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Integration of Various Approaches towards the Functions of Code-Switching between Punjabi, Urdu and English

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Abstract

This paper aims at exploring the functions of code-switching between Punjabi, Urdu and English among multilingual Punjabi-Pakistanis staying in London through an integration of various approaches. The purpose in simultaneously applying a number of different approaches, under the umbrella term of macro- and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives, is to understand the multidimensional nature of these functions. The naturally occurring data used in this research was collected by an ethnographic-case-study approach and then analysed qualitatively according to various available approaches. This paper takes into consideration the constituents of multilingualism – the social function, role, speech community, status and norms of social usage of the languages and also conversational strategies adopted by the speakers. The result shows the diverse and asymmetric functions of code-switching among the participants.

Keywords: Code-switching, Macro-sociolinguistic approach, Micro-sociolinguistic approach, Multilingualism, Urdu, Punjabi, English

1. Introduction

Though the functions of code-switching have triggered enormous volume of research by distinguished scholars applying various approaches, there are very few researches that show an integration of various perspectives. The synchronization of multiple approaches applied to analysing data collected from a case-study, allows a researcher to present the different dimensions of the functions of code-switching in a single piece of research and thus provide a more detailed picture of the functions served by code-switching for speakers.

This paper aims at presenting a full scenario of the functions of code-switching of the research community through an integration of various approaches.

In this research code-switching and language choice are treated as part of the same broad phenomenon, though in many other studies they are considered different from each other (Gardner-Chloros, 1991).

For the convenience of using and referring of all available approaches within the small space of this paper, two umbrella terms are used – macro-sociolinguistic perspective and micro-sociolinguistic perspective. This paper discusses the various approaches to analyse the functions of code-switching and then presents data analysis with an integration of various approaches.

2. Literature review

2.1 Macro-sociolinguistic Approach

The macro-sociolinguistic approach views code-switching as a collective speech phenomenon exhibited by the members of a particular community. Such an approach analyses individuals' language behaviour as a product of or influenced by, to varying extent, the norms and regulation of the society where they live (Wei, 1994). From the macro-societal perspective language choice is orderly and relatively stable because the social structures and norms which regulate them are orderly and relatively stable (Wei, 1994, p. 6).

In a bi/multilingual community, each language or sometimes each language variety has separate domains of use, enjoys distinct status such as prestige variety or low variety and is allocated for separate situational use (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972). From the domain and situation perspectives, speakers have little choice in determining the language they want to use, rather their choice of language is governed by the norms of language use in the multilingual society to which they belong. The speakers of the community know where, when and with whom to speak which language (Fishman, 1972; Blom and Gumperz, 1972) and switch between languages accordingly.

Topic also plays a crucial role in determining the language to be used by a bi/multilingual because 'certain topics are somehow handled "better" or more appropriately in one language than another in particular multilingual contexts' (Fishman, 1972, p. 246) and bi/multilinguals become accustomed to discussing some topics in only one of their languages (Weinreich, 1974).

Even a speaker's selection of which language to use for expressing of emotion or friendliness is fixed by the language practice in that particular community. Rubin's (1985) research shows that in Paraguay Spanish or Guarani has separate functions regarding the degree of intimacy. In this case, Guarani is used with intimates but the use of Spanish indicates mere acquaintance.

The status, which a language or a variety holds in a society, plays a role in explaining the code-switching behaviour of a speaker (Gardner-Chloros, 1995). She (1991) also associates language choice with formal, informal and intergroup domains. Ramat (1995,p.46) also thinks, 'Social conditions may, and in fact do, change bilingual behaviour and code-switching patterns, in the sense that they may determine which permissible patterns are preferred'.

Gal's (1979) ethnographic study at Oberwart in Austria shows a correlation between language choice and a speaker's intention to express their social status, ethnic or group solidarity. Each language relates its speakers to a particular social group. So the association between language choice and the social group of the interactants is a relatively stable fact, shared by the members of a given community, by means of which members perform various communicative goals. The use of language as a tool to accomplish various interactional goals, such as impressing others, is dependent on how that particular language is viewed and what status it enjoys in a given society. Moreover, a person's emotions can be identified by the variety of language he or she chooses. To this may be added that language choice is also shaped by gender and the degree of formality required.

Personal social network plays a significant role in the choice of code and occurrence of code-switching (Gal, 1979; Milroy & Wei, 1995). Inter-speaker variations are closely associated with interlocutor types, in that speakers with different network patterns adopt different language-choice patterns with their interlocutors (Milroy & Wei, 1995). Milroy and Wei (1995) discusses about 'exchange network' and 'interactive network' in his research on Tyneside Chinese community. Persons such as kin and close friends constitute 'exchange network' with whom interaction takes place routinely and there is an exchange of direct aid, support, advice, criticism etc. On the other hand, 'interactive network' consists of persons with whom ego interacts routinely and sometimes over a prolonged time but doesn't rely for personal favour or other material resources. He shows that speakers' choice of Chinese and English depends on the network type. Gal's (1979) research shows that the more peasants a speaker has in his or her social network, the greater is the tendency to use Hungarian.

Interlocutors bear multiple role relationships to each other, and intergroup interaction reflects participants' multiple role relationships to each other as members of different groups and as participants in any type of social interaction (Heller, 1988). Speakers and their interlocutors can form an implicational scale when the language choices are presented in a matrix. This form in matrix displays the difference between individual language preferences. Also, it shows the speaker-interlocutor relationship to the pattern of the group as a whole (Gal, 1979; p. 118).

The inter-group relations indexed by code-switching cannot be considered universal types; rather they are the outcome of specific historical forces that produce different social and

linguistic results at different times and places. Heller (1988, p.2) associates the patterns of code-switching with an understanding of community speech economies or how social boundaries contain access to linguistic resources.

Heller (1988) highlights the role of the identity of an interlocutor in determining language choice. Language allows an individual to interweave the personal identity with his or her collective ethnic identity (Liebkind 2001, p.143). Heller (1988) shows code-switching as a strategy in interethnic 'boundary maintaining' and 'boundary leveling'. Gal (1988, p. 247) also views code-switching as a strategy that constructs 'self' and 'other' within a broader political economic and historical context.

2.2 Micro-sociolinguistic Approach

The notion of metaphorical code-switching (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 1982) is the foundation of the micro-sociolinguistic perspective on code-switching. Gumperz (1982) defines conversational code-switching as the juxtaposition, within the same speech exchange, of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences in an informal speech. This type of code-switching is not tied to any situation and speakers are often quite unaware of which code they are using at any particular time.

The motivation for conversational code-switching is stylistic and metaphorical. The speakers' main concern is the communicative effect of their utterances. Conversational inference is a situated or context bound process of interpretation, by means of which the participants in an exchange assess others' intentions, on which they in turn base their responses. Therefore, conversational code-switching requires shared experience between the speaker and the hearer as otherwise there would be a risk of misunderstanding. In conversational code-switching, speakers 'build on their own and their audiences' abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood' (Gumperz, 1982; p. 61). Gumperz (1982) identifies six functions of conversational code-switching: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, personalization versus objectivization.

Conversational analysis demonstrates that every kind of casual talk is rule governed. It is through talking that one establishes the conditions that make an intended interpretation possible. Gumperz (1982) emphasizes the importance of sequentiality, i.e. the importance of the order in which the information is introduced and the placement of a message in the stream of talk in interpreting daily conversation. Participants have at their disposal certain procedures for coming to a local (situated) interpretation where the exact meaning or function of language alternation is a result of contextualization.

Auer (1984) adopts a conversation analytic approach to illustrate the functions of code-switching. Though he (1984, p.1) recognizes that one of the aims of sociolinguistic research is to find out 'which bilingual communities show language alternation in which situations and why', his work focuses on analysing the meaning of individual utterances of 'language alternation'.

Auer (1984) makes a striking point by drawing a distinction between transfer and switching. In cases of transfer, language alternation occurs at the point of conversational structure (for example, a word or a larger unit); while in the case of code-switching language alternation takes place at a particular point of conversation.

Based on the difference between transfer and switching, Auer (1984) introduces two basic category pairs: transfer versus code switching and participant versus discourse related language alternation. These pairs describe the underlying procedural apparatus for arriving at local interpretations of language alternation in individual contexts. Bilinguals are familiar with these distinctions and they use them to constitute local meanings.

In discourse related code-switching a new footing, a stance taken by speakers and the hearers towards utterances, is marked by a language choice. It takes into consideration the changes in participant constellation and sequential contrast. On the other hand, participant related code-switching, which is relatively stable, signals a speaker's preference for one language over the other. It alludes to a larger scale 'norm' for the uses of more than one language in a bi/multilingual community.

Auer (1984) also reveals that (most) bilingual speakers tend to accommodate their language choice to that of the preceding speakers. Thus a participant's choice of a language influences the language choice of the subsequent utterance by the next speaker.

According to Auer (1984) bi/multilinguals manipulate their knowledge of more than one language as one of various contextualization strategies. Treating code alternation as a contextualization cue explains why the functions of this cue are often taken over by prosodic or paralinguistic cues such as lowering or heightening of speech in monolingual conversation (Auer, 1995).

Stolen (1992) also says that just as a monolingual speaker conveys an attitude of informality towards the interlocutor, by replacing a formal address pronoun with its informal equivalent, a bilingual speaker can encode similar types of social meaning, including an attitude towards the dominant culture, by shifting from the dominant language to a shared native tongue.

2.3 Synthesis of macro- and micro-approaches

Though domain perspective (Ferguson, 1959) has largely been ignored (Gardner-Chloros, 1991), in favour of approaches centered more on the micro-level of individual interactions, there is always a macro-dimension underlying the process of face-to-face analyses of code-switching (Blommaert, 1992; p. 63).

The association between interactional level analysis and the broad social framework cannot be ignored in an exhaustive explanation of the functions of code-switching and code choice. 'A coherent account of the social and situational context of code-switching behaviour is an important prerequisite, even where the perspective of the researcher is not primarily social' (Milroy and Wei, 1995; p.136).

Though interpretive approach shows code-switching's becoming a contextualizing cue, to analyse the process of the phenomenon's becoming so it requires the knowledge of

macro-sociolinguistic factors as Fishman (1972, p. 260) says 'without a more general norm assigning a particular topic or situation, as one of a class of such topics or situations, to one language rather than to another, metaphorical purposes could neither be served or recognized'.

In her research in Austria, Gal (1979) finds that although one language may be unmarked (or more expected) in one situation than the other, speakers can choose the marked language. This constitutes a violation of a sociolinguistic norm and such violations are commonly interpreted by a listener as a reflection of the speaker's momentary communicative intent. The interpretation of the intent or meaning behind a switch requires knowledge about the social context of the utterance and the values associated with alternate forms.

Moreover, the quality of we-code and they-code attached to a language in a given community and situation contributes to the understanding of speech accommodation theory (Giles & Smith, 1979), since code-switching or language choice functions to create convergence or divergence with the addressee.

In their research on the code-switching behaviour of multilingual Saxon community in Romania, McClure and McClure (1988) make use of both macro-sociolinguistic and micro sociolinguistic approaches. They link the code-switching behaviour of an individual at a given time with the diachronic and synchronic study of the community to illuminate the functions that code-switching serves for speakers. For example, it is easier to understand how code-switching acts like a contextualization cue when these acts are placed against the background of the social and community norms for speech behaviour shared by both speaker and addressee.

Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'Markedness model' incorporates themes from a variety of disciplines, specifically the sociology of language (the allocation paradigm), pragmatics (implicatures and intentional meaning), and social anthropology (communicative competence). The theory behind the markedness model assumes speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic choices for any interaction, but choose their codes based on their persona or the quality of relationship they wish to establish with their interlocutor. Thus markedness rests on a normative basis, or expected communal standards, and speakers know the consequences of making marked or unmarked choices.

Since a speaker's personal linguistic biography derives from the biography of the community to which they belong, speakers and listeners utilize social and grammatical knowledge, subconsciously internalized from interactions with their community, to interpret bilingual conversation. Through code-switching micro-identities develop against a background of pre-established macro-identities. Thus language choice allows an individual to interweave his or her personal identity with his or her collective ethnic identity (Leibkind, 2001; p. 143).

Canagarajah (1995) also applies a synthesis of micro- and macro-sociolinguistic approaches to explore Tamil-English bilingualism in Sri Lanka. This integration helps him (1995, p. 189) 'unravel the complex psychological motives or attitudes and the socio-political dynamics that shape language use' in Jaffna Tamil society. He (p. 189) emphasises the integration of both

level analysis as 'inter-personal negotiation of codes significantly alters, resists, or sustains the macro-social distribution and regulation of codes'.

Therefore, to explain multi-faceted functions of code-switching, an integration of conversational, ethnographic and social historical evidence is required (Gal, 1988; p. 247). No single rule accounts for all choices to switch between languages (Gal, 1979).

2.4 Diachronic and synchronic view: Urdu, Punjabi and English in Pakistan

Since this research considers both the macro-perspectives and micro-perspectives of code-switching, the socio-political history of languages in Pakistan is presented here. The present status of these languages is described to capture the total process of the function of code-switching.

According to Fishman (1972, p. 248), the appropriate designation and definition of language behaviour requires considerable insight into the sociocultural dynamics of particular multilingual speech communities at the historical moment in question.

Description of a language in a given country typically takes into account the history and impact of particular languages; a demographic profile of language users; language use in education, particularly which language is used as the medium of instruction; language in the public sphere; language in the mass media; language use in creative literature; language attitudes and the place of language in national consciousness (Philipson, 2001; p.94).

Blommaert (1992,p. 63) views code-switching as 'social historiography' where the object of enquiry is fundamentally historical in nature'. He relates code-switching behaviour with social identities in terms of the stylistic function of code-switching. He thinks that style is a primary social concept shaped by the norms and expectations for thinking, speaking and acting operating in a society at a particular time. A diachronic study of a community is required to understand how a speaker indicates the positions of himself or herself and the interlocutor through language use.

Pakistan is a multilingual country but unlike India there is no status for regional or provincial languages though Sindhi language is used in criminal case reports and ID cards only in the province of Sindh. Before achieving independence from the British rule in 1947 the dominant language of Pakistan was English. During that period, Urdu also received official status. Urdu has not enjoyed an unchallenged position, however, as several language movements have taken place to oust Urdu from the status of official language.

At present Urdu is the national language and the lingua franca of the country for inter-provincial communication and English is the official language. The other significant languages are Punjabi which is spoken by the 44.15% of the total population, Pashto, Sindhi, Baluchi and Seraiki. In this paper, the discussion will be confined to only Urdu, Punjabi and English languages.

Since the British rule Punjabi has been considered uncouth, or a dialect, or patios while Urdu has enjoyed a prestigious status. Despite movements to change this relationship both before and after the independence period (1947) in Pakistan Punjabi has not been granted the status

enjoyed by Urdu. The major impediment to the acceptance of Punjabi, as perceived by Punjabi intellectuals, was that most literate Punjabis (and perhaps also illiterate Punjabis) exhibit various degrees of cultural shame about their language. Nevertheless, in 1985 a charter was signed by Punjabi speaking people, the objective of which was to make the Punjabis proud of their language and cultural identity (Rahman, 1998). However, despite the fact that state the apparatus is dominated by Punjabis, Punjabi is given little patronage by the state and has never been the medium of administration in Pakistan.

A survey of students' attitudes shows that 59% Punjabi students have negative attitudes toward the language (Mansoor 1993 cited in Rahman, 1998, p.208). A survey of attitudes towards their language administered to Punjabis settled in England also suggested that it was poorly evaluated even by its users Rahman (1998, p. 209).

Urdu is a vehicle of 'high culture' and Punjabi is a vehicle of 'low culture'. Many Punjabi people want their children to be adept in Urdu and English before learning Punjabi. Men choose Punjabi for frank communication, but women are concerned to disassociate themselves from the stigmatic connotations of the language (Sullivan, 2007).

In Lahore, the capital of Punjab, people have different degrees of awareness of the domains of the languages they use, depending on their relationship to the overall social system. According to Sullivan (2007) an important linguistic principle at work in Lahore, at present, is diglossia.

Though, among Punjabis, Punjabi is generally the language of the private domain, Urdu is gaining ground even there. Urdu is used when addressing the public and by most public media outlets. It is the language of the government school system. The data derived from Pakistan Press Directory for 1992 shows that the number of publications in Urdu was 1463 whereas in Punjabi it was only 2 (Rahman, 1998). Moreover, data from Pakistan Television Headquarters in 1994 shows that the total time on television per week for Urdu is 49 hours and 18 minutes where for Punjabi it is only 4 hours and 16 minutes (Rahman, 1998).

In Pakistan English is considered a language of elite class (Haque, 1982). Educational institutions, where English is the medium of instruction, are very expensive (Rahman, 2009; p. 234). Haque (1982, p.8) says, 'the position of English is vitally important and highly controversial. There are those who want to remove it at one stroke from all walks of life; there are others who would retain it everywhere through argument, rationalization and subterfuge'.

3. Research Method

An ethnographic-case-study approach was adopted for the data collection in order to record natural language behaviour in a natural setting. As the subtleties of the meaning of the participants' utterances cannot be revealed unless researchers immerse themselves in the culture and spend an extended period (Dornyei, 2007), the author stayed three months in participants' home to observe their language behaviour.

The kitchen was chosen as the setting and the evening meal and the period that followed it

was chosen as the time because only then did all members in the house gather and chat with each other (Milroy & Wei, 1995).

With a view to collecting natural conversation data and to eliminate observer paradox (cf. Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Wei, 1995; Gardner-Chloros,1991) the author was not present. Instead a tape recorder was left running. However, to minimize apprehension caused by the participants being aware of being recorded, long time (4 to 5 hours each day) recording was planned as 'the longer the recording the more difficult it is to depart from one's normal patterns of speech' (Garder-Chloros ,1991, p. 110).

3.1 Field of Research and Participants

Six Pakistani nationals (five males and one female) from Punjab were chosen. Their mother tongue or first language was Punjabi and they also spoke Urdu and English.They had all received postgraduate degrees in London and had been in London for at least two years. The author chose UK postgraduates because one-year university study in the U.K is supposed to result in considerable competence in English.

The participants shared a house in London. The age range of the participants was from 27 to 35. In selecting these participants the author adopted homogenous sampling in order to "conduct an in-depth analysis to identify common patterns in a group with similar characteristics" (Dornyei, 2007; p. 127).

4. Data Analysis

From the huge volume of data (recorded conversation) collected by the author only some excerpts have been chosen for analysis. They have been segmented into eight examples for convenience. The examples in the data are analysed qualitatively using various approaches with a view to obtaining an overview of the multidimensional functions of code-switching. The author's own observations have also been drawn upon occasionally to gain a deeper understanding of the data, because there are some cases where the reason of the participants' code-switching behaviour lies in their interpersonal relationship and their mutual evaluation of each other.

The author's fluency in Urdu and Punjabi helped her integrate herself with her participants' everyday life. Moreover, her being a foreigner gave her a neutral position amongst them and also facilitated her impartial observation. A similar type of research is found in Gardner-Chloros (1991).

In this research pseudonyms have been used instead of the original names of the participants. In the data presented in this research Owais, Mubin, Ikram, Wakkas, Erfan and Arslan are male and Sana is the only female.

4.1 Code-switching between Punjabi and Urdu

Note: Example 1 to Example 6 show the code-switching between Urdu and Punjabi. Here the original and translation of Punjabi words are in regular font and Urdu words are in italic.

4.1.1 Example 1

Mubin and Arslan are talking. Mubin is telling a story about a person in Pakistan who could not find a girl friend. Arslan is a bystander who tries to take the floor later.

4. Mubin: *Pati ek ladki ne mujhe bade kam ki ek baat kee thi. Mujhe aj wo bat yad ayee hain. Mein Pakistan mein tha university me to hamari class fellow thin a, ham beth e gap shap lagate the, to ek ladka us se kehtahe mere sath aj tak koi ladki nehi fasi. To wo kehtihe kabhie tumne try ki hein? Kehtahe ha mein e badi try kee hein, nehi phasti. Kehti he jis see koi ladki na phase kabhi gari leke betho. Ayse hi usne bola, beta gari le le tu.*
   = Party, once a girl told me a very useful thing which I have remembered today. I was in Pakistan at university. She was our class fellow. We used to chat with each other. One day a boy said to her, "I could not impress any girl". She asked, "Did you try? He said, "Yes, I tried but failed. She said, "One who cannot impress any girl, he should buy a car.
5. Owais: Panchod, jadon di gaddi layee kuriya ee balia pherda aye. Buddi nu vi nae chhadya.
   = *Motherfucker, since he has bought a car, girls are always sitting with him. He has not spared even an old woman.
   *near equivalent of panchod

In Example 1, the function of Owais's choice of Punjabi in turn 5 can be explained in terms of both micro- and macro-sociolinguistic approaches. It is understood that Owais also knows the person in the story and he wants to use this knowledge to join the conversation as he has been a bystander for a long time. From the perspective of micro-level analysis, Owais's switch to Punjabi is discourse related code switching as here switching takes place at a certain point of conversation. The switch to Punjabi is preceded by the completion of a story narrated in Urdu. Here a comment about the story was made in Punjabi. Owais's switch to Punjabi marks the boundary between story and the comment. Here Owais wants to take the floor by introducing a different language (Punjabi). He is free to do so as Mubin did not select the next speaker and this tactic is a feature of discourse related code switching. In other words it is triggered by a change of participant constellation.

Here Owais's switch to Punjabi serves Gumperz's (1982) two of six functions – interjection and personalization. The Punjabi slang serves the function of interjection. Since Owais's Punjabi in turn 5 expresses his personal opinion and his desire to initiate post story discussion in Punjabi, the switch also serves the function of personalization. It is interesting that Owais's use of Punjabi slang word is due to the fact that Punjabi contains more slang words than Urdu. Urdu is a formal language and which does not contain the equivalent slang terms. Moreover, Owais expresses his personal opinion in his mother tongue – Punjabi. Therefore, it can be argued that the functions of interjection and personalization are derived from a macro-sociolinguistic fact.

However, Owais's code-switching can also be explained from the macro-perspective, here the relative status of the Punjabi and Urdu languages as understood by Punjabi speakers. In other

words, how the Punjabi speakers relate to these two languages. Synchronic and diachronic knowledge of the languages in Pakistan facilitates further analysis – Owais's discourse related code-switching is a strategic choice of we-code (Punjabi) to enable him to take the floor and to join the post story discussion.

4.1.2 Example 2

Mubin and Owais enter the kitchen talking about their house rent in Punjabi. Sana is cooking.

1. Mubin: *Keya ho raha hein?*
   = *What are you doing?*
2. Sana: *Raat ke liye khana paka rehi hun*
   = *Cooking food for supper*
3. Mubin: *Ap jab Pakistan mein thi to woha khana pakati thi?*
   = *Did you used to cook when you were in Pakistan?*

In Example 2, Mubin switches to Urdu and maintains it all through the conversation while talking to Sana but prior to this conversation with Sana he was speaking Punjabi with Owais about house rent. Sana was also talking to Mubin in Urdu. Here Mubin's switch to Urdu is an unmarked choice despite the fact that both Mubin and Sana are both Punjabis. It has been observed that all the male Punjabi housemates always communicate with Sana in Urdu as they do not talk to her often and so have a formal relationship with her (cf. Rubin 1985). They use Urdu for its formality indicating that they do not see Sana as a familiar member of their group. The network between Sana and the other Punjabi housemates is of 'interactive' type (Milroy & Wei, 1995). If their relationship with Sana became more informal, they (the speaker and the interlocutor) might choose Punjabi instead of Urdu as the mode of interaction.

Here the language choice of Mubin is conscious and relatively stable. Mubin's shift from Punjabi to Urdu coincides not only with nothing more than the change of participant but also with the kind of relationship he maintains with the participant. His choice of Urdu cannot be explained without knowledge of the macro-sociolinguistic factor of the Pakistani Punjabi-speaking community's attitude to both Urdu and Punjabi and the values they attach to these two languages.

Their use of Urdu with Sana indicates that they are treating that her as an out group member. This membership status is not based on ethnicity, rather on familiarity and intimacy. Another reason for their using Urdu with Sana is because she is a female. Thus, they are also out-grouping Sana on the basis of gender. As Pakistan is a conservative country friendships between men and women are not viewed favourably, the use of Urdu with Sana is an unmarked choice. Here Urdu is also serving the 'vous' relationship and Punjabi is serving 'tu' relationships (cf. Gal 1979), even though both Punjabi and Urdu have T/V forms of address. Example 2 shows participant related code-switching, which is relatively stable. This supports the need for macro-sociolinguistic knowledge to explain the choice of language made by the speakers. Macro-sociolinguistic knowledge of Pakistan shows that, among Punjabi speakers, Punjabi possesses the feature of a "we code" while Urdu possesses the feature of "they code".

These speakers use these qualities of two languages for various purposes.

4.1.3 Example 3

Erfan calls Wakkas and they are cousins. Wakkas keeps the speaker of the mobile phone on.

6. Erfan: Jidhar tum kam karda na o khande honay ham.
   = The place where you work, they eat ham.
7. Wakkas: O tay khanday mainun tay badi care karni pendi.
   = They eat but I have to be very careful.
8. Erfan: *Wakkas mein shave kar raha hun. Mein abhee thodi der tak tujhay call karta hun.*
   = *Wakkas, I am shaving. I am calling you after a while.*

Example 3 shows code-switching as a discourse strategy with the exploitation of we-code/they-code. Here both Wakkas and Erfan start the conversation in Punjabi. The conversation continues in Punjabi until Erfan wants to hang up the phone. Instead of saying it directly, in turn 5, he distances Wakkas by switching to Urdu which, as we have seen, is a they-code language of formality. Erfan's switch to Urdu is discourse related code switching. Switching to Urdu signals that Erfan wants to terminate the conversation. It can also indicate a change in topic. After speaking about his job, Erfan switches to the information that he is shaving. Code-switching here serves to express the intention of the speaker and to change the topic by creating a suitable atmosphere. In this example, the conversation is between two cousins, who are almost the same age, so the use of Punjabi is an unmarked choice. Therefore, Erfan's shift to Urdu, which is a marked choice unlike the one in Example 2, indicates his intention to terminate the conversation.

4.1.4 Example 4

In the kitchen Arslan, Mubin and Owais are talking. In turn 30 Arslan says something in reply to Kashif in Urdu.

30. Arslan: *Ha woha to hum dosto ke pas chali jate the. Iyaha kisi ke pas time nehi hota. Udhar banda dosto ko bhee mil leta hein.*
    = *Yes, we used to go to our friends' houses. Here nobody has time. There people meet their friends.*
31. Mubin: [with a deep sigh] *Ha udhar mil lete hein.* Roti kis tara kha layay? Ata te hein nei.
    = [with a deep sigh] *Yes, there people meet.* How to eat bread? There is no flour.

In turn 31, Mubin's Urdu utterance: 'Ha udhar mil lete hein' is a discourse related transfer. Mubin's echoing of Arslan's meaning expresses something different from what Arslan has said. In turn 30 Arslan utters "Ha udhar mil lete hein" as a reason but in turn 31 Mubin echoes him in a tone of grief (the utterance is accompanied by a deep sigh). Again in the same turn (31) Mubin's switch to Punjabi, which is a discourse related code-switching, marks a change of topic as he indicates that they have run out of flour.

4.1.5 Example 5

Mubin shares a story of his college life and the main character of the story is a professor whose name is Quyyum but the students invented a nickname for him – 'Qeema Pistal' to tease him behind his back.

1. Mubin: Intercollege da shaed tun naan sunya hoye ik professor ay, Quyyum naan ay unan da, unan dee chair payi ay Qeema Pistal, o na ik wari koe, pata nae kee gal see naan tay munday shunday ikathay hoye baar ahtajaj karan, G.T. road upper ay painchod road block kar chado, hunt ay kher ka tee ay paella bot block karde si.
   = If you heard about Inter College, there was a professor. His name was Qayum. He used to be teased as Qeema Pistal. I don't know the exact reason but once the boys gathered to protest at upper GT road and motherfucker blocked it. Now it (road blocking) is less but much frequent before.
2. Owais: Han. Palan bot block karday see.
   = Yes. In those days, it was more frequent.
3. Mubin: O munday shunday ikathay hoye kher o shughal shughal chay kafi zyada munday ho janday nay. Saray professor baar aa gaey. Principal bhee saray. Chalo jee mundyan nu ander karo zara. Lagay peyan. Qeema Pistal janab *"chalen ander chalen ander"* ik munda aanda ay Qeema Pistol. Onay sun lya. Onun *"chalo tum bakwas kartay ho bayghairat"* Principal kol lay gya *"Sir ye dekhen kya kah raha ha"* principal onun anda ay *"kya kaha ha tum nay?" "Sir maine kaha Qeema Pistal."*
   = The boys gathered and all the professors and the Principal came out. And they (professor and the Principal) said, "Keep the boys inside". They started pushing back inside. Qeema Pistal said, "Go inside. Go inside." One boy uttered, "Qeema Pistal". He listened. He caught the boy and said, *"You speak stupid, shameless"*. He took him to the Principal and said, *"See what he is saying"*. The Principal asked him, *"What did you say?"* The boy said, *"Sir, I said Qeema Pistal."*
4. Owais: Nae te oo kah vee kee sakda see?
   = What else could he have said?

The explanation of the function of code-switching in Example 5 has been compared with that of in Example 6. The comparative explanation follows Example 6.

4.1.6 Example 6

Owais tells his housemates a story about a love affair between a boy and a girl, who were twelve years old. Owais heard the story from an Indian.

1. Owais: Aj mein bus ton utreya te do bachche, ek munda te ek kuri. Dona di umar bara bara sal si. Te ek Indian othe khara si. O menu dekh ke hasan lag gaya. Onein poochha ki hoya. Te mein keya ay chhoti umre vadde kamanu lag pandene ta vaste hasre ay. O bara mun pat ay. Onein vi Canary Worf utarna si te manveen. Asi nal agay. Te dasan lag peya ki mera cousin ay chhota jiya char sal da. Te jeri larki nal

orenda ay o tin sal dia. Donvan de man peo khosh ne. Donvan hath che hath pa ke rakhde ne.

= When I got off the bus, one boy and one girl. Both of them were twelve years old. There was an Indian standing. Seeing that, I was laughing. He asked me what happened. I told that at younger age they are doing big thing (i.e. behaving like boyfriend and girl friend. That man was straight forward. He was going to Canary Warf and me too. We came together. He started telling me that I (the Indian man) have a younger cousin. He is four years old. And the girl with whom he is moving is three years old. Their parents are happy. And both of them (the boy and the girl) walk in hand in hand.

Though Example 5 and Example 6 both show the use of reported speech, the language choice in both situations is different.

In Example 5 Mubin narrates the whole story in Punjabi but switches to Urdu only when quoting the professor, principal and the student. Interestingly, in Example 6 Owais also narrates the story in Punjabi although it was told by an Indian person in Hindi. (Hindi and Urdu are mutually understandable.) However, instead of switching to Urdu, Owais reports the speech of the Indian man in his own language, Punjabi.

In Example 5 Mubin's switch to Urdu when quoting the professor, principal and the student can be explained according to one of Gumperz's (1982) the six categories of conversational code switching. However, Auer (1984) indentifies this type of code-switch as a discourse related transfer. He thinks that quotation tells us not only something about the reported situation, but also something about the reporting speaker- for instance, their evaluation of the speech they are reporting.

From this perspective it can also be understood that in Example 5 Mubin's choosing to quote the utterances of the principal, professor and the student in Urdu shows that he considers the situation comical. He switched to Urdu to produce a humorous effect, as all were laughing after the story. Moreover, the story is funny if considered from the perspective of college students who sometimes tease their teachers. However, in example 6 Owais is interested only in the thematic material and not the way the Indian person told the story.

4.2 Code-switching between Punjabi and Urdu

Note: Example 7 and Example 8 show the code-switching between Punjabi and English. Here the original and translation of Punjabi words are in regular font and English words are in bold.

4.2.1 Example: 7

Mubin, Ikram and Owais are discussing about cricket.

1. Mubin: Peli galte ay way ke kisivi **situation** che koi vadda bol naen bolna chaeeda.
   = First this is that you should not say something big in any **situation**.
2. Ikram: Ona kol cricket de jere **sources** ne onanu bari changi tara **utilise** karda ay.

= The **sources** which they have for cricket they **utilise** it in a very good way.

3. Mubin: Ha.
   = Yes.
4. Ikram: Onade do bande **top form** che ne.
   = Their two persons are in **top form**.

Some collected excerpts from the same conversation

10. Ikram: Pakistan di **strategy** saee nehi si.
    = The **strategy** of Pakistan was not right.
40. Mubin: Yar aisa varee **prediction** see ke India ya South Africa ee jeetay ga.
    = Friend, there was **prediction** that either India will win or South Africa.
43. Owais: Yar ay **team throughout** tay **superhit** nae see. Akhir chay aa k anan nay acha record keeta tay agay aa gayee.
    = friend this **team** was not **superhit throughout**. In the end they made a good record and came forward.

Here Punjabi-English code-switching occurs mainly in the context a discussion of sports, the work place and study subjects. Fishman's (1972) notion of topic about code-switching helps to understand the function of Punjabi-English as he thinks that certain topics are better explained in one language than the other. The participants live in London and watch English channels to watch games like cricket. They work in a food shop owned by English speaking people. Therefore when they talk about these topics they switch to English, because they are exposed to these topics (discussion about games and work place) in English.

4.2.2 Example 8

Ikram and Mubin work in a food shop. Ikram advises Mubin about his responsibilities.

1. Ikram: Cheese bites khatam honto pele pele dubara **cook** karlena. Farah nu gussa ajanda ay jadon koi cheese khatam ho jave
   = Don't forget to **cook** cheese bites before they are finished. Farah gets angry when she finds things finished.
2. Mubin: Lekin kal jadon mein cheese bites **cook** karreyasi Joe uchi uchi bolan laf peya. O kayrasi hone na **cook** karo jadon order ave odon **cook** karna
   = But, yesterday, when I was **cooking** cheese bites Joe shouted. He was saying don't **cook** now. **Cook** when order comes.
3. Ikram: Odi gal na sun. Os din o puchhreyasi karchay vi tusi anj e pakande o. Mera dil chareya si ke onu dasan ke karchay asi kinna pakane ay.
   = Don't listen to him. That day he was asking me whether we cook at home just for nothing. I felt like telling him how much food we cook at home.

Here as long as Mubin and Ikram talk about cooking at the work place, the domain of English, they switch from Punjabi and speak English, However, in turn 3 Ikram does not switch to English as that point he is not talking about cooking as experience in England, but cooking at

home. Nevertheless, the office-domain use of English is reflected in the participants' speech when they are not in the office domain. Here the reference of activities related to office domain triggers the production of the office-domain-language, English, even when the speakers are in home domain.

5. Conclusion

The data analysis demonstrates a wide range of functions code-switching serves for the speakers belonging to the Punjabi-Pakistani community in London. There are asymmetrical patterns in some instances (Example 5 and Example 6). The integration of micro level as well as macro- approaches creates the space for accounting for individual differences. This concurs with Gal (1979) who found that the distribution of conversational code-switching is not found to be the same for all speakers.

It is interesting that in many instances the speakers' code-switching between Urdu and Punjabi not only serves various conversational goals, but also reflects at the same time the macro-sociolinguistic values attached to these languages. The simultaneous adoption of various approaches to analyse the data helps show that a particular instance of code-switching can serve more than one function for the speakers. Participants' switch to English among themselves in a way is reflective of topic and domain related code-switching without serving any other conversational goal. The study's demonstration of the diversity of functions served by code-switching for this participant community indicates the need for further research on other bi/multilingual communities using a similar methodology. Integration of various perspectives on code-switching allows a researcher to capture a detailed scenario on a single canvas.

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