Reviewing the Challenges and Opportunities Presented by Code Switching and Mixing in Bangla

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Biography
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Abstract
This paper investigates the issues related to code-switching/code- mixing in an ESL context. Some preliminary data on Bangla-English code-switching/code-mixing has been analyzed in order to determine which structural pattern of code-switching/code-mixing is predominant in different social strata. This study also explores the relationship of language use to the socioeconomic class of the language user. The redefined concept of modernization, the increased number of cross-cultural contact and the need for language innovation play a dominant role in the language user's application of code-switching/mixing that determine the socioeconomic rank. Out of four major types of code-switching/mixing, our focus of interest is on "inter-sentential mixing' and 'intra-sentential mixing' i.e. where elements are mixed from both languages that are used in the same sentence and/or in the same conversation. The context and factors that lead to the motivation of using L1 and L2 in a social milieu are also explored in this paper. Our findings suggest that the users are concerned about the language during their speech in order to establish and/or to realize social function, pragmatic function, and meta-linguistic function. Banu and Sussex (2001) conducted a research on code-switching/missing in the context of business names only. To our knowledge, no work has done on English-Bangla code-switching/mixing with predominant structural pattern in relationship with different social strata in the context of Bangladesh. That drive and motivation has worked on to conduct and explore the code-switching/mixing structural pattern in different social rung of Bangladeshi community.
Keywords: Code-switching, Code-mixing, Code-borrowing, Intersentential Code-switching/mixing, Intrasentential Code-switching/mixing

Introduction
Even though, apparently the common perception among the elite educated section of Bangladesh exits that by or large Bangladeshis are monolingual, the present scenario of language use among Bangladeshis tells a different story all together (Banu and Sussex, 2001; Rahman 2005). The total population of Bangladesh and their language use in perspective maintain this notion that Bangladeshis are no more by and large monolingual rather they are in bi- and multilingual surroundings where English has come into other languages due to its phenomenal spread and also of its colonial legacy or residue in Bangladesh. Code-switching and code-mixing in bi-lingual and multilingual settings where English has greater influence on the L1 language(s)—have been extensively studies since 1970s from different perspectives: socio-linguistics, psycho-linguistic and purely linguistic (Kachru 1978 & 1983; Bokamba 1985; Gumperz 1982, Poplack 1980; Bhatia 1989; Myers-Scotton 1989). The switching between and mixing of two languages or two varieties of a language can be used for "functional, pragmatic, communicative or any other reason" (Naval 1989). Code-switching "entails the ability to switch from code A to code B" and occurs on inter-sentential level, whereas code-mixing "entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another" and occurs on intra-sentential level (Kachru 1978:107-108).

For many years research has been done solely on the sociolinguistic and grammatical aspects of code-switching.; as a result, leaves a gap in research as analyses of language use encompass participants, topics or

settings and not the place *within* the interactional context where language(s) are switched/mixed. Because of this fissure, research should be done on conversations in context for identifying the patterns of code-switching/mixing between conversational moves or intonation units. Also, though code-switching is used synonymously with code-mixing, recent research has given new meaning to the expression *code-mixing*: using two languages such as that a third, new code, emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern (Abeywickrama 2007).

Code-switching (CS) and Code-mixing (CM) are most commonly treated as a phenomenon of the spoken language, and in linguistics referring to using more than one language or variety in conversation. There are some areas of code-switching/code-mixing, such as, students' attitude towards CS, and CM, their motivation of using CS/CM at a particular time, place (Hussein 1999) have come into focus for researchers. We also see that research related with CS/CM has also been done on the use and roles of L1 in L2 classrooms at tertiary/different levels of education among ESL learners (Seng & Hashim 2006; Ruan 2003; Murshad 2002; Moore 2002); and functional use of code-mixing across cultures or code-mixing in business names (Banu & Sussex 2001). In the same breath it is worthy to mention that the structural pattern of code-mixing or issues related with linguistic or extra linguistics factors responsible for the predominant code-mixing than the other has been studied in details, but the said pattern or factors regarding CS/CM related with social class (Ben Rampton 2007) has not been studied in Bangladeshi context so far. This paper investigates the issues related with code-switching/code-mixing in an ESL context. Some preliminary data on Bangla-English code-switching/code-mixing has been analyzed in order to determine which structural pattern of code-switching/code-mixing is predominant in different social strata. This study also explores the relationship of language use to the socioeconomic class of the language user. The redefined concept of modernization, the increased number of cross-cultural contact and the need for language innovation play a dominant role in the language user's application of code-switching/mixing that determine the socioeconomic rank. Out of four major types of code-switching/mixing, our focus of interest is on "inter-sentential mixing' and 'intra-sentential mixing' i.e. where elements are mixed from both languages that are used in the same sentence and/or in the same conversation. The context and factors that lead to the motivation of using L1 and L2 in a social milieu are also explored in this paper. Our findings suggest that the users are concerned about the language during their speech in order to establish and/or to realize social function, pragmatic function, and meta-linguistic function.

Theoretical Background

In South Asian countries like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh where English has been in use for over two centuries, its appearance is more pervasive and ubiquitous. Research on multilingualism has seen significant growth in the last decade. An inherent part of multilingual speech is code-switching. Code-switching is the syntactically and phonologically appropriate use of multiple varieties. While code-switching had previously been investigated as a matter of peripheral importance within the more narrow tradition of research on bilingualism, it has now moved into a more general focus of interest for sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and general linguistics. A *code* may be a language or a variety or style of a language; the term *code-mixing* emphasizes hybridization, and the term *code-switching* emphasizes movement from one language to another. Code-switching is a common means to shift contextualization (Gumperz 1982). A broad definition of code-switching is given by Gumperz (1982) as being 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems'.

One of the more complete theories of code switching within sociolinguistics is the Markedness Model, developed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993). According to the markedness model, language users are rational, and choose a language that marks their rights and obligations relative to others in the conversational setting. When there is no clear unmarked choice, code-switching is used to explore possible choices.

Competing sociolinguistics theories examine code-switching as language behaviour, often using discourse analysis, ethnography, or elements of both. Scholars such as Ben Rampton (1995, 2002) describe the effects that use of multiple language varieties have on class, ethnicity, or other identity positions.

A study done by Pittman (2008) maintains that not only bilingual but also trilingual code-switching patterns can be seen significantly between two multilinguals whose bilingual code-switching changed into trilingual code-switching after they moved to North America from Transylvania, an area where Hungarian and Romanian are in close contact. The findings of her study show that the differences in patterns between bilingual versus trilingual code-switching and the different language combinations were found due to the language structure and social and cultural background of the speakers.

Poplack (1980) was one of the first linguists to place code-switching in a theoretical framework. According to Poplack (1980:583), 'code-switching is the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent'. In doing so, she proposed two universal constraints that apply to code-switching: the 'equivalence' and 'free-morpheme' constraints. Though Poplack's model had enduring currency in the literature, more and more recent studies have found it insufficient to explain bilingual/trilingual code-switching, as in the

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case of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages in the same discourse. Backus (1996) found that numerous violations of Poplack's free morpheme constraint in Turkish-Dutch code-switching, where Turkish is a non-Indo-European language. Although monolingualism, bilingualism and trilingualism are different from one from another, they should not be viewed in isolation. According to Grosjean's (2001) Language Mode Hypothesis, speakers move from monolingual situations where the other languages are deactivated to bilingual or trilingual mode. In this paper, code-switching is used as the overarching term for any switch between two or more languages, and when necessary, the distinction is made by using the terms *intersentential* (i.e. a switch between two clauses or sentences) and *intrasentential* (i.e. a switch within a clause) code-switching.

There are many factors that affect code-switching patterns. These include conversation topic, interlocutor's linguistic repertoire, power relationship between speakers, linguistic distance, age and relative degree of fluency in the languages involved. Weninger (2007) investigated the language choice of multilinguals in an academic setting and found that the power relationship between the interlocutors plays an important role in who initiates the conversation and who determines what language is used as the base language. The linguistic distance between the languages involved in a conversation will also have a considerable effect on the patterns of code-switching. For instance, according to Muysken (2002:11), 'perceived similarities between the languages bilinguals speak facilitate code-switching'. Furthermore, manifold studies different code-switching patterns and difference in attitudes towards code-switching when the factor of ages is taken into consideration (Gardner-Chloros *et al*.2005)

A model now considered perhaps the most comprehensive and influential framework is Myers-Scotton's (1993 and 1997) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model. The development of the MLF model was motivated by Grosjean's (1998) theory on different activation, which suggests that languages are accessed in non-identical ways in multilingual speech. In an extensive analysis of language contact in Australia, Clyne (2003) discusses the code-switching patterns of bilingual and trilingual immigrants in terms of *convergence* or *divergence*. In cases of convergence, which may occur at phonetic, morphophonemic, prosodic and syntactic levels, speakers try to make their languages more similar. Rampton's (1995) interpretation of code-switching closely follows Auer (1990), who uses umbrella term code alternation; however, Rampton calls it code-crossing. Auer (1995) takes Gumperz's work further by looking for patterns of code-switching that are beyond the sentence level: code-switching between conversational moves or intonation units.

Very often, code-mixing is used synonymously with code-switching (Annamalai 2001; Backus 1992; Kachru 1983) and means basically intersentential code-switching. However, recent research has given new meaning to this term. Zentella (1997:80) in her research describes it as the creation of a new language, 'called Tex-Mex or Spanglish in US Latino communities, Japlish, Chinglish etc. in others'. This phenomenon is also well-documented by Murshad (2002), and he found that the children did not just use a phrase from their first and another from their second language, and to make the languages work together, the children invented a third grammar that acted as *hooks* between the two languages. He also studied that one of the reasons for code-switching and using two languages at the same time was to be an effective communicator.

An apparent motivation of code-switching is the beginning of new 'conversational action' (Ford & Thompson 1996). Previous research on code-mixing has followed so far three main trends: (a) the search for universal constraints, typified by the seminal work of Poplack (1980); (b) the assumption of asymmetry, initiated by Joshi (1985) and developed by Myers-Scotton (1993) and (c) the typological approach, advocated by Muysken (2000). Muysken (2000) suggests that instead of one code-mixing model serving for all language pairs, there are three types of code-mixing: intesertional, alternational and congruent lexicalization, and one pattern will usually dominate, though not necessarily to the exclusion of other patterns.

Although much has been written on how bilinguals organize their two languages in memory, little is known about why bilinguals mix their two languages during the communicative process. In connection of this, Heridia & Altarriba (2001) suggest that code-switching follows functional and grammatical principle and is a complex, rule-governed phenomenon. Related to a study of bilingual Chinese/English children's code-switching behaviour, Ruan (2003) suggests that as with bilingual adults, code-switching is employed as communicative devices by bilingual children. The author also found that young bilingual Chinese/English children code-switched during their speech in order to realize different functions, such as social function, pragmatic function, and meta-linguistic function.

Methodology
Data Collection

For this study, the data has been collected from different social gatherings, observed and immediately recorded/documented in writing for research. As our study is to get code-switching/mixing in social classes, the author has been to Square/LAB-AID/Apollo hospitals in Dhaka for observing/getting spontaneous conversations of higher/higher-middle class section of the society. The majority of the students from middle class study at 'City College' or 'Dhaka College' at Dhaka. Very often, generally the majority of them travel by bus, and they

quite often wait for the bus for a long time and gossip incessantly on various topics to spend their time. From their conversations and various expressions, the patterns and attitude towards code-switching/mixing of middle class is explored for the study. For getting code-switching/mixing related information and others, the author has frequently visited various small shops and vegetable markets (to do shopping or *window* shopping) to get code-mixing pattern of the lower middle/lower class population. While observing the conversations of the awaiting passengers for the bus, the language use of ticket sellers of various bus companies and the bus helpers/conductors has given us insight into pattern of code-mixing of lower strata of society. We also needed to interview the educated, middle/ urban class to get the attitude regarding code-switching/mixing as overall basis.

Data analysis

All the data consists of casual conversations, where the topics are discussed range from daily activities to discussion of specific people or events. To reiterate, the socioeconomic make up of the observed participants in this study is lower middle class, middle/higher class, higher, educated urban class. In order to determine the main code-mixing pattern in the Bangla-English, a method is devised to quantify the values assigned to Muysken's diagnostic features in order to measure the extent these values have matched each of the three possible patterns. Also, discourse analysis (Gumperz 1982) and the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss 1967) are used to analyze the data. The data included the field notes and transcripts of the conversation. Several steps have been taken for analyzing data. First, the researcher has searched the filed notes and transcripts to identify all instances of code-switching/mixing. Second, each instance has coded and labeled according to its potential function. Third, all the codes are screened and instances labeled with the same or similar codes are grouped together. This is followed by a careful examination of the relationships between and among different codes. Codes with similar nature are then grouped into major categories to suggest patterns.

Result & Discussion

In terms of code-mixing in the lower rank of the society, one can think that they do not literally switch/mix in their daily conversation. Our present study presupposes that this is not the case rather they use Tag-switching or intra-sentential switching predominantly in their speech though while they code-mix, their use of language shows errors in phonetic and semantic level.

Here, the word (s) of other codes than Bengali has been <u>underlined</u> and **bold** to show their presence in the respective conversations.

A member of a lower class section of our society, like, fish seller says to impress his customer in a way which gives the inserted word of the "embedded" language/borrowed code the different meaning. For example, he says: /eta to amar **<u>normal</u>** mal/

"This is my ordinary (not excellent) goods".

Other examples of members of lower middle class:

i) a) A bus checker (commonly known as bus conductor/helper) is found saying:

/panchash takar **<u>lote</u>** /   "a **<u>note</u>** of 50 rupees"

b) He also says for "passport" as /pasfut/; "slow" as /salo/ and "Firmgate" as /faramgate/;

"last trip" as /last tip/; "pop corn" as /pop pon/; "ticket" as /tikit/;

ii) A fruit seller says in reply of a customer's enquiry about his goods: /sure bhalo/

"surely nice" (fruits)

iii) A tailor puts a vowel insertion while saying: /koros/ to mean "cross" and also he says "flexi load" as /felexi load/; use of vowel insertion in /t**a**ransportation/ in place of "transportation".

The patterns of language use for middle/higher middle class in their code-switching/mixing have showed a different story: they are able to code-switch/mix mostly on intra-sentential or intra-word switching pattern successfully at phonological level, but their use in syntactic/semantic level has faltered as they know and have learnt those items from outside as standard norm.

A member belongs to higher middle/middle class utters a sentence in response to a question /tui ki **<u>confirm</u>**/? "Are you sure?" by one of his fellow friends: /ami confirm/ "I am sure/. Here the copula 'am' is not also mentioned; as a result, we see not only the wrong meaning 'sure' is used but also the word-structure is also interchanged.

Other examples: i) /o **<u>pant</u>**-a she **<u>in</u>** koreche/ "He has tucked in that pant". Here in the examples, we see the Bengali suffix 'ta' has been attached with English root word 'pant', wrongly presenting the meaning of 'tuck in' along with the same breath.

In other conversations, they are also found using words, like, /first-ter-ta/ (possessive-determiner),

The other patterns found among middle/higher middle class are: the wrong use of syntactic category (that is, parts of speech), for example, /cheleta **<u>perform</u>**/**<u>performance</u>** korbe/ "the boy will perform". Here, the verb 'perform' is used, along with the verb marker of Bengali of English "korbe" (will do) or the use of noun "performance".

/o **job**-e **joint** koreche/   "he has joined in his (new) job". (the incorrect use of 'joint" as verb).
ii) /current-ta ekhono asheni/   "The electricity has not come yet". (the wrong use of 'current' in place of 'electricity'.
iii) /**mobile** korte hobe/ "need to phone (somebody)". (the wrong use of 'mobile' for calling somebody up.
iv) /basai boshe **bore** hoye jai/ "I get bored sitting at home". (the wrong use of 'bore' in place of 'bored')
v) /chelegulo **default** kaj koreche/ "The boys have done misdeed." (the wrong use of 'default' for 'wrong/misdeed')
vi) /ami **sanguine**/ "I am sure" (the incorrect use of 'sanguine' for 'certain')
vii) /aaj amar off-day/ "today is my day-off" (the wrong use of 'off-day' for 'day off')
viii) /eta **tough** bapar/ "this is difficult matter" /meye-der onek kichu **maintain** o **sacrifice** korte hoy/ "Girls need to maintain and do a lot of compromise/ (the wrong use of 'sacrifice' for 'compromise')
ix) /you mad/ in place of "you are mad"; /eta **related**/   "this is related" (without copula 'is')
x) /or matha disturb/ "he is crazy" (the wrong use and meaning of 'disturb' for 'disturbed')
xi) /loose paper din/ "give me an extra paper/ (the incorrect use of 'loose' for 'extra')
xii) /or **exam hall**-e **guard** ache/   "he has duty in an examination hall" (the wrong use of 'guard' for 'duty')
xiii) /**minimize** kora/ "to compromise" (the incorrect use of 'minimize' semantically)

Other fixed expressions are employed my member of higher middle class, for example, "Oh! My God"; "Excuse me"

The inter-sentential pattern of code-switching/mixing, and the use of metalinguistic device are the dominant form of higher class, urban educated in Bangla-English code-switching/mixing. Generally, it has been observed that the majority of those who belong to higher class predominantly converse in English with others (using full English sentences) with lesser degree of insertion of Bengali expressions.

As for example, "**What I feel, we need to do this**-/**sun shine** hote bachte hobe/" "We need to save ourselves from sunshine"

An example of a conversation in the surroundings of a hospital about a patient:
i) "/**probably worse case**, bari nie ashte hobe **but** kali **release** korte hobe, **ward** hote release hobe shigroi. mone hoy **emergency case**/. "Probably it's a more than a bad case, need to take the patient home, but we have to get the release tomorrow, will get the release from ward soon. It seems it's an emergency case."
ii) "/I mean- khub bhalobhabe jani na/ " I mean- I don't know it very well."

Other examples:
 i) "I will call you **anyway**". (the incorrect use of 'anyway').
ii) "He is the best-/oi kaje/" "in that work".
iii) "Excuse me. What is the problem? /taRatari chole ele/" "if I come early"
iv) "/amar khub bhalo lagche/ I want to meet you now." " I feel really good".
v) "of course, /parties-te maje maje dekha hoy/" "of course, sometimes we meet at parties"
vi) /**if you don't mind,** amar loan-tar bepare ektu dekhben/ "if you don't mind, please consider my case of loan".
vii) /ami bolte chai. I am talking about late 70s or 80s/. "I mean, I am talking about …."

There are some idiosyncratic ways of using English to show Bengali intonational meaning, and this is employed mainly by young section of the society, as for example, the reduplication of 'heavy' (that is, heavy heavy) to mean "excellent".

Conclusion

In some cases code-switching is confused with borrowing which Myers-Scotton (1990) explains as the attempt to reproduce in one language the patterns found in another language. Poplack (1980) says for an item to be considered a borrowed lexical item it has to be integrated into the receiving language phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. Zentella (1997: 81) also reiterates this process when she observed that 'English loan words like *londri* (laundry), *lonchar* (to lunch), *biles* (bills), *el bloque* (the block) regularly appear in the Spanish of monolinguals in NYC, and they have been adopted phonologically and morpho-syntactically to such an extent that members of the second generation think they belong to the Spanish lexicon.' Similar situation prevails in our country as well. The English words like: *Confusion*, *Confused*, *Urgent*, *Confirm* etc. are used by the Bangla monolinguals in such a way that the words seem to be Bangla, e.g. /ami **confused**/ "I am confused".

On a typological point of view, our study and observation shows the predominant pattern while code-switching/mixing employed by different sections of Bangladeshi society is insertional type of code-mixing proposed by Myers-Scotton though the other pattern, like, alternational by Poplack is also there. It is difficult to find the presence of congruent lexicalization by Muysken as the Bengali grammar is not largely shared with English grammar. For higher section of the society, code-switching/mixing is employed as communicative devices as well as for social function, pragmatic function more than these devices are employed by other sections of the society. The higher class of the society bear positive attitude towards code-switching/mixing in greater way, and are more motivated using them in conversation than others as the perceived notion of 'modernization'

comes into fore. The divergence, not convergence pattern at phonetic, morphophonemic, clause/syntactic levels are more among higher class in comparison with others, and the other motivations for code-switching show the beginning of a new conversational action: change in topic.

The present study is an exploratory endeavour, but it contains limitations in many ways. The data that have been used for the research purpose is not quantitative (as presented in Mashchler, 1998) and does not show that the new system (the emerging mixed code) forms a specific linguistic configuration that is not equivalent to the source languages (Oesch Serra, 1998). The code-switching observed in the study is purely ad hoc and does not provide the type of evidence that requires gathering data from one source over a long period of time. The paper thus makes an attempt to say that code-switching is a part of a verbal action viewed as a conversational event, that requires understanding the 'local production of occurring conversation' and the way the participants in the conversation make a communicative and social interpretation from the conversation.

In future, more research can be done on code-switching/mixing in Bangla-English, taking large number of sampling. At present the posh areas of Dhaka city in Bangladesh are Gulshan, Banani, and many premises of different private universities. The speeches of people of those mentioned areas and the speeches of the students of different private universities need to be included for further study to see the predominant structural patterns among higher social class people.

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