to formal settings. Turn taking, topical cohesion, tying, sequencing of conversations, and personal background are all signaled by code-switches. According to the research conducted by d’Angelo (1984), speakers are very sensitive to the background of their interlocutors and to the cues to switch language in order to maintain language preference needed for the context of their conversations.

Hungarian speakers in Austria

Another good example of the shifting patterns due to socio-economic polarity in the region is the province of Burgenland in Austria. It was a part of the Habsburg Empire, later the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, until its dissolution in 1918. When Germany joined Britain, France, and the United States in a new hegemony, the monarchy dissolved and submitted to Germany’s supremacy. The Northern regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire provided labor to the German landlords and



manufacturers (Berend & Ranki, 1983). Even today, people in Oberwart live surrounded by German speaking villages.

In 1921, as part of peace treaties at the end of World War I, this section of Western Hungary was transferred to Austria. The professional and educated class of the territory fled to Hungary leaving behind a labor class minority of less than 10,000 in the province of Burgenland within an overwhelming German speaking state (Soos, 1971).

After World War II, the province of Burgenland became the hub of economic and agricultural activities. The administration moved into the hands of the German speaking elite. This was the first instance when extended daily use of German began. Another social change was the inclination towards marrying German monolinguals from neighboring villages despite the fact that Germans showed hostility toward the Hungarian accent and its public use (Gal, 1987).

Gal's detailed studies of code-switching patterns reveal extensive use of code-switching within single narratives and short exchanges with others. Speakers under the age of thirty-five prefer German with each other even in informal settings. They restrict the use of Hungarian only with older people. Young married couples also encourage the learning of German more than Hungarian in schools. Most switches then are made in German forms during Hungarian conversations. Older people are fond of criticizing young people on their failure to use Hungarian properly (without adulteration) and accuse them of pretensions because they have developed lexical innovations in their bilingual conversations.

### German speaking in Romania

During the reign of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian magnates industrialized the Transylvania region. However, it was not natives but largely German Saxons (also free peasants), who enjoyed economic positions and held important legal and religious privileges guaranteeing considerable political and cultural autonomy (Verdery, 1983). Germans constituted the “wealthy, free cash and market oriented peasantry” (Gal, 1987, p. 647) who easily took advantage because of links to the Germans. In contrast, Romanians had to earn a living through hard work and held very meager holdings. After the dissolution of the monarchy, Romanians worked as servants for the German landlords.

When Romanians replaced the Hungarian monarchs after WWI, the new Romanian state also included Transylvania. Verdery (1983) sums up the whole social scenario of the time quite well, “The social system enacted in day to day experiences of villagers, linked German identity with favorable class and status characteristics superior to that of Romanians, despite the support of the new Romanian State”(p. 69).

The Transylvania region includes three villages—two German Saxons and one Swabian. Until WWII the Germans retained their economic supremacy and then reparations led them to depart. Today, this region is multilingual, including German, the language of power; Romanian, the language of locals; and Hungarian the language of older people still spoken as a reminder of Hungarian rule before World War II. German and Romanian are widely used in work places, learned at school, and spoken in churches. Conversations with older people are widely conducted in Hungarian. Choice of

code is widely determined by the identity of the participants McClure (1988). Even today, a sprinkling of German words in Romanian exchange is a sign of education and sophistication that Romania never enjoyed even after World War II. Young couples in mixed marriages or otherwise also support the learning of the German language.

## 2.02 English in West Africa

This region includes fourteen countries: Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Togo, Ghana, Benin, Nigeria, and Cameroon. This is the linguistically most complex region and is called the “Rainbow Region” in the literature. About 2,000 indigenous languages are spoken in the region (Berry & Greenberg, 1971). The reason for this lies partly in the division of West Africa by European powers who paid scant attention to tribal systems and ethnicities and paid attention only to the boundary that followed the coastline (Todd, 1985). Only English has acquired the status of official language. It is mainly spoken in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria. This literature review will focus on the phenomena of code switching for these regions only. It is true that the languages that colonizers brought helped in establishing socio-economic stability in the region, but it also set a “patchwork quilt” effect of European languages (Portuguese, French, and English) that the region required a single second language for enabling communication with the neighboring countries. English serves this purpose still today.

According to the accounts of Beeching (1972), William Hawkins, and later John Locke, all of whom made trips to the West African coast between 1530 and 1555 [as cited in Todd, 1985], Africans were frequently taken to England and taught English to

serve as translators for traders on the coast in early eighteenth century. Todd (1985) also pointed out the unavailability of the textual citations in the literature about the usage of English on the West African coast until the 1670s. Todd (1985) also describes the language patterns in the Sierra Leone region, “Most of the blacks about the bay either speak Portuguese or Lingua Franca...and some also understand little English...” (Churchill & Churchill, 1732, p.103 as cited in Todd, 1985). Later Labarth (1803) made an even stronger claim that the British trading had such a strong economic advantage for locals that English became the most widely spoken language on the coastline. Even later, with the advent of missionaries, English became the language of education and advancement in the territories under British jurisdiction (as cited in Todd, 1985).

Another eventful instance in history was when freed slaves from Britain came back and made settlements under the name Freetown. In this region, Liberia was also established as an African homeland for freed slaves of American origin in 1820. Even today English spoken there is similar to American Black English (Hancock & Kobbah, 1975, p. 248).

There are different types of English spoken in the region primarily depending upon the popular local language spoken in the region. Todd (1984) traces four kinds of code-switching in African English (p. 284). He first discussed Pidgin English, which is mainly spoken along coastline among traders. There has been a debate about the intelligibility of this variety, but recent research proposes to deal with it as “a unique language system” and should not be confused with broken English. The second language system is often acquired at school and is influenced by the mother tongue.

Secondly, he discussed Standard West African English; and while Todd is unable to justify this kind due to absence of authentic literature (as is present in the case of Spanish-English code switching) he still believed that this kind reflects West African culture and vocabulary. The final was Francophone Western African English, which is taught in French speaking nations, largely because of the need of translators in foreign affairs, trade, banking, and tourism professions.

Many kinds of influences are topics of interest for researchers to study code-switching in African English. One such topic is the use of words and phrases in African English (Bailey & Gorch, 1990). Many social and cultural meanings are translated through borrowings in African English. For instance, give kola for “offer a bribe”; chi-father blessings means “blessings of godfather”; and he is a bushman implies “improper man” (bush= improper).

Nartey (1982) conducted another study on CS with young Ghanaian college students in a pub. Nartey observed through their communications that social factors influence patterns of code switching more than the structural regularities of the two languages. His results indicated both inter-sentential and intra-sentential overlaps in students’ conversations without conscious efforts. This was in direct contrast to the studies by Poplack (1980), who studied grammatical patterns and established that code-switching happens only when the surfaces of two languages “map on to each other” (the equivalence constraint). Her studies are consistent with other researchers like Vogt (1953) and Hall (2005), who looked at the phenomena as psychological and social rather than purely linguistic in nature.

Babalolo (2009) focused on the recent trends in Nigerian hip hop English music. Since Nigerian hip hop is also accepted in church, it is equally popular among youngsters and older people. They try to identify with their roots by including words and phrases from local languages (Pidgin Nigerian, Yoruba) in hip hop. He also identified two kinds of code-switching: inter-sentential and intra-sentential. Babalolo also showed inclination toward thinking that it serves as a sign of subtly resisting the overwhelming influence of English language in a Nigerian social setting.

### 2.03 Language in the Southwestern United States

The phenomenon of bilingualism in the states of Texas, Arizona, California, and New Mexico is widespread and complex for a variety of reasons. The most common reason is due to Spanish settlement at different times and in different geographical areas. This resulted in multiple language patterns among local people. Burma and Penalosa (1970) commented about this phenomenon based upon the results of research they collected from a variety of sources including census data, household sample surveys of Mexican Americans living in Los Angeles and San Antonio, and informal interviews throughout the Southwestern United States. They concluded that:

The Latinos of South Texas are largely rural, close to the Mexican culture in many ways and their single largest occupation is agricultural labor. The Mexican Americans of East Los Angeles are urbanized... The Spanish Americans of New Mexico and Colorado are increasingly urbanized though their heritage is agricultural.... (Burma & Penalosa, 1970, p. 3).

According to Seligson (1980), these geographical patterns are the direct result of Spanish settlement patterns in the Southwest. She further elaborates how three different areas in the Southwest (New Mexico, Texas, California, and Arizona) were colonized at different times and shows that they were able to maintain separate identities, including language usage. The Spaniards who colonized New Mexico came directly from Spain. In Arizona and California, Spaniards could not maintain their influence for long due to a romanticized emphasis placed on Anglo culture. Settlers in this area were better educated and well connected when compared to those in New Mexico. The Spanish colonization in Texas occurred a century later. It became the site of penal colonies and settlers soon lost their loyalty to the government and started trading with foreigners. As Christian and Christian (1970) point out, "...though Spanish Texans could scarcely be said to have welcomed Americans, they never united against them" (p.285).

Even today, there is a steady influx of the New Mexican speakers in the American Southwest. Therefore, two bilingual patterns are evident: A generation of newcomers still struggling with English and the 1.5 generation who are at varying levels of achieving stable bilingualism. Consequently, school children have impacted the research of bilingual education. The area of exploring CS among bilinguals in the Southwestern United States has gained great attention among research circles and there is a great amount of research featuring CS and its pedagogical implications in this environment. It is conceivable that the use of L1 as a resource in academic settings has very likely gained a positive stance as a result of Spanish/English bilingualism research.

In contemporary research, the use of L1 as a resource (Code-switching) is strongly recommended because studies reveal higher dropout rates among foreign language learners who are forced to gain L2 proficiency when the L1 is undermined at the same time. Such actions often result in issues including identity crises and civil rights infringements. Meijas (2003) conducted an informative study with Texas Pan-American University. In 1982, there was a survey conducted to study four attitudinal dimensions—communicative, instrumental, value and sentimental—among Spanish students towards the Spanish language. In 2003, Meijas conducted the same survey and found no change in results regarding a less favorable attitude towards Spanish in terms of its value and instrumental dimensions.

Robinson, Rivers, and Brecht (2006) discussed the results of the General Social Survey (GSS). The survey included 1,398 native speakers of Spanish who were graduates living and working in a coastal city. Only 10% of 50% Spanish speakers who learned Spanish at school claimed that they were literate in both languages. In contrast, the rates were higher (67%) for those who learned the Spanish language at home. The article raised doubts regarding the success of language instruction at schools for native speakers of Spanish living in big cities in the United States and confirms the qualms of the contemporary researchers regarding identity crises causing low performance among minority Spanish students. This has resulted in a tolerance towards code-switching patterns during classroom instruction when teachers employ the usage of Spanish lexical items to facilitate understanding.



The current education system is paying considerable attention to this by making a conscious effort to preserve Spanish in the classroom. The idea is to develop meaningful associations with Spanish in English language classrooms to minimize the stress of FLL and maximize the performance of the students. Jorge (2006) emphasized the need to not only teach English but to develop a positive attitude towards Spanish by bringing it out of its isolated use in the home and providing the same comfort zone in the classroom. He refers to many multilingual cultural communities in states that are excellent resources for improving FL learning in combination with L1. He specifically mentioned *American Community of Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL Spanish Project (1999))*, which connects classrooms with Spanish communities in order to create meaningful language learning experiences for students. Language is a social practice, and new approaches are being developed to teach language and culture collaboratively within communities where Spanish is spoken. The article explores *Community Based Language Learning (CBLL)* in a college with Spanish students and their families. The model encouraged engagement in social interactions where meaningful language practice occurs, causing an understanding of culturally diverse perspectives.

Polowski (2003) details the strengths of the *Heritage Language Teacher Corps*, which is an in-service program that prepares high school teachers to work in language areas with high Latino concentrations. This program is a collaborative effort of the University of Illinois and Chicago public schools and targets students who are native speakers of both Spanish and English. These advancements are evidence of the planned and careful use of the L1 in FL settings to enhance student performance. This study also

suggests allowing students in Pakistan who can use their L1 (Urdu), carefully in the form of CS to present concepts in the TL in their written work.

### South Asian region

This section offers details about the origin of bilingualism in the South Asian region as it is practiced today in the two countries (India and Pakistan). This section also details the practice of CS as it appears in the English newspapers in Pakistan because it is also the focus of the study. The details will reveal CS patterns that are used to validate the standards for the students in the school of communication studies in their written work.

#### 2.04 International Varieties of English (IVE)

Originally the very idea of *International Varieties of English* was generated from the South Asian region. Kachru (1982) first coined the word “International Englishes” when he recognized the presence of different kinds of “Englishes” especially in previously colonized regions, marking their presence in nearly all genres ranging from day to day conversation (code mixing) to fiction and journalistic writing (code switching).

Amid the ESL activities and publications of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the debate on the theoretical and the applied conceptualization in the field of ESL made accelerated gains, Kachru (1995) revisited the idea in his book; and, with new zeal, he opened new ground in the studies of South Asian English under the umbrella term of “International Varieties of Englishes (IVEs)”. Now “International Varieties of Englishes” include South Asian English as a distinct variety and is approved and recognized in the ESL literature. In this region there are six countries; namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives,

and Malaysia. I will discuss the distinct characteristics of English in the Sub-continent (Pakistan and India) region only as it represents the variety in its full expression.

#### 2.05 Three Concentric Circles of Asian Englishes

B. Kachru (1965, 1976, 1982, 1986, 1997) first introduced the concept of three circles in World Englishes. It is based upon the historical facts of the spread of English and the socio-linguistic viable understanding of the status and functions of the English in its multiple contexts. Furthermore, the model also regards relevant issues like identity and ownership which are dynamic to understand and are not controlled by an agent, group, or “native speakers of English”.

The inner circle includes New Zealand and Australia where English was planted by England and later it spread across the Asian continent in the first diaspora. In these regions, English was the sole language of education of officialdom and of society at large. The second diaspora of English was produced in the outer circle. Here in this region, English was mainly spread through colonization. Countries included in this region are India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Maldives. However, India and Pakistan are considered to be the two major representations of native varieties due to the wide usage of English in these countries (Baumgardner, 1996). These two are characterized as multilinguals and termed as English users in routine. English has been the medium of higher education since 1850; and for many visitors, it is a surprise to find that everyone speaks at least some English rather than the reverse.

The expanding third diaspora represents the further diffusion of English propelled by the political and economic influence of the United States of America,

mainly in East Asia (e.g. China and Japan). In addition, the Middle East was also impacted by the rippling effect and there is now increased usage of the English language. In the Expanding circle, English has limited roles in social lives and is restricted to higher education especially in the sciences and none in a personal capacity of day to day conversation. However, this scenario is bound to change in the next decade for the obvious reason that a shift is emerging in terms of political and economic stability. Consequently, these nations are introducing English as a foreign language to learn in the institutes as revised educational policies.

There has been some criticism for this scheme of circles that objected to placing native speakers (NS) in inner circles and others in peripheral zones (Higgins, 2003). Kachru's (2005) argument is that the model simply represents the English language as it functions in the regions. The argument of labeling inner circle speakers as NSs and outer circle speakers as NSSs makes sense; however, the classification of IVEs who resides in the outer circle is ambiguous. Although, clear arguments have successfully shown that the varieties of English, non native speakers (NNSs) speak are distinct from inter languages (ILs) in a number of ways, speakers of these languages are still not characterized as NSs (Higgins, 2003). Kachru counters all arguments by introducing the term "transplanted versions of English" which means the English language in these regions has been altered by "indigenizing and institutionalizing" but is not and has never been an original language of the region. And when the term "nativized" is used, it is in terms of local norms and does not refer to the British or American varieties.

## 2.06 Historical influence in the sub-continent

There are two main reasons why English came to the subcontinent (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh before Partition.) The first reason is the British East India Company which initially entered the region for trade purposes, and the second reason is the strong influx of missionaries who came to spread Christianity. By the end of seventeenth century, the East India Company virtually controlled all international trade with India and had established three presidencies in Bengal, Mumbai, and Madras. In 1773, the British government set up a Governor Generalship in India and a department to manage Indian affairs.

In addition to the administrative invasion, Christian missionaries entered the region and started establishing schools and colleges. The desire among Indian elites to gain higher education in modern science further enhanced the importance of English. Three English medium universities were established in Chennai, Kolkata, and Mumbai with two more by the end of the nineteenth century in Allahabad and Lahore. (The one in Lahore is my present work place back home and continues to enjoy the status of the best educational institution). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Mughal dynasty had crumbled away and a “British Raj” took over. English then became a medium of instruction and was encouraged for use in general interaction, which is true still today.

The two main local languages of that time were Sanskrit and Persian. These two languages were deeply set in traditions, religion, and day to day life. When the economy started to go into the hands of British, these languages were bound to interact with English and that is how the local English language was birthed. Though there was

initially a long-standing debate about the obvious danger of annihilation, the educated people of that time and the pre-eminent view among policy-makers bestowed upon English a status of a superior language. Persian/Urdu and Hindi/Sanskrit found a place only in homes and religious and ritualistic ceremonies (Sridhar, 2008).

The replacement of English with local languages is remembered in the history of the sub-continent as the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy (Nelson, 2006). The culminating document of this debate was Lord T.B. Macauley's address to the Supreme Council of Indian in 1835: "English is worth better knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic that the natives are desirous to be taught English.....we must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern....."(as cited in Kachru & Nelson, 2006, pp. 145-155).

Thus the British themselves brought many innovations to the English language system to give identity to new concepts and objects. For example, in English culture there might be a class system but no institution could be compared with the caste system. This new social dimension called for adjustment to the English language in order to retain a smooth flow in business interactions. So, words like "Brahmin", "sacred cow", "avatar", "karma", "yogi" etc., were coined.

## 2.07 Nativization Of English

Nativization refers to the adaptation of English in particular socio-cultural setting and leads to qualifying descriptors as "US English", "Indian English", or "Singaporean English" (Kachru, 1983). Code-switching and code mixing are two tools that are employed by bilinguals all over the world to express local socio-cultural meaning in

English. However, for these two processes to happen in a bilingual's formal and informal codes, considerable "nativization" of the second language must take place in all walks of life.

The primary reason for English to become so popular among all masses irrespective of religion, race, or caste was its unifying character (Kachru, 2005). The elites wanted to learn it because they wanted to be educated in modern sciences and gain favor in the social circle of the British Raj. On the other hand, the poor, who could not learn the prestigious languages of the time (e.g. Sanskrit and Persian), could have the equal opportunity to learn English. This social aspect that language was not under control of any elite based upon caste or religion won instant success for locals and British. Thus it became the preferred language by nearly everyone. This is aptly related in one of the addresses by S. Radhakrishnan, an educator and a philosopher, ".....it is true that English language has been one of the potent factors in the development of unity in the country. Infact the concept of nationality and this sentiment is a gift of this language....." (as cited in Kachru, 2005, p. 64).

Another naturally occurring device for nativization of a language is "borrowing" items from the local language in a new situation. Thus, South Asian English has a sizable vocabulary borrowed from Indian languages. These lexical items can be divided into two groups, mainly lexical items that have assimilated across British and American English (e.g., mantras, pundit, purdah, avatar, kurta, pariah, etc.) and words that have not crossed borders (but are very much in use in local English varieties). Such words in local

use are: *gherao*, surrounding and detaining a person to extract a concession; *janta*, masses; and *razakar*, volunteers.

Kachru (2006) and Smith (2008) also studied the phenomena of “loan translations” which are coined to represent the translations of the local concepts. For example “chewing stick” for a twig which is chewed at one side for cleaning teeth and “sacred thread” worn diagonally by both Muslims and Hindus. These occur even when no translation is involved. They are needed because these concepts are not present in local culture. Words like “love marriage” for marriages that are not arranged and “old houses” for long-term care facilities (e.g. nursing homes) are such examples.

Lexical hybridization is another phenomenon for nativizing the English variety in the region. These words are coined together from at least two different languages. (B. Kachru, 2005). This is the kind used in news items a lot. Some examples are “*lathicharge*” (baton charge) and “*policewala*” (policeman). I will discuss these lexical innovations in detail later in this chapter in the section “bilingual creativity in Pakistani English newspapers”.

Besides these lexical developments, social developments kept paving the way for native English variety. Three main areas of life—law, education, and government—were pre-dominantly operated in English. Even today, law in India and Pakistan is written in English. The system and policies of government and education, the genres of literacy and creative arts, and legislative infrastructure are all deeply marked by the usage of English (Annamalai, 2004).



At present, all of the South Asian region, specifically Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, present a new variety of English featuring advertisements on roadsides, news items in papers, and the medium of instruction in academic institutions. As Altais and Lowenberg (2001) concisely put it, “Nativisation brings forth a new variety of English and this means in terms of local norms, not in regards to British or American varieties” (p. 428). Anita Desai (1992) shares the same view: “The reason I am so fascinated by the English language is that it is really possible to do this with English; it is flexible, it is so elastic. It does take on all those Indian concepts and traditions and ways” (as cited in Kachru, p. 151).

Another important aspect is the creative literature that entails nativization by embedding the text within socio-cultural and historical values. It is in this sense that the cultural milieu of English has expanded. The textual cohesiveness is not necessarily canonical in structure like British or American English but has its own distinctness which involves lexical shifts and hybridizations through code-switching. Also rhetorical strategies, including similes and metaphors from local languages, have resulted in nativization of the English language (Kachru, 2006).

It is not that the issue of identity is never compounded with the countrywide usage of English in the region of the subcontinent. These emotions are expressed in various ways. One good example is of Ahmed Khawaja’s (1993) reaction towards Pakistani writer Bapsi Sidhwa’s novel *American Brat*. In his review of the book he writes:

The Karachi born, Lahore bred, and American based Bapsi has obviously decided to cater to her wide-eyed American audience, churning out whatever will be

enthusiastically lapped up by her publisher. If this means selling her own country short, Bapsi does not seem to be losing her sleep over it. After all nothing succeeds like success. So what if the Pakistanis are forced to eat crow in the bargain? (as cited in B. Kachru, p. 97).

Such reaction is not unique to Pakistan but to all countries in the region. This group feels culturally and linguistically betrayed by local English writers.

#### Sociolinguistic approaches

Once historical factors became the focus of studying code-switching patterns, sociolinguists took one step ahead and started to analyze the features of the code-switching and social situations which cause bi/multilinguals to use two languages in a single course of a conversation. Various contributors in Heller (Ed. 1988) investigate the speech patterns of who speaks what language to whom and when as well as the social factors which motivates the switch and the kinds of social meanings conveyed by it.

The sociolinguistic approach to code-switching was first noted by Edward Sapir (1921) who mentioned that language is bound to interact with neighboring languages or culturally dominated language and is not just a grammatical overlapping. He was of a view that language is a product of many fields of life interacting with each other.

It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often accused justly of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general. Whether they like it or not, they must become increasingly concerned with the many

anthropological, sociological, and psychological problems which invade the field of language (Sapir, 1929, p. 214).

In the 1960s Hymes (1964), expressed the same worry that the research conducted by the linguistics had severed its connection with the human conduct and feelings in the pursuit of formalist studies. Now more than four decades later, researchers like Myers-Scotton (2003), Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Baker (2008) and De Houwer (2008) are once again studying code-switching and bilingual education as the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the junction of all three aspects of language, culture, and society.

The following two studies are considered to be the most influential studies that helped analyze the features and social functions of code-switching shaped primarily from the social and political forces century ago. Though these models did not hint at the bilingual conceptual processing from one language to another language (the aim of this study), still these studies set the trend of looking at the phenomena of CS as a social process when one language is not enough to convey the meanings.

#### 2.08 Situational and Metaphorical Code-switching

Gumperz's (1971) work on code-switching is of value because he introduced the phenomena with regards to merging two previous separate groups, linguists and socio-culturists into one field, the field of sociolinguists. He started his research in Northern India and studied three levels of dialects. Later in 1963, he met Blom (cited in Nilep, 2006) and together they compared Hindi dialects with two dialects from Northern Norway in their research. In each population, local dialects were frequently observed in

informal settings like talking to neighbors while standard dialects were observed in formal settings such as across “ritual barriers”. In India these barriers are found in caste and village groupings and in Norway in academic, administrative or religious settings. They came to the conclusion that, “the linguistic separateness between dialect and standard is conditioned by social factors” as cited in Nilep (p. 7).

Blom and Gumperz posited that social setting restricts the selection of social variables. In a particular setting, one kind of code-switching may be more appropriate and the same speakers may choose another variety of code-switching in another kind of setting. They called this “situational switching”. For example the same group of teachers may alternate their language differently while talking in a cafeteria as opposed to when they are teaching in a class. In contrast, “metaphorical switching” occurs when two languages are used by bilinguals/multilinguals in a same setting. However, the researchers discuss this kind of variety in code-switching with reference to two dialects within one language. They gave the example of the clerks working in the bank who may greet each other in local dialect and transact business in the standard dialect.

This study was in reference to the different dialects within same language. Maehlum (1996), who did not consider two local dialects in a village of Norway as two distinct language varieties, criticized this model. She concluded that any suggestions of local and standard variety are actually “idealized entities” (p. 753) and cannot be empirically identified. Furthermore, she also pointed out that in rural areas of Norway, local and standard dialects are not two distinct codes. This way she questioned the very foundations of this research by pointing out that the actual language repertoire of the

dialects are not reported anywhere. Still, this research was able to open a new venue to study the motivational factors that cause bilinguals to alter their speech in different or similar settings.

Another model, by Scotton (1993) discussed below takes one more step to analyze CS as a mental process. She discussed her “Markedness Model” to elaborate the social psychological approach when bilinguals make a code-choice based upon the identity of the concept and situation involved in a conversation. Thus in this model, Scotton hints upon the mental processing that goes behind utterances in a conversation based upon which a person decides to code-switch. This is also a theory behind this study which suggests to students to process meaning and check how much of it is conveyed in TL.

#### 2.09 Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model

Scotton explained her model in the book *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa (1993)*. This model explains that the choice of code selected by the bilinguals relies heavily upon the social roles of a community. Social roles are described in terms of “rights and obligations” (RO) which must be mutually understood by the bilingual speakers engaged in conversations. RO is further explained as the understanding of the current situation, attitudes, and feelings of the listener. When this is understood then the speaker may initiate negotiation over relevant social roles acquired at both ends. Myers-Scotton believes that for this mutual understanding to occur, bilinguals must share common understanding of both language codes and then make a code choice.

She states the Markedness Model in the form of one principle and three maxims. The Negotiation Principle model is, "Choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and address for the current exchange" as cited in Nilep (2006, p. 11).

Auer (1998) criticized the Markedness Model as dependent too much on external knowledge, including assumptions about what speakers understand and believe. Auer asserts that it is possible to study the features of code-switching without looking at the "conversation-external knowledge of the language use" (p. 10). This criticism seems valid as it implies that bilinguals cannot code-switch when they do not have information about the current situation. Auer argues that instead of studying CS as a result of speaker's inner state knowledge of the situation, it should account for the shared feelings and knowledge of all speakers in the conversation.

Also Nartey (1982) noticed that most of the time bilinguals/multilinguals code-switch readily in conversation at hand naturally without the knowledge of linguistic constraints (Poplack, 1974) or model of choice (Scotton, 1993). Nartey conducted his study in a pub where he recorded the conversations of university students and analyzed them. Nevertheless, this model is considered the most influential and complete model of code-switching motivations. Once, features of CS were analyzed in reference to the situation of the speakers, the next step by sociolinguistics was to examine the features of the CS in conjunction with the grammatical analysis.

## 2.10 Grammatical analysis of CS by socio-linguists

The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) by Scotton (1993) provides a scheme of grammatical structure in an utterance with a code-switch. Thus, it combines the two approaches. The model argues that for a switch to happen it is important for the two grammars to keep their functional status intact in a conversation. This is in parallel to Poplack's (1974) notion of *Equivalent Constraint*. Poplack based her observations on more than one sentence and proposed that code-switching happens where grammar in both languages map onto each other. Similarly, Scotton (1993) proposed three constituents of bilinguals participating in a conversation and engaging in code-switches. The following example illustrates the use of alternate languages without grammars being disturbed.

Late in the evening of November 24, the last of the carrancistas evacuated the capital, and the Centaur's troops entered the city. But not at all like *aguilas* (eagles), more like *cautro gatitos muy quietitos* (Four very still kittens). Out of their *mundo*, (world)(ML+EL)they were lost (ML Island) (Scotton, 1993, p. 6).

Both matrix language (ML) and embedded language (EL) islands show internal structural-dependency relations, and are well-formed according to their respective grammars. The ML+EL constituents are also well formed according to the ML grammar.

This model is in contrast to the earlier models which considered surface features as matching word order between two languages (Pfaff, 1979 and Poplack, 1988, as cited in Scotton, 1993). This model mentions the insertion at the level of much more abstract situations. The ML island results when insertion takes place and the option to select EL

is not exercised. On the other hand EL island results when at the conceptual level, switching is required to state specific meaning.

The present study also proposes to put the insertions at the level of conceptual meaning when bilinguals process information in L1 mental lexicon and incorporate into ML. Participants in the pre-instruction and post-instruction stages code-switched along the same lines proposed by the MLF Model: code-switched tokens must merge with the grammar of ML and should occur at the abstract level when no other way sufficiently provides meaning in a certain context. There are some other issues in the literature (as discussed above in this chapter and chapter 1), where studies attempt to differentiate CS from code mixing and borrowing. The following analysis is mentioned to clarify the kind of CS accepted in the present study.

### 2.11 Code-switching verses Mixing

Another phenomenon which is a topic of great interest in the research is a differentiation between code-switching and mixing. Terms like Hinglish, Spanglish and Wenglish are often used in a derogatory fashion. On the other hand, it may be accepted and taken as routine in certain bilingual or multilingual communities. One question frequently asked and answered in the literature is: How can one distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing? Many researchers have tried to propose a solution but agreeing on labels for these innovative varieties is a problem. Some refer to it as similar to code-switching (Bouman, 1998). Some describe it as word changes at the intrasentential level and reserve switching for the intersentential level (Poplack 1988). Still others see it as the mixing of two languages beyond “switching” with more



integration of the two varieties (Kachru, 2008). This view is more popular in the studies and most research is conducted with this point of view. Consider the following examples, which I can safely say, are common to observe in the utterances of Pakistani bilinguals.

1. Why does not he speak in Urdu? Hum *hamesha Urdu mein is se baat karte hain*. (We always try to speak in Urdu with him?) I really do not understand?
2. *Ab dekho na ise kon samjhae?* (Now who can make him understand?) I think million times *is se baat kar ke dekh liya hai*. (I have tried to reason with him.)
3. *Car ki zaroorat nahi hai* (is not needed). *Waise bhi* (and then) *walk karnese healthy rahte hain* (keeps you healthy). *Tum bhi daily exercise karne ki aadat banao* (You should also exercise daily).

First example is inter-sentential, second is intra-sentential, and third is also a high degree of intra-sentential. However, all three are examples of code-mixing by the standards of modern research where frequency of embedded language is taken into account for such labeling (Pfaff, 1979). Also in the above sentences, the grammars are in accordance with each other. This kind of mixing is observed more in oral utterances rather than in the written corpus. Though grammars of the language pair involved are correct, code-switching occurs less and serves different purposes in written corpus (Callahan, 2006), which is discussed in detail in the last section of this chapter.

Another confusion of “CS verses borrowing” in the literature is addressed here to clarify the criterion of single insertions and single lexical sets considered as CS in this

study. These single lexical items and sets represent a whole concept in Urdu (in this study); therefore, such items are common CS sites in written English in Pakistan.

### 2.12 Code-switching verses Borrowing

The term borrowing has been used to indicate foreign loan words or phrases not part of the spoken language that have become an integral part of the recipient language (Baker, 2008). This can be generalized as the insertion of lexical items that are not a part of Matrix Language but are included to convey specific meaning. Without such borrowings, certain concepts cannot be conveyed. Thus, it is a natural process for languages to borrow words when they come into contact with another language. Sapir was the first one to realize that “borrowing” is a result of historic events which reshaped culture relations and so is a natural phenomenon (para. 3). However, he did not specify what kind of “borrowing”.

Recently, some sociolinguists, specifically Myers-Scotton (1993) and Bentahila and Davies (2008), argue against distinguishing between the two terms. Others have distinguished between them by labeling those which carry social meanings constitute code-switching and those which do not as “borrowings” (Bouman, 1988). He also took into account the level of integration and frequency to decide between code-switching and borrowing. Sridhar (1980) distinguished the phenomenon of *borrowing* which integrates the linguistic items into the “host system” as appose to the code-switching.

Myers-Scotton (1993) also made another distinction that code-switching essentially involves bilingualism while “borrowing” does not necessarily. She explains this especially with reference to the single insertions. Her claim is that if an insertion

carries a specific social meaning which is accessible to the bilingual register only, then it should be categorized as a code-switch. I have adopted this as the criterion for the insertions for this study. Only inclusion of those single items is accepted when it fulfills the specific social meaning in the local context. Also only frequency of the same word inter-sentential is accepted as CS so as not mix it with “code mixing”.

The models discussed above by the socio-linguistics combine the social and linguistic approach to study the phenomenon of the code-switching. All the models above derive their foundations from two aspects: social influences that shape the speech patterns in the communities and the analysis of the grammars of the two languages involved. In other words, these features are considered enough to legitimize the phenomenon of code-switching in the research. However, the above historical review and discussion of CS in the research literature is mentioned with reference to oral communication. The same social and grammatical features of CS can be observed in the written corpus. As hinted above, CS in written corpus (non-fiction) performs different functions; it is discussed in detail below because this study endeavors to regularize CS in students’ written work.

#### Code-switching in written corpus

As mentioned earlier, in the first chapter, mostly researchers have analyzed speech patterns in language pairs but very little research is conducted on a written corpus. In a written corpus, most studies examine the genre of fiction and very few have studied the phenomena in nonfiction. Forster (1970) and Pandit (1986) recorded some

early works in seventh century Irish poetry and in the plays of ancient India as cited in Callahan (2006).

Whinnom (1983) detected code-switching in Arabic/Hispano-Arabic poetry. He pointed out that Arabic text in an otherwise early Hispanic romance must be due to sociolinguistic situation when Arabic was the dominant language due to rulers. Though, Whinnom observed that insertions from Arabic were limited to the one or two words, still their presence showed that the poet wanted to be noticed by the rulers of that time.

Similarly, Kasanga (2002) traced code-switching in Mphahlele's writings where he made use of hybrid lexical items in English writings to keep his work closer to his surroundings. Kasanga referred to it as *Metaphoric Studies*, a phenomena getting popular with pragmatic linguistics. Other African writers like Nanguwa Thiong, Gabriel Okara, and Chinua Achebe also used hybrid language forms and CS to maintain authentic local flavor and to make their writings more cosmopolitan. Kasanga mentioned that the reason that these writers resorted to CS and hybrid forms was the difficulty in finding suitable lexical items.

Written code-switching between all language pairs occurs less in nonfiction than fiction. McClure (1998) mentions that this is due to the serious functions of writing in nonfiction. The issue thus raised is artificial verses authentic. She studied code-switching between national language and English in Mexico, Spain, and Bulgaria. In her next study, she also included magazine articles from these countries and found switches to English only took place when it was a prestige factor.

Callahan (2006) also noticed that code-switches that occur in nonfiction access people after much editing and proof reading, though less in number is an authentic phenomena to study. CS in written work involves more thought processing and consideration. It is not as casual as in oral conversation. Burciaga (1992) proposed two reasons for less code-switching in written corpus mainly because it is not limited to one community to adopt certain *rights and obligations* or *unmarked code choice* (Myers-Scotton 1993). Secondly, it is used in the main narrative where it represents the author's voice as characters are absent.

Stolen (1992) studied the Danish/English code-switching in the United States. She pointed out that in the more formal written genre of a Danish heritage association's meeting, the corpus of minute meetings, and written reports had minimal code-switches; translations were used instead. She also pointed out that it was not the case in an office environment when officials frequently engaged in informal or formal conversations.

Miner (1998) analyzed two dozen collections of English newspaper headlines where he found code-switching in Swahili performing a variety of functions such as citation, formation of puns, and cultural representation. Moyer (1998) mentioned one column published in *Panorama*, a newspaper in Gibraltar, because he noticed that code-switching in the article occurred only during the dialogue between two fictitious characters and commented about many translations that were awkward to read but clearly evidence of the author's refrain of making switches.

Callahan (2005) also mentioned in her work after studying the corpus of 30 Spanish/English texts that written code-switching does not require a separate model of syntactic constraints. However, she pointed out that different language pairs can have different matrices but in all cases grammar of two languages must remain correct for a successful code-switch to happen. Bolonyai (2006) also discussed the similarities based upon grammatical and discourse features in the corpus of 30 novels and short stories and found fundamental similarities between spoken and written code-switching.

Thus, the majority of code-switching in nonfiction has fixed standards because of the seriousness of purpose in writings. However, its occurrence has specific aims of forming puns, citing, highlighting or suggesting cultural non-equivalence by adding words or phrases from the other language than Matrix language (ML). Pandit (1986) reported the most common sites for code-switching in Hindi-Urdu/English in nonfiction. She mentioned greater representations in newspapers, advertisements, movie reviews, and fashion tabloids and even in criticism essays on literature in newspapers. This is true in the case of English newspapers in the sub-continent too. Though the phenomenon occurs much less, it performs very specific functions of conveying a meaning in the news. Baumgardner (1996) also mentioned the same results of specific functions performed by CS in English journalism in Pakistan. It is discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter, too.

In a sense, there is a hierarchy where CS occurs. It is more frequent in the oral speech and more casual forms of writing. CS in official documents and non-fiction genres is much less and occurs only to perform specific functions. The variety of

functions performed by CS in all fields of life eventually marked its presence in academic settings. It was bound to be noticed by bilingual learners and teachers because of the identity conflicts resulting in low performance in foreign language learning settings (FLL). This initiated the positive step in bilingual education when scholars started to recommend CS as a language resource to maximize the FLL.

Following is the review of the stance in contemporary research regarding CS in an academic setting.

#### Code-switching in an academic setting

Despite the occurrence of CS in all walks of life in professional fields, it was reluctantly accepted in academic settings. Now the contemporary research has re-oriented itself and the role of using L1 in conjunction with L2 is redefined. The recent role of the use of L1 challenges the anti-L1 attitudes that had dominated the FLL pedagogy for several decades. Cook (1999; 2001), in particular, has raised the issue by founding his theory on the notion that L1 and L2 function simultaneously and that “L2 learners should be viewed as multi-competent language users than as deficient L2 users when compared to NS” (p. 185).

It is also recognized in the recent studies that the objective of learning L2 should never be undermined. Because of this, teachers need to plan communicative and written activities accordingly without propagating negative attitude towards the students’ L1. Macaro (2001) proposes that CS, when used economically, can be used as a language resource to transform the task of FLL into attainable one.

A study by Scott and Fuenta (2008) directly addresses the question of how L1 can be used as a resource. The study was conducted with French and Spanish learners. They were audio-taped for the conversation analysis. The results showed that using L1 while solving the grammar problems was extremely beneficial for the students.

Hancock (1997) observed in his study that not all “L1 is bad” (p. 218). He found it very useful in group work when students used L1 to clarify tasks to their peers silently. It saved teaching time and improved the performance in a given time. He also recommended that a student can also act as a referee to report the unwanted L1 use for a teacher who is worried about the quantity of L1 use.

Liebscher and O’Cain (2005) produced similar results when they analyzed CS patterns in NS of English in German learning classrooms. They observed that allowing the use of L1 to have specific functions, like contextualizing the meaning, helped a class fellow. In addition to allowing only certain amount of L1 as a resource, they also identified the situations of CS were similar to the bilingual situations outside the classrooms.

Thus, another argument used by the researchers is that allowing CS in a classroom is similar to replicating the bilingual social community outside the school environment. Students feel more comfortable and it reduces the alienation in a FLL setting. Thus allowing some CS in a class can directly address the issue of identity crises among bilingual learners which can reduce the dropout rates. Bauer (2000) found similar results in her shared reading with the preschooler in German. She observed that the child code-switched in the situations similar to the bilingual situation outside a



school. Also that oral interaction in both languages did not confuse her but rather added to her comprehension.

Ellwood (2008) investigated the relationship between CS and identities in a classroom. The class comprised Asian and European students. The students did CS on three occasions: to re-align with the tasks if they missed something, to criticize the teaching method, and to express global interaction. So, Ellwood draws teachers' attention to the fact that CS can be used to bridge identity crises in FLL classroom.

Besides the planned recommended use of L1 in learner and teacher talk, research is also beginning to pay attention to the expressive rights of the L2 learners in L1. Again, some parameters need to put in place but allowing the use of L1 features in composition may enhance the originality and understanding of the content in the regions where English is the official language with another national language. Kinloch (2005) advocates for the students to have the right to use their own language in composition courses where they feel meaning is not meaningfully conveyed. Her article revisits the historical significance and pedagogical value of the "resolution.....of student teacher exchanges in its advancement of strategies that invite language variations into composition courses..." (p. 84). Though she does not use the word CS, her references to the use of "mother tongues" in a classroom whenever, she "felt the need to" (p. 107) is along the same lines. The above review of the recent research about the use of CS in a classroom for oral and written purposes is clearly evidence of allowing students to CS when required. It can maximize the performance by cutting the overload of cognitive processes in L2.

Since the present study uses CS practiced in English journalism in Pakistan as a standard for students to follow, the following discussion explains the features of written code-switching in writing. The following analysis is a detailed one and represents CS in its fullest expression which mostly is routed to convey social meanings when its expression is not fully possible in English. For this focused study, only this feature is kept constant to study the CS as bilingual mind processes information from one to other language.

#### Bilingual Creativity in Newspapers of Pakistan

It is in literature and journalism that the stylistic innovations and experimentation has found its pinnacle. The tradition of English writing dates back from pre-Partition days. However, in recent decades, writing is recognized nationally. Annually, a national award for literature and journalist of the year is awarded by the National Academy of Letters.

The English press in South Asia has a long history dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Baumgardner, 1996). In the subcontinent, the English press has immense influence, disproportionate to its circulation. The reason being that the educated class, which is also influential in the country's policy making, reads and patronizes it. One can travel in any part of the country and find that in any average-sized city there is at least one English newspaper in circulation. Over the years, the English language has become the source to convey the messages which contain cultural concepts not embodied in the ideology of the original language. The rules have been refashioned to enable the

conveyance of reporting of news items. This serves a variety of purposes like mentioning irony, satire, and cultural meanings.

### 2.13 Code-switching as an L1 resource to convey meanings

For inner-circle speakers of English, who have learned a second language in a classroom setting, code-switching is perhaps a flawed phenomenon. Using an Urdu/Hindi word in English is going against a code, a *mistake*. They are likely to think of it as “filling gap in their linguistic repertoires by employing a familiar term from another language”(Tay, 1998 as cited in Nelson & Kachru, 2006).

The South-Asian lexical intrusion into the English language is mainly of two types (also discussed under the heading of *Nativization*): one kind has assimilated in British English (e.g. sherbet/sorbet, almirah, and mantras) and other kind which has not yet crossed the boundary but is frequently found in Pakistani news items (e.g. gherao, janta, kufr, and sifarish). The lexical stock of single items may be divided into three classes (Kachru, 2005):

- First class includes single items which are borrowed from Urdu but have undergone certain semantic shifts when written in English. Like Avatar is autar, almirah is almari, coolie is culee, pukka is paka and purdah is parda.

The other kind is without semantic shift. This may cause comprehension problems to NS of English language as these do not occur in English registers and are not found in dictionaries. The italicized words may cause comprehension problems for a NS of English. Consider the following example:

- “One of the two incidents a 10-year-old boy died as a result of being struck on the head by his *qari* at a *madressah* in a village in Punjab’s district. The functionary responsible for registering FIRs said that since the victim’s family had forgiven the *qari* and that the police was not required to intervene” (By I.A. Rehman, 07 Jan, 2010, The News).
- The second class includes hybridized lexical items consisting of elements of two languages. Suffixes like *ism*, *ed*, and *dom*, are added to Urdu words. Like *challaned*, *goondaism*, and *fashionzada*. This is done other way around too, meaning adding suffixes with Urdu words. For example, *lotacracy* is one popular expression to talk about turncoats in political system. The word “lota” itself means a pot for abulation. When it is joined with the English suffix “ism” it takes altogether different meaning.
  - Third class is of hybrid innovations. Baumgardener (1998) further divides this class into three types:
    - i. Hybrid collocations: These mostly occur in political registers. Like *Mutahida Qaumi Movement* is one of the major political parties; and *sarmayadar class* means elite class of the society.
    - ii. Hybrid lexical sets: This is functionally restricted semantic set that operated in one register. One good example is *pardah woman*. This is used only in social context of Islam. However, the word *pardah* does not have any register restriction when used alone in Urdu language.

iii. Hybrid reduplication: This class is comprised of two elements from two languages having the same connotative meaning. Such as *court kechehri*, and *cotton kapas*.

(Baumgardner (1998) and Kachru (2005) have mentioned these innovations in regards to the bilingual creativity in fiction. However, the same applies to the journalistic writings, too, and which is why I have cited them.)

Besides single lexical items, many Urdu idioms and phrases are used as such in English newspapers. These occurrences at the phrase and clause level do not pose any ungrammatical effect on English syntax (Anwar, 2007). As these *loans* have their own specific functions of manifesting cultural identity, researchers do not consider these as *borrowings*, mainly, because these Urdu loans have equivalent English words but are not preferred to use because of distinct cultural meanings associated with them.

Consider following examples:

- He is called *sher ka bacha* (son of lion) and *mard ka bacha* (son of man) (*The Dawn*, 2008).
- Rohit also revived the age old *warak ka kaam* (work of silver and gold) once used for Mughal royalty (January, 2005, *The Dawn*).

In Pakistani English, Urdu metaphors and symbols, are unique to Pakistani experience and occur quite frequently and regularly. These metaphors reflect typical Pakistani social customs, localized attitudes and behaviors. These are not literally true but mostly are based on similarity or analogy between different things or situations. In order to grasp the meaning of the metaphor, as it was intended by the speaker/writer, it is

important that the listener/reader is familiar with the cultural background of the context in which it has been used. Typically, metaphors are culturally-loaded expressions whose meaning has to be inferred through reference to shared cultural knowledge (Littlemore, 2001).

Consider the example of the word “Khaki”. The word “khaki” is the name of the color that denotes the Pakistan Army. In Pakistan, the Army took over the democratic government several times. Different politician joined hands with Army Generals for their personal benefits. They have been termed as ‘chamchas’, as in the example. “We in Pakistan are being pulled in different directions. While the *khakis (army)* and their *chamchas (spoons)* control the country’s real estate” (May 21, 2006, *The Dawn*).

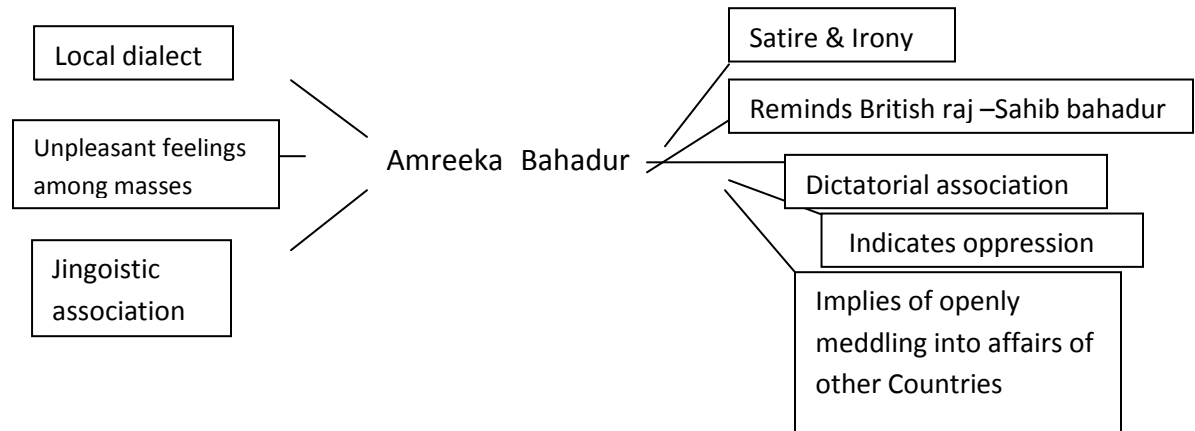
Similarly, consider the following example,

“There goes Amreeka Bahadur, once again doing exactly what has been always done. Richard Holbrooke, the czar of American policy planning for Afghanistan and Pakistan (Afpak) who will soon be in Islamabad, “Political instability is always a concern in any country ... but if we are asked, and people think it will help, as in the past, we will (help) (Kamran Shafi ,Jan.12, 2010).

*Amreeka Bahadur’s* literal translation means *Brave America*. For a native speaker the meaning is very clear with a slight confusion when the word “*czar*” comes later in the sentence. What he would not understand is satire and irony behind this coinage. Just check below how many cultural connotations should be known before NS would know the actual message of this news item.

Figure 2.1

*Multiple meanings attendant with CS in English news item*



These innovations not only make Pakistani English in newspapers creative but interesting too. Once the underlying meaning is understood, one enjoys discovering meanings. Also the above examples clearly exhibit that these innovations, done mainly through code-switching, are important to negotiate social meanings and are content specific. Their usage cannot be considered as a tool to fill in the lexical gaps and cannot be considered an “interference phenomena” as pointed out in some studies mentioned above in this chapter. The possible equivalent English words simply do not bring the treasure of socio-cultural meanings to convey real message. The journalists are not “borrowing” these Urdu words but actually retaining the information in the news.

The present study also suggests that training students to discern junctures of CS can be a useful writing technique to follow. In other words, the appropriate use of L1 can be used as a resource to retain originality, can minimize load of cognitive processes

in L2, and can bridge identity crises faced by the students in FLL settings. This all can be achieved by keeping the local concepts intact in their original language in a written work.

The above review of literature regarding major works which clarify confusions, and prevalent journalistic trends in the field of CS can be summed up as follows to apply to the present study when participants code-switch in this study.

- Code-switched items must not upset the grammatical structure of matrix language (ML) which is English in this case (Scotton 1995, MLF model).
- Code-switched items in Urdu must convey social meaning not present in the system of ML (B. Kachru, 2004).
- Since CS occurs less and is restricted to single insertions, single lexical sets, or idioms, only such items will be accepted (Callahan, 2004).
- Lexical hybrid items can be inserted into ML when required.

The next question arises how can a teacher train the students to avoid inappropriate usage of this otherwise indigenous writing tool? The following section addresses this question by explaining the theoretical underpinning previously mentioned in the studies. How it is applied to the present study is detailed in chapter 3.

#### Conceptual processing from one language to another

In the present study, the practice of CS is viewed as a psycho-linguistic phenomenon in which the bilingual mind performs conceptual processing when operating in two languages. The understanding of the process is still new to the research scene and no model proposed so far has specified strong results.



However, in order to understand the mental processing of a bilingual mind, two translation routes are proposed in the studies: L1 –L2 (forward translation) and L2 to L1 (backward translation). Studies by Kroll and Stewart (1994) proposed that L1 –L2 is conceptual processing and L2-L1 is lexical. They proposed that word association level in both languages is stored in two different stores but conceptual knowledge is kept in one store.

Thus, in *Word Association Model* two kinds of links are present: lexical links between L1 and L2 and conceptual links between L1 and the conceptual store. This also implies that only L1 has access to conceptual knowledge. In contrast, concept mediation model has only conceptual links so cross-language processing is mediated by a concept. These two models were strongly dependent upon the L2 proficiency and word type, still these proposed the transference of the concepts from L1 to L2 as the only option, since there are no links between L2 and concept store. In CS too, insertions and lexical items are single words but their associations in L2 are difficult to find. So it can be easily assumed that CS (L2-L1) is desirable when a concept cannot be translated in L2. The *concept mediated model*, on the other hand proposes only conceptual links but does not account for the cross-language representation of the concepts.

To address this concern the model was revised again to introduce two directions of translations for conceptual representations in an appropriate way. This revised hierarchical model assumes that both “routes are active in translation processes due to asymmetrical links between L1, L2 and conceptual representations” as cited by Salamoura and Williams (2006, p. 35).

Heredia (1997), however, observed, “RHM does not allow for the possibility that effects of the conceptual translation, and strength of the word translation are not fixed characteristics in bilingualism” (p. 37). As a result, the model was again revised by Salamoura and Williams (2006) who introduced bi-directional translation methods to process conceptual level (p. 49). In this model, too, conceptual links are stronger for L1. Also, it assumed that backward translation suggested decisive role in presenting conceptual knowledge. Later Hatzidaki and Pothos (2008) also, suggested in their study the flexible use of the translation routes for conceptual and lexical connections that fluent bilinguals engage in, which largely depends upon cognitive task at hand. These models propose that conceptual processing is stronger in L1 irrespective of the proficiency levels of the bilinguals. Since CS is a phenomenon occurring in the bilinguals proficient in both languages, it is assumed for the present study that for cross linguistic conceptual representations it is most likely that participants will perform L2 to L1 translation.

What is critical from the discussion of the above models for the present study is bi-directional translation method as a variable to present concepts in both languages. The revised model also assumes weaker links for conceptual knowledge from L2 to concept store. However, it is desirable to mention that these models study the transfer of the concepts through translations from one to another language only in the cases when concepts are present in both languages. Also, the studies contained mostly the translations of nouns, verbs and adjectives and did not have abstract concepts as tokens. These situations are entirely opposite to the process of CS where mostly

concepts are not present in one of the languages involved and such concepts have no lexical representations in other language.

Still, as models discuss how bilingual minds process and represent information, the assumptions can be applied to CS. As in the present study, students will also apply bi-directional translation method to see if conceptual processing is achieved through forward translation (L1- L2) or backward translation (L2 –L1). Also, the purpose of the study is not to see which method renders what kind of results but if a combination with acceptability judgment tasks can help students to decide if conceptual representation is effectively achieved or not.

To investigate the above mentioned purpose of the study, the following null hypotheses were investigated by the paired t-tests to get statistical estimations.

Null Hypotheses:

1. There will be no difference in the acceptance rates from pre to post instruction stages of this study.
2. There will be no difference in the number of attempts from pre to post instruction stages of the study.

Research questions:

1. Is there a significant difference in the acceptance rates of highlighted code-switched Urdu items in the English articles in pre and post instruction stages of the study?
2. Is there difference in the number of attempts for Urdu code-switched items by the students in the pre and post instruction stages of the study

### Conclusion

This chapter gave an over view of the literature to summarize the historical emergence of the CS in the language of multi/bilinguals and the purposes gained by it. Also how modern studies legitimize the use of L1 (as CS) in an academic setting too. Chapter 3 will detail the features of the present study which include information about the setting, participants and materials.

## Chapter 3: Method

### Outline

This chapter starts with a brief description of the study and its purposes. The research questions are posed to address the purposes of this study. They are followed by the details of the setting and participants. Finally, the resources used to develop materials for data collection are described.

#### 3.01 Purpose

The purpose of the study is to determine if bi-directional translation methods and acceptability judgment tasks help students in the School of Communication in deciding when to code-switch in written work in Pakistan. This is to ensure that CS is used appropriately without undermining second language learning in a classroom setting in Pakistan.

#### 3.02 Research questions:

1. Is there a significant difference in the acceptance rates of highlighted code-switched Urdu items in English articles in the pre- and post-instruction stages of the study?
2. Is there a difference in the number of attempts made to use Urdu code-switched items by the students in the pre- and post-instruction stages of the study?

### Participants

The study was conducted in two parts with two groups of participants. The first group included journalists who completed a questionnaire to provide the study with contemporary CS trends in the Pakistani journalism field. Details are provided in section

3.03. The second group included 52 participants in pre-instruction and 41 participants in post-instruction. The participants were from the School of Communication Studies at a local university in Lahore. Participants were predominantly junior and senior students with the ages ranging from 19 to 21 who have maintained GPAs ranging from 3.2 to 3.8. Students whose GPAs were less than 3.2 were not included in the study. Thirty-six scripts were selected for the pre- and post-instruction phases. The requirement of high proficiency levels in both Urdu and English was set in place to ensure a greater probability that students would maintain the structural requirements of both grammars in functional status while employing switches in writings. Out of 36 subjects, 14 had cleared the Cambridge O-Level (Ordinary Level, which is equal to grade 10) at the time of the study while all other students were from private sector schools with at least 12 years of English medium instruction. This was intended again to ensure good proficiency levels in both languages. Participants were not informed of the present research and were asked to code-switch in routine to prevent any conscious effort.

During the instructional session, only students who had participated in the study during the first phase were allowed to take part. This was done for statistical purposes. Students were advised to attend both instructional sessions in order to participate in the second phase of the study. The post-instructional portion of the study included 41 participants, but the results of 36 were selected so that the number of participants matched the pre-instruction phase for statistical convenience. The participants had accumulated a GPA of not less than 3.2 and not greater than 3.8. All participants

attended both instructional sessions and were juniors with the exception of only ten seniors who attended the post-instruction stage of the study.

### Materials

The literature review in chapter 2 and the section on “CS in Pakistani English newspapers” was the primary resource in identifying the kind of switching found in non-fiction written corpora and the types of situations that motivate the switching. In addition to the sources mentioned in the literature review, a questionnaire completed by ten journalists to further validate the criteria for the raters who analyzed the Urdu code-switched tokens found in English articles was used. (See appendix A)

#### 3.03 Analysis of the questionnaire filled by the experts

Three trends were generally observed. First, journalists preferred direct insertions over equivalent word for word translation in English when a local social or political concept was to be incorporated in the English writing. This trend was supported 9 out of 10 times in response to items 3 and 4 in the questionnaire. For example:

3. “Back then a young man did not need any *recommendations (sifarish)* to get a job...” (*The News*, Sept., 16, 2009).
4. Women were flogged for the crime of showing an inch of their ankles as they walked wearing *all-enveloping shrouds (“Burqa”)*.....” (*The Dawn*, Jan., 23, 2010).

Second, journalists also exhibited an inclination to use Urdu terms that are frequently used by common people even when equivalent translations exist (Item#8) or through devising lexical hybridized words (Item #11). Consider the following examples:

3. Yet they have no compunction at all living in Council i.e. virtually free housing; drawing welfare, in many cases fraudulently; and using the **kufaar's** National Health Service, heating and all (By Kamran Shafi Jan, 2010).
4. "...populated by flinty-eyed *begums* (ladies) heady with the reek of money..." (by Chris Cork, April 3, 2010).

The word "kufaar" has an equivalent English translation, "infidels," but current journalistic standards approve of the original word because most of the readership is bilingual and the connotation is different for different religions and cultures. In cases like this, participants were informed about such situations. Other words like "jihad", "jihadi", "madressah", "haram", "Diktat", and "sharia" are some other examples of highlighted words as potential junctures for code-switching included in the study.

Similarly, Cork uses the word *begums* instead of "ladies" only because he wants readers to visualize rich women in Pakistan who wear black eye makeup in a particular way that is special to the region of the sub-continent. Also, satire is clearer when he code-switches.

Third, journalists showed conviction of not doing literal translations of words (Item # 5) and especially idioms when not originally present in English language. They call in their professional jargon, "forced or pseudo translations." For example,

5. "...arriving in Pakistan waslike a thirsty man getting to an oasis in the desert..." (Kamran Shafi, Sept., 16, 2009).



6. “....It would be far more appropriate to change the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) slogan of *'bread, cloth, shelter'* to *'boot, sticks, slap'*”( Kamran Shafi, Sept., 16, 2009).

(Examples are taken from the articles used in the study.)

The reasons for the preferred code-switching situations selected by the journalists can be summed up by this fact: English newspapers in Pakistan have a primarily bilingual audience. This kind of audience has high proficiency levels in both languages and can easily spot these instances and take it as “inappropriate English”. Thus, journalists prefer Urdu Code-switching or cultural borrowing for the three instances mentioned above. English newspaper policies do not encourage such translations. This trend is well documented by Kachru (2005), who dubbed it as “pragmatic motivations” derived from the social values accounting bilingual competence of the readers for granted, which in turn shapes newspaper policies in the sub-continent. Kachru also mentioned that this trend has increased in the new millennium.

A four point criterion that was developed based upon the literature review presented in Chapter 2 was changed by adding one more point as a result of the information obtained from the questionnaires. All of this is summed up as:

- Code-switched items must not upset the grammatical structure of matrix language (ML), which, in this case, is English (Scotton, 1995).
- Code-switched items in Urdu must convey social meaning not present in the system of ML (Baumgardner, 1998).

- It is appropriate to use Urdu insertions that are common to the masses even when equivalent English translations are available (B. Kachru, 2005, Y. Kachru, 2008).
- Since CS occurs less and is restricted to single insertions, single lexical sets, or idioms, only such items will be accepted (Callahan 2004).
- Lexical hybrid items can be inserted into ML when required.

Based on the four-point criterion above, the next step was to collect the data.

#### Data collection

Data was collected using a corpus of four English newspaper articles in the pre-instruction stage.

#### 3.04 Four English newspaper articles

Four newspaper articles from two leading English newspapers, *The Dawn* and *The News* were selected for the study. The articles were scanned carefully and all Urdu code-switched items were translated back into English. Then selection was made with the mutual consent of the raters to highlight the items. These highlighted items were of two kinds: possible tokens that could be code-switched in Urdu and distracters, which at first sight were made to look as easy translation opportunities which could just be inserted without upsetting the grammar of English sentence. However, these translations were not required, as inserted Urdu words conveyed the same meaning as English lexical items.

Example of a distracter: “The short answer is *power*. Other excuses for their murderous excuses are a fig-leaf: demands for the *Islamic Law* and the expulsion of foreign forces from the region are no more than *window-dressing*” (*The Dawn*, Jan., 23, 2010).

“Power” is an expected item to be code-switched with Urdu word “kursi” which means “simple chair.” However, in Pakistani politics, it means a seat in government to “govern” lives and over-ride law, which includes corruption and achievements of self-means. The original news item was also code-switched here. “Islamic Law” is also potential CS juncture. Originally, the author used “*sharia*” an Arabic word commonly used by the journalists and common masses. English equivalent translation conveys the same meaning. However, in such cases, translation is not preferred as the Arabic word is near to social practices. “Window-dressing” is absolutely a distracter, offering an easy opportunity to implement word for word translation. The translation in English conveys the same meaning without any social referent. The details of all the highlighted items in four articles are as follows:

Table 3.1

*Details of highlighted items in all four articles.*

Articles	Total words	Acceptable items	Distracters	Total items for CS
1	903	9	9	<b>18</b>
2	846	7	8	<b>15</b>
3	710	4	6	<b>10</b>
4	1,310	7	9	<b>16</b>
Total	3769	27	32	<b>59</b>

The highlighted items, which were mutually decided by the raters as possible junctures of code-switching are shown in table 2. There were two kinds: single insertions and single lexical sets or idioms in accordance with the set criteria.

Table 3.2

*Highlighted items as potential sites for CS in all four articles*

Single insertions	Single lexical sets or idioms
Queue (Qatar)	A Thirsty man getting to an Oasis (Jaisa pyasa Kunway ke paas)
Animal-like (Janwar jaisa)	Jute-woven beds (Charpoy or Charpai)
Recommendations (Parchey)	Three wheeled passenger carriers (Rickshaw)
Hospitable (Mehman nawaz)	One penny (Ek anna)
Power (Kursey)	Flat breads (Roti)
Martyr (Jihadi)	Land of the pure (Pak sar zameen)
Seminary (Madrassah )	Bread, cloth and shelter (Roti, kapra aur makan)
Illegitimate (Haram)	Islamic Law (shariat)
Rampage (Jihad)	All enveloping shrouds (Burka)
Ladies (Beghuma'at)	Women only sections in the household (Zana'an Khana)
People (Awa'am)	Plain cloth wound around the waist (Dhoti)
Crisp (Karak daar)	National dress (Shalwar qameez)

Namaz (prayer)

Toiling masses (Bechari awa'am)

Palms perpetually stretched out (Sada ke bhikari)

Note: All the English lexical items appeared in the newspapers as they are written in the table.

Parallel inclusions in a parenthesis show the possible Urdu code-switching as recommended by the two raters. It is imperative to understand the context in the sentences, so referring to appendices b, c d, and e is recommended.

Table 3.3

*List of all distracters in four articles*

Single items	Idioms or single lexical sets
Queue	Kidnapping for ransom
Content	Eradication of corruption
Violence	Fasting men and women
Humanity	Window dressing
Hospitable	Saw off
Mercilessly	Cede territory
Destabilization	Follow suit
Scriptures	Armored aunties
Illegitimate	Video-makers
Cohorts	Dead bird marinated in farmyard wastes

Rampage	Weighty books
Newlyweds	Greasy monkey bars
Festivity	Hiss like snakes in and out
Contact	Fled in fear long ago
Portly	Blood-chilling
	Tale of woe
	Some sort of misbehavior

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Note: Urdu CS is not provided in parallel parenthesis as these English words did not require CS.

The four articles were administered to the participants who read and code-switched highlighted items in Urdu in the pre-instruction stage of the study.

After 24 hours, participants completed two hours session of instruction that was mandatory for inclusion in the post instruction stage of the study. In this session students were taught how to apply bi-directional translation methods and acceptability judgment tasks to discern meaningful CS junctures in English articles. The instructors used a visual stepwise guide to take students through the whole procedure. See appendix F.

### 3.05 Intervention program and Instructional tool

A visual stepwise guide was developed to instruct students about how to use bi-directional translation methods and acceptability judgment tasks. These methods were chosen in the light of the theoretical underpinnings mentioned in the literature review of the “Research methods” in chapter 2 and the information mentioned in the

questionnaire by the journalists. Also this graphic organizer (see figure 2 below) was handed to the students at the end of sessions and many students were reported consulting it during the second phase of the research.

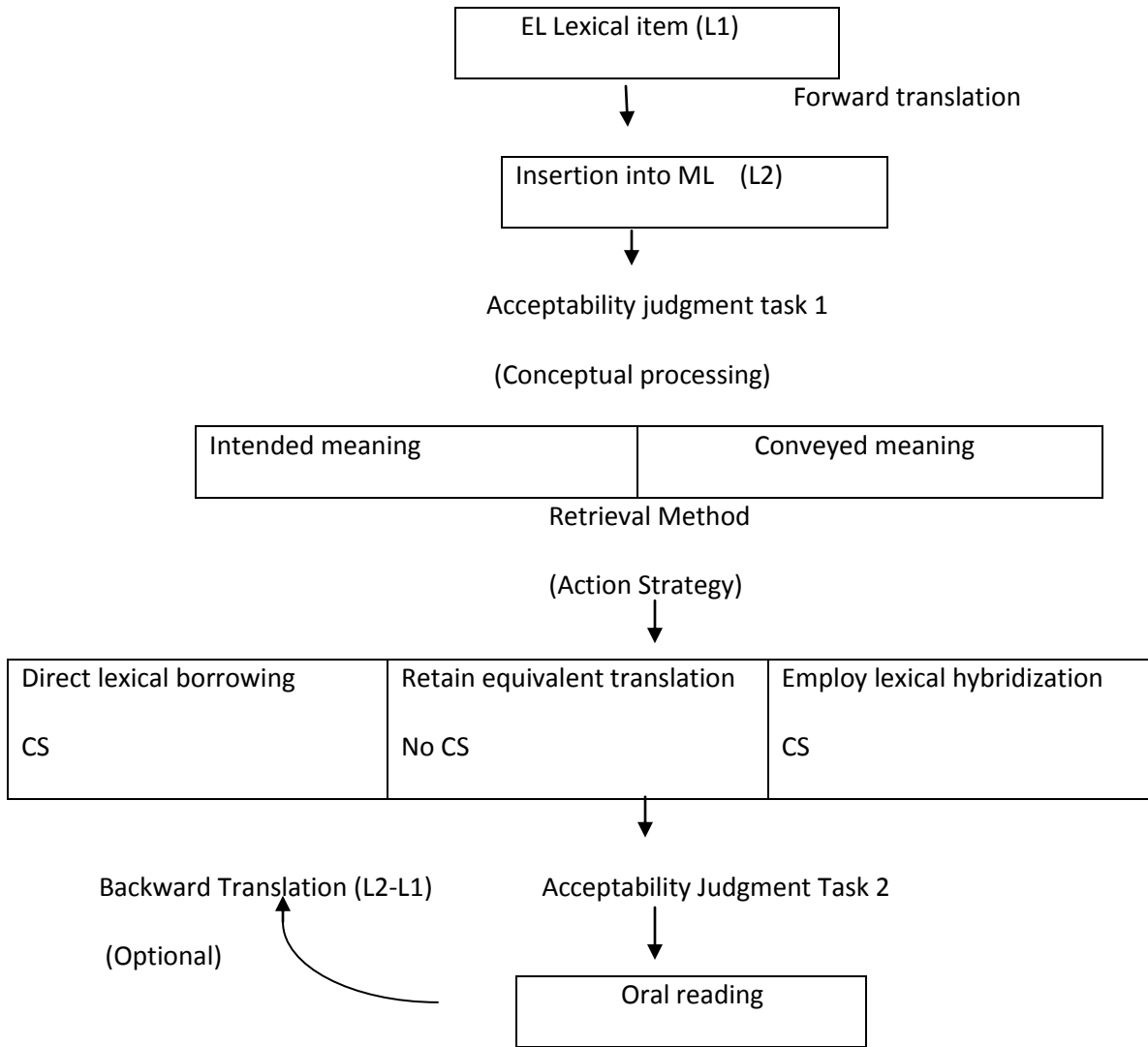
During this session all examples used to relate instances where code-switching could be accepted were removed from the newspapers. All were similar in theme to the highlighted items in the four articles. However, the instructor made sure that no direct reference from the selection of four articles was hinted at during the two sessions. Real samples from newspapers were shown to the students to explain instances when CS occurred. At the end of each session participants asked questions to clarify their understanding.

The participants practiced the whole procedure with a visual organizer in front of them (see figure 2). Participants started with the selection of the anticipated Urdu insertion and then translated it to English (L1-L2) to begin the process. Once finished, the student read the sentence and wrote the intended meaning in one column and how much was achieved through English translation in the other. Based upon this acceptability task, the student then chose one action strategy from the three retrieval methods. These were based upon the observations provided by the questionnaires (refer to the section “questionnaire” above in this section). Next, the student read aloud to detect any inaccuracy in the grammar of the English language and the extent to which meaning was conveyed.

If the oral reading indicated deficiency in the conveyed meaning, the student reverted back to the backward translation (L2-L1), thus opting for code-switching.

Figure 3.1

*Conceptual processing through bi-directional translations to perform CS in ML (English).*



Pedagical Methods used in the instructional tool



### 3.06 Bi-directional translation method

In this study, CS is viewed as a phenomenon of bilingual/multilingual conceptual mental processing, which involves the process of translation. In chapter 2, it is mentioned that previous studies employed forward and backward translation methods to observe the conceptual transference from one language to another language. As a result of these studies, forward translation is largely assumed to render word for word translation and backward is assumed to be conceptually mediated translation (Salamoura & Williams, 2006). Still, due to the lack of research in this field, no consensus has been found regarding which method yields better result. Therefore, this study employs the use of bi-directional translation methods (forward and backward) in conjunction with the acceptability judgmental tasks to regularize the standard of CS in the students' writings in Pakistan.

### 3.07 Acceptability judgment tasks

Two kinds of tasks were elaborated for the students in making decisions regarding the functional accuracy of CS. The first task, the "Retrieval Method," helped students to understand what forward translation achieves in terms of the intended meaning to be conveyed. Based upon this, a student could decide to pick one of the three options: retain equivalent translation, lexical hybrid translation, or direct insertions. The first option would mean no CS is required.

The second task was based upon oral reading. It allowed participants to internalize the whole sound and semantic construction of the sentence to examine the "alienation" of the structure in a sentence. This helped readers to detect elements like

forced translations, the extent to which meaning is conveyed, and an accuracy of a grammatical juncture in a sentence under considerations (Toribio & Rubin, 1996; Zephir, 1998). Zephir (1998) used the technique of reading aloud with young African-American children. The purpose was to give them a chance to determine whether or not an utterance conformed to Standard American English. The study found it a useful method as children could point out ill-formed phrases if not the exact grammatical error.

### Procedure

In the preparation phase of this study, the literature review in the sections “CS in an academic setting” and “CS in Pakistani English newspapers” in chapter 2 were revisited and the information was combined with the views of the journalists as reported in the questionnaires to develop four criterion for validating CS in the study.

In both stages students from the School of Communication Studies read English newspaper articles and code-switched in Urdu. Two raters, one from the Communication Studies school and one from the English department analyzed the code-switched items after the pre- and post-instructional stages and recommended the tokens for the first and second dependent variables. The inter-rater reliability was 100% as the highlighted items were first selected with consent and then recommended for data after consultation with each other.

Analyses of the data for two research questions was done by conducting paired t-tests to compare the differences in the acceptance rates and number of attempts in pre- and post- instruction stages.

## Summary

This study aims to explore if CS can be meaningfully implemented by the FLL in writing if certain procedures and standards are put in place. For this purpose, bi-directional translation methods in conjunction with acceptability judgment tasks were employed to investigate the differences between the acceptance rates in two stages of the study and how students can use acceptability tasks to determine whether or not to code-switch.

The chapter outlines the research questions as to how they can achieve the purpose of the study. Various sources were detailed which were used in the development of materials and the collection of data. The entire procedure was detailed as to how the study incorporated materials at different stages and how data was collected through the use of the materials.

Chapter 4 will detail the statistical and qualitative results of this study.

## Chapter 4: Results

As mentioned in chapter 3, the purpose of this study is to investigate if L1 can be used as resource to represent concepts from one language to another by CS. For this purpose bi-directional translation methods and acceptability judgment tasks are employed by the participants when they code-switched four English articles in Urdu. Their performance in pre and post instruction was then recorded to study the results.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents statistical results from the pre and post stages which are then compared by paired t-test samples to investigate the frequency in the number of attempts and the acceptance rates in both stages of the study. The second part presents discussion of the qualitative results.

In the light of the results, possible pedagogical implications in a classroom setting and recommendations for further research will follow in chapter 5.

### Descriptive statistics

As mentioned in the chapter 3 that from the original pool of 50 students, only scripts from 36 students were accepted for the pre and post instruction stages. Any participant who had a GPA below than 3.2 was excluded to ensure higher proficiency rates in Urdu and English which is a major condition required for a successful code-switch to happen. The time lapse between two stages was of 48 hours.

Thus the two dependent variables in pre and post instruction phases are: the number of attempts that students made from the pool of highlighted English words and the rate of acceptance by the raters who selected the code-switched Urdu tokens. Following is the statistical outcome for each research question.

Question 1: Is there any difference in the acceptance rates of the highlighted English tokens when students code-switched in Urdu, in pre and post instruction stages?

Table 4 shows the descriptive statistics of the performance by the participants on all four articles representing the acceptance rates in pre and post instruction stages of this study.

Table 4.1

*Acceptance rates in pre and post stages for all four articles in two groups.*

%		N	Means	SD	SE	P-value
Acceptance rates	<b>Pre</b>	36	10.9	3.39	0.56	<0.0001
	<b>Post</b>	36	16.3	2.9	0.49	

The descriptive analysis in table 4 shows gains in the acceptance rates from 10.9 to 16.3 which is a difference of 5.4. This shows that students performed better in the post-instruction stage of the study and adhered to the standards set by the present study.

The p-value from a t-test also indicates a significant difference between the performances in both stages showing that intervention program helped participants to perform better in the post instruction stage.

Question 2: Is there a difference between the number of attempts of code-switched items in pre and post instruction stages of the study?

Table 5 shows the difference in the number of attempts done by the participants in the pre and post instruction stages.

Table 4.2

*Difference in the # of attempts in pre and post stages for four articles.*

# of		<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>P-value</b>
attempts	<b>Pre</b>	36	38.9	7.8	1.31	< 0.0001
	<b>Post</b>	36	23.7	4.4	0.74	

The lowered means from 38.9 to 23.7 from pre to post instruction phases show that students attempted fewer items to code-switch in Urdu. The difference in the attempts is by 15.2 which are represented by the significant P-value from a t-test.

Together both tables 4 and 5 show a relationship between number of attempts and the acceptance rates. The increased gain in the means of acceptance rates in table 1 from pre to post stages are inversely related to the regressed means of the number of attempts shown in the table 2.

#### Discussion of the results

##### 4.01 Quantitative discussion of the results

The above descriptive analysis presented the difference between the attempts and acceptance rates in two stages of the study. Following is the discussion in the light of corresponding null hypotheses:

1. There will be no difference in the acceptance rates from pre to post instruction stages of this study.

2. There will be no difference in the number of attempts from pre to post instruction stages of the study.

The statistical results reject the first null hypothesis as there is a significant increase in the acceptance rates from pre to post instruction stage. This suggests that students can increase their understanding of the use of L1 while deciding when to employ CS. This consciousness on the part of the students can be equally useful for the teachers who may constantly worry about the inappropriate usage of the L1 in students' writings in a FLL setting.

This finding is further reinforced when results showed fewer attempts in post instruction stage of the study, therefore, again rejecting second hypothesis. This finding is in keeping with the previous observations made in the study (Callahan 2004). The studies reported that in written non-fiction work CS occurs less frequently but performs specific functions which are not achieved by the target language (TL). Kachru (2005) also observed code-switching filling in the conceptual gaps not represented in the TL structures.

#### 4.02 Qualitative discussion of the results

Participants showed random CS in the pre instruction stage when they attempted more items by applying word for word translations. For example, mostly distracters are attempted because it is easy to do word for word translation as compared to the potential highlighted CS items by the students.

- Fasting men and women (article 1) = *rozadar*
- Negotiate (article 2)= *muzakarat or baat cheet*

- Newlyweds (article 3) = Naya jora
- Tale of woe (article 4)= *dukh ki dastaan or dukhi dastaan*

These are some examples to show random practice of CS. The equivalent Urdu words achieve same degree of meaning as English words.

On the other hand, analysis of the code switched items in the post instruction stage revealed two trends: first students only tried to code-switch when concepts were difficult to transfer to TL or when they were entirely absent in the TL culture. Consider the following examples:

Table 4.3

*Some examples of successful code-switching.*

Original highlighted English word	Code-switched Urdu word
All enveloping shrouds	Burqa
Seminary	Madresseh
Prayers	Namaz
Plain cloth wound around waist	Dhoti

The above mentioned concepts are either absent in the TL (in this case English) like “burqa” or when equivalent English word meant differently in TL culture like “prayers” was mostly changed into “namaz” by the students.

Secondly, participants exhibited greater rational insights when they code-switched two English tokens into Urdu even when they were not highlighted. These



were not included in the data but are important to mention as these examples showed better judgment on the part of students. Following are these examples:

- “In a narrow street nearby was a small restaurant where many students had their lunch...” is changed into one word “*Dhaba*”. This one word better tells all than whole translation in English.
- “Diktat” was another word changed into “*Fatwa*” by the students because it represents the whole issue of interpreting “scriptures” correctly when done by the religious leaders only.

Thus the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data suggests that multi/bilingual students can successfully transfer concepts from one language to another by CS, using L1 as a resource without hindering their FL learning.

The following table gives a collective frequency of code-switched items as they are attempted by the students in pre and post instruction stage of the study. For convenience these are divided into three types.

Table 4.4

*Comparison of potential code-switching items in two stages of the study*

<b>1. Local social concepts</b>	<b>Pre-instruction</b>	<b>Post-instruction</b>
Recommendations	4	20
Jute-woven beds	8	23
Tree wheeled passenger carrier	25	32
Power	4	25

All enveloping shrouds	33	36
Women only section	3	29
<hr/>		
2.Commonly used Urdu words	Pre-instruction	Post-instruction
<hr/>		
Flat bread	30	36
Islamic law	6	29
Martyr	8	30
Diktat	2	26
Ladies	10	4
Plain cloth wound around waist	22	36
National dress	4	33
Hospitable	13	20
Illegitimate	10	24
Aik anna	15	26
<hr/>		
3.Idioms and single lexical sets	Pre-instruction	Post-instruction
<hr/>		
Thirsty man getting to an oasis	5	27
This land of pure	2	31
Bread, cloth and shelter	6	35
Seminary trained zealots	4	35
Palms perpetually stretched	7	16

out

Say prayers	31	36
All-enveloping shrouds	30	36
Women-only sections in a house-hold	4	35

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Note: The numbers show the frequency of correct code-switched tokens in the both stages.

The analysis of code-switched items in pre-instruction stage reveals two trends. Firstly, general hesitance among the participants to use Urdu words is fairly common when social concepts involve lengthy translations or when equivalent translations are opted. With the exception of five highlighted English words (three wheeled passenger carrier, flat bread, cloth wound around waist, all enveloping shrouds, and say prayers) which mostly students recognized as possible sites for code-switching, other words were left out. Secondly, participants chose to code-switch when easy opportunities for word for word translation occurred.

This may mean either complex English translation misled the students or that they lost track of the intended social referent or they were not sure whether to revert to translations to the original Urdu words or not. Maybe this is the reason that they opted for easy choice of just translating words which could easily be said in Urdu to perform CS.

On the other hand, improved rate of acceptance show thoughtful processing of the highlighting items to check what intended meaning is and how it can be successfully achieved. Same highlighted items which were left before were code-switched and all

easy translation opportunities in Urdu (distracters) were mostly ignored by the participants in the post-instruction stage. Also, students were able to decide if Urdu words were more near to local social norms and code-switched such items. Therefore, mostly students' code-switched words like "Islamic Law" and "martyrs".

### Conclusion

This chapter presented the quantitative and qualitative results of this study and their relevance to the hypotheses. The results revealed careful conceptual processing from one to another language by CS as the acceptance rates increased with the subsequent decrease in the number of attempts in post instruction stage of the study. In the light of above analyses Chapter 5 will discuss, limitations of this study, possible pedagogical implications, and options for further research.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.01 Purpose of the study

This study focused on how concepts in L1 can be appropriately transferred to L2 through code-switching in students' written work. The need to do this kind of study is enhanced as recent research advocates that use of L1 in FLL as a resource serving many useful purposes like lessening the burden of cognitive processes for second language learners especially when social concepts are not present in the target language and word for word translations do not achieve the semantic essence of the social concept. On the other hand, allowing code-switching in students' work comes with the responsibility of using this writing device meaningfully so that the objective of FLL is never undermined.

For this purpose, four articles from English newspapers in Pakistan were chosen and students code-switched in Urdu in two stages: pre and post instruction. The attempt and acceptance rates were compared through independent T-test samples to investigate if bi-directional and acceptability judgment tasks can help students discern potential CS junctures in the TL.

### 5.02 Research questions

This study focused on the following research questions:

1. Is there a difference in the acceptance rates of the code-switched highlighted items in pre and post instruction stages?
2. Is there a difference in the attempt rates of the code-switched highlighted items in the pre and post instruction stages?

### Organization of the chapters

Chapter 1 was an introductory chapter which presented the general scheme of the whole thesis starting with the general introduction of the term “code-switching” and its place in the recent research. It also presented the aim and significance of CS in the students’ written work and ended with the hypotheses and research questions.

Chapter 2 presented in detail the literature review of significance of CS in multi/bilingual speech and written work. A brief overview of the different parts of the world is presented to reveal the historical significance of CS about how this phenomenon became the part of local languages and how recent research studies by anthropologists and socio-linguists support its usage in a classroom setting.

Chapter 3 detailed the research methodology used to investigate the research questions for this study. It details the information about the participants and the setting, development of the materials, and the procedure of the data collection.

Chapter 4 presented the results of the statistical analysis and the discussion of the results. The results rejected null hypotheses thus confirming that students can use CS meaningfully when instructed in FLL setting.

Interestingly, the study supported the results of the previous studies that conceptual processing is better achieved by backward translation (L2-L1). The participants always used CS when the meaning of a social concept was not achieved by word for word translation (L1-L2). Also participants showed better judgments by attempting less but with higher acceptance rate in post instruction stage of the study.

### Pedagogical Implications

The results of the present study suggest some implications for allowing students to use CS in their written work meaningfully. These implications can be applied as a generic framework in the classrooms as following:

1. Since a bidirectional translation method in conjunction with the acceptability judgment tasks used simultaneously have proved fruitful for students to judge whether concept is transferred in the TL or not, teachers can allow CS in the written work where necessary.
2. The teachers should use authentic materials to set standards for CS in the students' work. Showing examples from the newspapers and the published fiction work can be one good way to start. Other forms of publication can then be set as examples as the requirements of the kind of writing under discussion.
3. Instructing students about the situations that might motivate CS, can help achieving uniformity in the assessment procedures. This can clearly standardize the CS patterns in students' work who will know the criteria when their work is evaluated.
4. Results show general hesitant attitude for employing CS for political, religious, and idioms, students can be instructed with emphasis on the recent trends in this connection.
5. The proper use of CS can serve as a resource to diminish the alienation in FLL settings thus reducing identity crises among students, can minimize the

burden of cognitive processes for the concepts not present in TL, and can maintain originality by retaining the semantic meaning in the students' writings.

6. As the inclusion of CS in writing may cause difficulties for monolingual readers, teachers should instruct students to use techniques like parallel translations in parentheses or the inclusion of footnotes at the bottom of the page.

#### Contributions of this study

Since in the recent research, CS has earned the positive gains in FLL setting, it is understandable to allow students to practice CS with certain standards put in place. Some previous studies have advocated for the use of CS in teacher talk (Macaro, 2004) for facilitating learning in the class. However, to my best of knowledge, no empirical studies are conducted to see how CS can be regularized in the students' oral and written work. This is of supreme importance as improper usage can undermine the objective of FLL.

This focused study is unique as it suggests by comparing students performances on pre and post instruction stages that CS can be regularized in the written work. This study also goes one step beyond by suggesting a way through which a student him/herself can take a responsibility of employing CS in a written work.

This study also uses authentic published materials and information collected from the professionals in the field to instruct students about the phenomena. This is done to bring authenticity in the students work for academic purposes.



### Limitations of the study and recommendations for the further research

Though this study is first of its kind, it has certain limitations which can be explored in the further research. Some of the limitations are mentioned below:

1. This study involves a small number of the participants from one academic institution. This way the results may or may not be likely to generalize for different groups of students from different levels of study. Further studies may include a large pool of students at different study levels from different institutions to investigate the results.
2. The study included only those students who had high proficiency levels in both languages (in this case Urdu/ English). This situation is ideal but is not the case in real classrooms. So, further studies with mixed proficiency levels in language pair involved can be very enlightening in this regard. As a teacher needs to know how different students can adjust with grammar requirements involved with the usage of CS.
3. It is important for a teacher to be near proficient in the language pair involved for instructing students about CS. This study assumes for a teacher to be multi/bilingual (as is mostly a case in sub-continent) which may not be always a case in real life situation. Many times a case can be a monolingual teacher teaching bilingual students. Further research as to what pedagogical strategies can help a monolingual teacher to allow CS in his/her students' work can be very practical.

4. When multi/bilingual students come to the point of struggling with the transference of the concepts from one language to another language, the junctures come naturally which involves deciding which language to use. Thus it is done in two steps: recognizing the situation and then choosing the option of performing CS or not. Since, the potential junctures for CS were highlighted in this study; students did not have the opportunity to recognize the contextual situations on their own. Further research by alternating on design can be very useful.

In a further extension of this study, a delayed post-instruction several months later can be conducted to see whether instruction program is usefully retained by the students when they include CS in their written work or not.

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## Appendix A

### Questionnaire filled by the Journalists

My project is about studying the contexts in which journalists code-switch while composing news items. Your contribution through this questionnaire can be very useful to me.

1. Do you code-switch while composing news items. Y/N
2. Do you approve of it? Y/N
3. Do social contexts play significant role in your choice of code? Y/N
4. Do political contexts play significant role in your choice of code? Y/N
5. Do you always employ translation into English to avoid code-switching? Y/N
6. Are you uncomfortable while using Urdu insertions in English writings? Y/N
7. Do translations always work when you try to avoid code-switching? Y/N
8. Do you use Urdu words even when English equivalent words are available?  
Y/N
9. If yes,  
why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you use Urdu words when same word is available in English language but with slight semantic change? Y/N
11. What kind of code-switching do you employ? Tick as many as you want to.  
a. Direct insertions (Kufar) b. lexical hybridization (fashionzada) c. Hybrid reduplication( cotton kapas) d. Hybrid lexical sets(purdah woman) e. All of the above.
12. Which one of the above can be your least possible choice? \_\_\_\_\_
13. Does your newspaper's policy support code-switching? Y/N
14. Do you have monolingual (NS of English) in your mind when you use code-switching? Y/N
15. Do you employ any techniques for making comprehension easy for them? Y/N
16. Do young people entering the field are confused while code-switching? Y/N
17. Do they over-use Urdu code-switching? Y/N
18. Are they hesitant to use Urdu words? Y/N
19. Do you think that some training in this field can be useful?
20. Do you remember any instruction given to you when you studied journalism?

## Appendix B

### Article 1

16<sup>th</sup> September, 2009.

Ramazan and social evils

Level of education:

Semester:

Age:

Area of studies:

G.P.A till this point:

Gender:

Instructions:

Please read carefully the given two passages. Recall the news items that you read in daily papers and how Urdu words and phrases are used in English journalism. The passages are double lined and for any word that you feel Urdu equivalent is more forceful option to use then underline the word and write Urdu replacements in English above the word . Your replacements can be either a word or a phrase(not more than four words). **Only replace highlighted words.**

Once you finish your task, return articles back to the teacher.

This information is going to be used as a data for my research thesis only. You need not to mention your names . There is a section above, asking for some information about you. This is optional. Feel free to fill in the information if you like to.

Thanks.

Article 1

*Random*

*thoughts*

By Dr A Q Khan

Over the last few days, TV stations have constantly been showing disturbing pictures of **fasting men**, women and children standing in **queue** in front of trucks to buy flour or sugar. Even worse are images of distributors beating the same people up to exercise control over the crowd. Even though all this is taking place during Ramadan, no government official has uttered a word against this **animal-like** behaviour or made an effort to control inflated Ramadan prices.

Fifty-seven years ago, when I first came to Pakistan, it was a beautiful country. I arrived on August 14, 1952 via Khokhrapar. Even though the journey had been long and unpleasant, arriving in Pakistan was like a **thirsty man getting to an oasis** in the desert. At Khokhrapar, there was a simple hut that functioned as restaurant where there were **jute woven beds** to sit on and empty tin cans to drink water from. The warm flat bread and lentils which I ate there was perhaps the best meal of my life. From Khokhrapar, I took a **goods train** to Karachi. Back then, a young man did not need any **recommendations** to get admission into the best college of the city. It was

all based on merit.

Back then, there weren't that many taxis in the city – there were mainly cycle wagons. Later, **three wheeled passenger carriers** were introduced. There were trams running from Chakiwara to Saddar via Bolton Market. A ticket for the whole trip would cost **one penny**. Public buses also plied on the streets, and there was none of the pushing and shoving that we see nowadays. Meanwhile, my college – the D J Science College was a beautiful building in those days as well. Built in 1898 with red stone, it is located at Pakistan Chowk two pennies.

After graduating, I got a job as government inspector of weights and measures with a monthly salary of Rs250. All selections were based on merit only. At that time, a first-class gazetted officer probably earned about Rs350 per mon. In a narrow street nearby was a small restaurant where many students had their lunch – two **flat breads** for two pennies and a plate of delicious meat stew with sweet onions, also for th. People were **content** and we never felt that our salary was not enough – people could live honest lives within their means. We never saw anyone handling a pistol and had not even heard of Kalashnikovs. Murders were rare and **kidnapping for ransom** was unheard of. Women could move around freely in markets without being harassed. Young girls going shopping in the evening was a common sight. **Violence** against women was unheard of. When I left for Berlin in August 1961, these were the memories of Karachi and Pakistan I carried with me. In October 1967, I revisited Pakistan for the first time together with my wife. We went to Quetta, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Swat, Abbottbad, Nathiagali and Murree, and thoroughly enjoyed our trip. Even though my wife, as a foreigner, was often stared at, we never had to deal with an unpleasant situation. People were extremely polite and **hospitable** and went out of their way to help us.

As I mentioned earlier, in **this land of the pure**, it is deemed fit to treat the poor to batons, sticks, shoes and slaps. One video repeatedly showed a woman holding a bag of flour with both hands, **mercilessly** being beaten with a shoe. However, President Zardari hasn't condemned the act. It would be far more appropriate to change the PPP slogan of '**bread, cloth, shelter**' to 'boot, sticks, slap'.

I am taking the liberty of making some suggestions here for the **eradication of corruption** and the reduction of **violence**. Corruption has become an endemic cancer and is spreading fast. The government should mete out exemplary punishment, and sincere and honest people should form welfare, non-governmental societies all over the country to pin-point and help eradicate those vices that have destroyed our character and the national fabric of the country. People must be requested to desist from corruption, adulteration, selling of spurious drugs, etc and reminded of the consequences of their actions.

Our country is suffering. The fabric of society is falling apart. It is imperative that

both the rulers and the ruled join hands to eradicate the many evils that we face. We need to help each other identify those committing crimes against **humanity** and give them exemplary punishment.

## Appendix C

### Article 2

Level of education:

Semester:

Age:

Area of studies:

G.P.A till this point:

Gender:

Instructions:

Please read carefully the given two passages. Recall the news items that you read in daily papers and how Urdu words and phrases are used in English journalism. The passages are double lined and for any word that you feel Urdu equivalent is more forceful option to use then underline the word and write Urdu replacements in English above the word. Your replacements can be either a word or a phrase(not more than four words). **Only replace highlighted words.**

Once you finish your task, return articles back to the teacher.

This information is going to be used as a data for my research thesis only. You need not to mention your names. There is a section above, asking for some information about you. This is optional. Feel free to fill in the information if you like to.

Thanks

What the Taliban want

By

Irfan

Husain

Saturday, 23 Jan, 2010 The Dawn, Lahore.

Often, I am asked by readers or friends abroad what the Taliban want. Why, they ask, are they slaughtering hundreds of innocent people wherever they can? What is their purpose? What is their agenda?

The short answer is **power**. Other excuses for their murderous excesses are a fig-leaf: demands for the **Islamic Law** and the expulsion of foreign forces from the region are no more than **window-dressing**.

These terrorists realise that they cannot achieve power through peaceful, democratic means as they have no support. Even relatively moderate Islamic parties have been



repeatedly trounced at the polls in Pakistan. So extremists reject democracy as it does not give them access to power.

Established religious parties in Pakistan have exploited the repeated bouts of army rule to further their agenda. So far, they have been remarkably successful. But while **martyr** groups might cut secret deals with intelligence agencies, even our army is reluctant to enter into open, formal agreements with them.

This leaves only the path of terrorism open to them. Pakistani extremists watched enviously as the Afghan Taliban under Mullah Omar were propelled to power with help from our army. Seeking to replicate this success, they have mounted a sustained campaign of **destabilisation** against the government.

Another thing, Islamic extremists oppose vehemently wherever they are operating is, modern, scientific education. Educated only in the **scriptures**, they have little understanding of the physical and social sciences. While they may have many operatives who are highly educated, the top ideologues are **seminary-trained zealots**. Although they use Islamic rhetoric and rationalisations, their true goal is to seize and wield absolute power.

In Nigeria, an obscure Muslim sect recently launched a deadly campaign under the banner of 'Boko Haram', meaning that modern education was **illegitimate** or sinful. Hundreds died as they went on a **rampage** before being ruthlessly crushed. Nevertheless, their primitive credo lives on.

In Pakistan, the Taliban and their murderous partners have destroyed hundreds of schools. They have focused on girls' schools, issuing threats to those they haven't yet demolished. Underneath their theocratic justifications for their violent opposition to rational education lies the knowledge that they are not equipped to compete in the modern world. They are thus locked in a battle to tear down a system that marginalises them, and to force everybody else to obey their **diktat** since, according to them, only they are qualified to interpret the scriptures.

Their apologists — and they are legion in our ruling classes as well as our media — demand that we must **negotiate** with them. What they do not say is how this should be done. How do you talk to ruthless killers who **saw off** their victims' heads and gleefully post the videos of their acts on the Internet? Or force young boys to gun down tied and blindfolded prisoners? Or flog young girls screaming for mercy?

Hakeemullah Mehsud of the Pakistani Taliban and his **cohorts** want nothing short of absolute power. The only thing they are willing to discuss are the terms of surrender of the Pakistan government. If we **cede territory** to them — as we did earlier in Swat — we are consigning our citizens to the kind of nightmare the people of Swat had to undergo.

The first thing Fazlullah did when he was handed Swat was to shut down the schools that had not been blown up earlier. Barber shops and video shops were ordered to follow suit. All forms of entertainment were effectively banned. Is this the kind of life we wish to condemn our countrymen to?

Remember that we have a model of this kind of barbaric society: under the Afghan Taliban, our neighbour was rapidly pushed back to the dark ages. Women were flogged for the crime of showing an inch of their ankles as they walked wearing **all-enveloping shrouds**. Male doctors could not attend to them, even in life-threatening cases. They were not allowed to leave their homes to work, and girls were forbidden from going to school. Houses were demanded to have **women-only sections in the household**.

Those urging the government to **negotiate** with the Pakistani Taliban need to be clear whether they want their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters to lead the lives their Afghan counterparts had to not so long ago. To the Taliban, these are non-negotiable conditions to their stated desire to impose their version of the Islamic law on the rest of us.

Appendix D  
Article 3

Level of education:

Semester:

Age:

Area of studies:

G.P.A till this point:

Gender:

Instructions:

Please read carefully the given two passages. Recall the news items that you read in daily papers and how Urdu words and phrases are used in English journalism. The passages are double lined and for any word that you feel Urdu equivalent is more forceful option to use then underline the word and write Urdu replacements in English above the word. Your replacements can be either a word or a phrase (not more than four words). **Only replace highlighted words.**

Once you finish your task, return articles back to the teacher.

This information is going to be used as a data for my research thesis only. You need not to mention your names. There is a section above, asking for some information about you. This is optional. Feel free to fill in the information if you like to.

Thanks.

April 13, 2010

**Shadi-phobic**

By

Chris

Cork

There is something about weddings that pushes me over the boredom threshold within seconds of arriving in the tented mausoleum of marriage, populated by flinty-eyed **ladies** and heady with the reek of money having been spent. A distant relative got married recently, and as she is somebody I knew and liked (unusual in itself) I took myself along to her nuptials. She had held out for years and is now probably on the wrong side of forty, but had eventually succumbed to the combined onslaught of battalions of **armored** aunties. The tent was truly vast... perhaps the biggest tent I have ever been in my life. It was set with the usual array of circular tables with the

bride's people to the left and the groom's to the right. Fashionably late, the newlyweds arrived in the middle of a phalanx of video-makers and blue satin-clad flower girls — and to give her credit she looked a treat. By contrast her new husband looked like he had only recently resurfaced after a long period in a coma. The party proceeded down the carpet and seated themselves on the **dais** — and then nothing much happened for what seemed like an only slightly abbreviated version of eternity.

Finding myself at a table with the bride's sister — a close friend of my wife for whom I was acting as proxy — we caught up on sixteen years of news fairly quickly and were left with little to say thereafter. I knew, but did not recognise, many of the guests — the recognition failure being attributable to never having seen them in anything but **plain cloth wounded around waist** or **national dress** in my home village. People were repeatedly introduced to me and I had to be taken through a lengthy genealogy before the penny finally dropped and the smiling but bemused person shaking my hand popped into my memory. They mostly looked deeply uncomfortable in their brand-new clothes that may only get worn once and sat looking at one another mostly in silence.

The **newlyweds** sat and had themselves photographed with a selection of relatives from both sides, cake was distributed followed by hot food which seemed to be **dead bird marinated in farmyard wastes**, the bride went off for an hour or so to change into something a little more expensive than the wedding dress, more photos got taken before people started to drift away — and I read my book.

If there is one lesson that Pakistan has taught me it is always, but always, take a book with you. Take two just in case. Thus it was that I had in my backpack a couple of **weighty books** with which to while away the hours within which several hundred people sat around looking at one another and not doing very much else — unless there was some deep subliminal **festivity** going on that I simply was not tuned to. Take a book if you are going to any appointment which has a time attached to it — because you are going to be waiting around until the person you have the appointment with decides they have wasted enough of your time and turns up hours, possibly even days, late. Take a book because you can fill the vast empty reaches of cosmic time that lie around unattended slowly mutating into terminal boredom — with something moderately useful and improving.

Duty done, I wandered out of the tent with another relative. I asked him what he

thought of the evening's events. 'It so boring', he said. 'All weddings are boring. You brought a book... good idea. Think I'll do that next time.'

## Appendix E

### Article 4

Level of education:

Semester:

Age:

Area of studies:

G.P.A till this point:

Gender:

Instructions:

Please read carefully the given two passages. Recall the news items that you read in daily papers and how Urdu words and phrases are used in English journalism. The passages are double lined and for any word that you feel Urdu equivalent is more forceful option to use then underline the word and write Urdu replacements in English above the word. Your replacements can be either a word or a phrase (not more than four words). **Only replace highlighted words.**

Once you finish your task, return articles back to the teacher.

This information is going to be used as a data for my research thesis only. You need not to mention your names. There is a section above, asking for some information about you. This is optional. Feel free to fill in the information if you like to.

Thanks.

**April13,2010.**

**His read & write is ok**

By

Masood

Hasan

The one thing that afflicts without discrimination all those who manage to clamber their way up the **greasy monkey bars** in Pakistan is that the moment they obtain a foothold, precarious and shaky though it may be, they immediately become unavailable. They cannot be reached. Layers of impenetrable walls surround them. All means known to mankind to establish contact, starting from dolphins to aliens, fail to work should anyone be so foolish as to attempt to establish **contact**. It is as if

the new arrivals have been silently swallowed by some unknown force. In a land where the most incredulous story finds perfect credibility in the hearts and minds of the wretched **people** the phenomenon of disappearing VIPs is fairly unremarkable, but inspiring nevertheless. Whatever happens to them? Where do they go?

Part of the answer lies in the VIPs' basking in the glow of their own VIP-ness. Not used to seeing a star in a circle from where they are seated, they take their first ride in the limos that **hiss like snakes in and out** of all the infested areas where the GOP is to be found, and spread out **portly** forms on genuine leather seats. Cruising in such delight, who in his right mind would give a damn to hear the perennially wailing and lamenting hordes clutching soiled applications, seeking justice in a land where justice **fled in fear long ago**? Worse, they don't bathe, and the smell of carbolic soap can be unsettling at close quarters for those bred on the intoxicating scent of **crisp** currency notes.

The last thing the VIPs want is to be bothered. With alarmingly low levels of intelligence but miraculously high levels of animal cunning coursing in their cholesterol-laden pipelines, the VIPs cannot afford to waste even a nanosecond on those who got them into the royal palaces to start with. Pakistani politics is thus very much like the various stages of a space probe. As each designated point is reached, rockets of the hurtling spacecraft are cast off as useless appendages.

Not only are VIPs deliberately out of touch but they relish it thoroughly. Standing instructions are that calls should never ever be put through except if they are from other vermin with the same social standing, and of course the big boys at the very top who are buzzing like bees sucking the nectar of Pakistan, more cheaply identified as money in all its **blood-chilling** disguises.

For the **toiling masses**, even getting to the footprint of their leaders is something of a quest for the Holy Grail. As they gaze in stupefied wonder at the bewildering swathes of layers that separate them from those perched on high, they reassure themselves to start at the lowest level, the minion, **palms perpetually stretched out for a dab of grease**, eyes forever glazed in stupor that comes from doing nothing all day and, at the back of it all, a brain that drives overtime when it smells a rat or the hint of doing something illegal. Were the ruling classes to abandon the UFO-policy that they all practice, they would have to attend to zillions of **petty** problems that have a death-like grip on most of those who constitute this country. There's no percentage in that.

People still continue to be amazed at all this. For examples telephone calls are never answered, almost practised as if it were a cult. Letters, God forbid, if written may as well be made into paper boats and floated down the first available sewer – there's always a sewer within a stone's throw and there is always a stone leftover from a road that was never built. Faxes for those blessed with them suffer the same defeat. Numerous faxes sent simply disappear into outer space never to be heard from again.

Emails, of course, are a non-serious form of communication and all VIPs, presidents, prime ministers (coming or going), the big generals (**not going**), ambassadors, ministers – the works, religiously fail to respond to these or any other communication. It is a law that finds strong and unbending support from everyone.

A friend of mine has been communicating with our ambassador in the USA and our locked-in high commissioner in the UK for about a year and has used all means available – even made telephone calls and used courier services – but it seems there is no one at the other side. It is rather **spooky**, come to think of it. Maybe there aren't any staff there, all having vanished a year ago – maybe even earlier. Who can tell? The silence is so loud that he has had to have advanced ear treatment.

One has heard that the agent in the UK has serious problems and is unable even to accompany the foreign secretary to Pakistan (a new record that surely) because, by mistake, there are cases against him – not the foreign secretary God forbid; our own vice regent. The USA man is apparently marked and about to get the chop, but hopefully the effusive and sugary articles that his daughter is delightfully penning week after week about her beloved president should keep the high schooner afloat for a while. Is anyone reading these out to our dear president? When narrating this long **tale of woe**, well-wishers of our friend suggested that he might have better luck with carrier pigeons. The proposal is now under serious consideration.

There was a time when I needed a picture of our glistening and butter-wouldn't-melt-in-my-mouth PM. It was some stupid supplement and the PM's picture, or official portrait as these things are called, was out of focus (how appropriate!) and a replacement was required. Calls, faxes, courier letters, emails and sky writing over the Margalla Hills failed to impress a lowly minion who made numerous promises, sometimes rashly committing that the mug shot had actually been dispatched; but when it amazingly never showed up, he couldn't then be found. It led finally to **some**



**sort of misbehaviour** when I told him I was not asking for a plot of land (though the thought, I confess, had crossed my mind), and if he didn't care, neither did I. This stirring slap had the dramatic effect you'd get slapping a pile of dough. In the end the foggy mug shot appeared as it was, but then who cared? From a distance it did look like Uriah Heep, and that was all that mattered.

The phone-connection thing also is no good. Most VIPs worth the name are never to be found at their numbers, even in cases where you do not get that purring sound that implies you have reached a fax number. Most fax numbers in the GOP are not dedicated, so you have to make calls (if you ever get through) to tell them to affix-the-fax on their phone so that you can send a fax. When you still can't get through, you go through the whole painful procedure, but by this time the person at the other end has "**gone to say his prayers,**" which means he may not be back for a year or so. Mobiles are useless. They are always with a minder, which means a dead end.

In all this, there are some heart-warming exceptions. Syed Babar Ali is one. He invariably calls himself or is already on the line when the call is put through. It is not that he has **spare time**. It is just good manners and the right breeding – or, as they increasingly sum it up in Pakistan, "his read and write is ok." Were there more people like SBA in all those high places, things might actually get done, but then the cricket team might finally fathom that they are supposed to play cricket. Won't happen.