

# लघुतौल्लुघुतौ MANCHESTER

**Report 2012**



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# **Why do bilinguals code-switch in the Oldham/Clarksfield Area?**

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The aim of our investigation was to establish various reasons as to when and why people code-switch, and to see if our findings were in line with sociolinguistic theory. As researchers we had developed a keen interest in code-switching, due to the fact that the multicultural nature of the United Kingdom has led to code-switching becoming a daily phenomenon in a variety of contexts.

While extensive research has been conducted into code-switching, a substantial proportion of this has been using a domain-analysis approach. Chaudhry, Khan and Mahay's (2010) research was similar to ours in that they constructed linguistic profiles of multilingual families in Manchester, yet they investigated domain-based reasons for switching between the English, Punjabi and Urdu languages. They concluded that one reason for switching was the level of prestigiousness - Urdu was considered more prestigious than the others languages, and so was to be used in more formal situations. While we consider domain analysis in sociolinguistic research to be useful to discover why people code-switch in the community, we wanted to focus on why multilingual families code-switch when conversing with each other (even when the majority of such family members are fluent in both languages), hence why our research design was slightly different.

Instead of generating a universal perspective on code-switching, we focused on code-switching between bilingual speakers of Punjabi and English, using English-Punjabi speakers in the Clarksfield area as our participants. After conducting an ethnic analysis of Oldham (see page three of our fieldwork plan), we discovered that Clarksfield was relatively evenly populated in terms of Pakistani and White ethnic individuals, while other areas of Oldham (such as Saddleworth and West Wood) were each fairly dominated by one ethnicity. It was for this reason, as well as the practicality of access to

Oldham from the university that Clarksfield was the most suitable area in which to conduct our research.

Our study was an ethnographic participant observation which consisted of recording and analysing the spontaneous speech of bilingual English-Punjabi families. As one of our group members was from Oldham, we used the 'friend of a friend' sampling technique to our advantage. This technique was devised by Lesley Milroy, who described it as a useful method of observation of language 'in its social context as it is used in everyday situations' (Milroy 1980, in Jones 1998:48). Our investigation was consequently conducted in apparent time – studying families as whole groups allowed for our participants to be different in terms of age, gender etc. We were also able to record utterances produced by participants of different levels of competency in both English and Punjabi. Variation was vital to our research, as it would potentially allow for an extensive number of reasons for code-switching to be discovered.

Through asking participants to complete a language proficiency questionnaire, we discovered the following information about our participants:

Transcript One				
Participant	Age	Fluency	Gender	Daily Language Interaction
A	55	English: None Punjabi: Fluent	Female	Housewife - Interacts only with Punjabi speaking individuals
B	48	English: Basic understanding and speaking ability Punjabi: Fluent	Female	Housewife – Interacts with Punjabi speaking friends but children speak English
C	21	English: Fluent Punjabi: Basic understanding and speaking ability	Female	University Undergraduate- Interacts predominantly with English speaking individuals
D	4	English: Fluent Punjabi: Basic understanding and speaking ability	Female	Preschool - Interacts predominantly with English speaking individuals
E	52	English: Fluent Punjabi: Fluent	Male	Restaurant Manager – Interacts with both fairly evenly

Transcript Two				
Participant	Age	Fluency	Gender	Daily Language Interaction
A	42	English: Basic understanding and speaking ability Punjabi: Fluent	Female	Housewife – Interacts with Punjabi speaking friends but children speak English
B	27	English: Fluent Punjabi: Fluent	Male	Solicitor - Interacts with both fairly evenly
C	19	English: Fluent Punjabi: Basic understanding and speaking ability	Female	College student- Interacts predominantly with English speaking individuals
D	13	English: Fluent Punjabi: Basic understanding and speaking ability	Male	School - Interacts predominantly with English speaking individuals
E	21	English: Fluent Punjabi: Fluent	Female	From the Bradford Region – Interacts predominantly with Punjabi speakers but is also fluent in English via education

Although we initially recorded conversations held by five different families, we selected two recordings with a commendable number of instances of code-switching to be analysed. Between one minute thirty seconds and two minutes of each conversation

were transcribed – sections of which showed a variety of instances of code-switching. Although two of our researchers could speak a small amount of Punjabi themselves, a fluent speaker was enlisted to help with the translation of Punjabi utterances in order to make sure that the transcript was as accurate as possible.

We considered ethical issues and conduct throughout our investigative procedure. After being approached and having their conversations recorded, participants were fully debriefed about the nature and purpose of the experiment, and were made fully aware of their right to withdraw. Although participants were initially conscious of their recordings being used for a linguistics project, they were not fully briefed - we thought that this would potentially lead them to alter their conversations to fit our research aims, taking away the 'reality' from our findings. While we were conscious of the fact that some of our participants may have withdrawn from the study (as they were not initially fully briefed) this did not happen, and so there was no need in reverting to our back-up plan (see page five of our fieldwork plan). In order to protect their privacy, the names of participants were alphabetised instead.

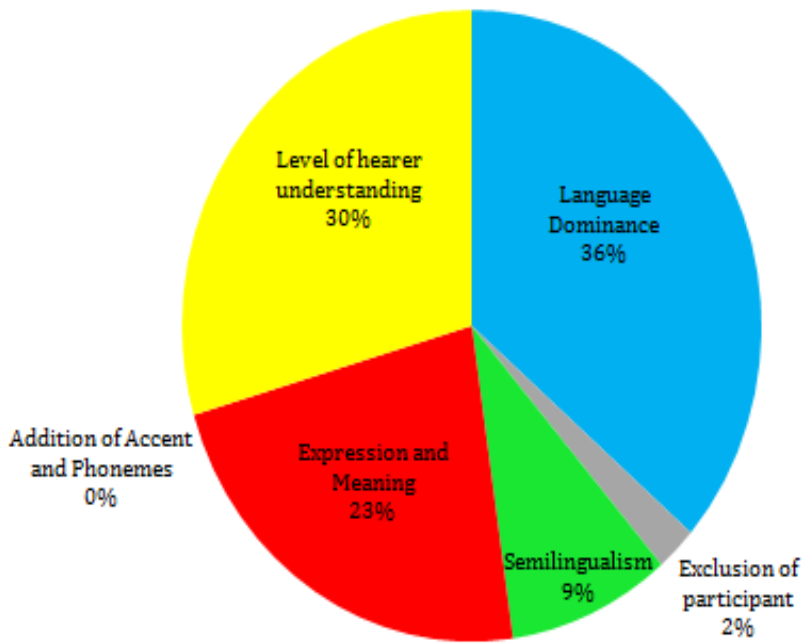
The main principles of our methodology were kept the same as outlined in our fieldwork plan. We did, however, experience a few delays when it came to writing up the report due to one group-member's family circumstances, but were beneficial in having planned to finish the write-up a week before the hand-in date. We therefore had enough time to be flexible, and still managed to have everything completed in advance of the deadline.

The accuracy of our analysis was increased through the additional element of our methodology. This involved an informal questionnaire that we prepared earlier which allowed participants to respond to range of questions to develop on our findings (See

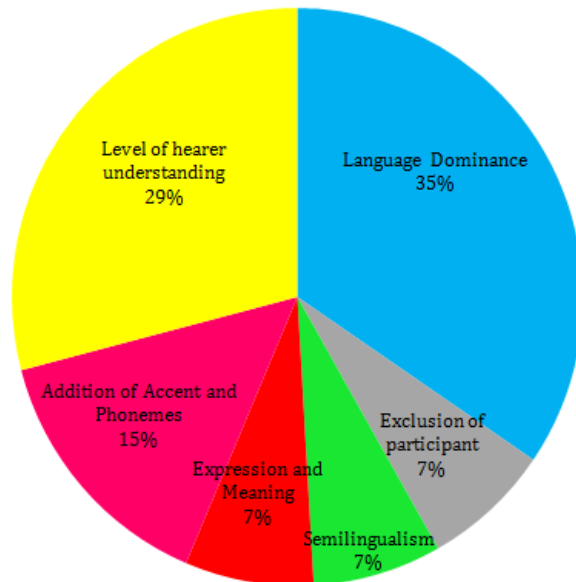
appendix One). We found this to be somewhat problematic as we could not follow up all participants. We arranged a slot suitable to participants willing to meet. Contacting the participants again seemed relatively easy due to the advantage of the friends of friend's technique. This allowed us to be more satisfied with our reasoning for code-switching. Thankfully, due to the use of the 'friends of a friend' technique, we were easily able to contact our participants.

The combination of further interviews asking participants for their personal views of the Punjabi and English languages and why they code-switch between them, as well as our recordings, transcripts and background research, we were able to accurately identify why participants used a particular language on particular instances. From the analysis of two transcripts we found the following factors to be the most prevalent for influencing code-switching – the dominance of a language, speaker and hearer exclusion, speaker fluency (semi-lingualism), aids to deliver expression and meaning, the need to make words 'sound' a particular way via accents, and the analysis of hearer fluency. A graph below represents the percentage of each type of reasoning within each transcript.

**A Graph To Show Reasons For Code Switching Instances In Transcript One**



**A Graph To Show Reasons For Code Switching Instances In Transcript Two**





## **Language Dominance**

Heredia (1998) stated that the language used more frequently is an influential feature causing a switch from one language to another. A correlation can be formed between the increase of the language used most dominantly and a decline of instances of code switching. Therefore when speaking the language of communication which statistically is used less often, an increase in occurrences of code switching is witnessed. Empirical research has supported Heredia's observation. The core phenomenon is that the individual's first language has little influence on code switching but the more active, hence dominant language is relevant instead. Language dominance as represented in the graph above was the major reasoning for code switching.

In transcript one line seventeen 'C' code switches when the context requires her to explain in the Punjabi language. 'C' evidently fails to meet the demand of 'A' whom has very limited knowledge and understanding of English as the utterance consists of 50% English vocabulary, code switching after every single attempted Punjabi word. This can be explained via Heredia's explanation, where 'C' verified that although Punjabi is her first language she obtained her formal education in English and so many of her everyday interaction involved English which has now become her dominant language, an example of subtractive bilingualism. As a result the concepts in the English language are more accessible for 'C' which explains the outstanding percentage of code switching in a single utterance. A further interview revealed that 'C' agrees with the concept that English has now become the dominant language and she believes this to have influenced her utterance on this particular occasion.

In the same transcript line thirty seven there is evidence of language dominance whereby 'C' is spoken to indirectly by her father 'E' in Punjabi. Here she has the option

of continuing the conversation in Punjabi or code switching to English as 'E' is fluent in both languages. Her response 'Dad don't compare' shows her preference for using English as a form of communication as this is dominant and which she believes she is comfortable with. In order to increase the validity of our explanations we aimed to rule out any other possible influences for 'C' to have code switched. We acknowledged 'C's reply may have been as a result of an aim to exclude the other participants due to the topical context; 'C' utterance pragmatically implies she would like the topic to not be discussed further. Crystal (1987) identified that being bilingual instantly creates the advantage of excluding an individual whom cannot speak either one of the languages. Speaking in a different language that another cannot speak entails the particular individual cannot contribute nor understand. 'C' confirmed that she chose to speak in English as a mixture of both deeming this to be the language in which she felt most confident in speaking, when given the option 'C' prefers to use her dominant language and to limit the conversation as a form of exclusion.

Furthermore, the choice of transcript two is largely dependent on a specific participant 'E' who is from Bradford Three region. This area is largely home to Pakistani individuals with Punjabi being an extremely dominant language. 'E' in both lines thirteen and twenty four speaks Punjabi with one instance of code switching. Although speaking to what she recognises as fluent and dominant English speakers, she still chooses to speak in Punjabi. This choice of language varies from that of Clarksfield individuals of her generation whom when given the option speak in English. This shows the type of area an individual is brought up in affects the reasoning for code switching.

## **Semi-lingualism**

The term semi-lingualism was a term first coined by Hansegard in 1986 (Baker, 2011). Hansegard believed this was the notion describing the deficit in any two particular languages and that they almost speak both languages. With the nature of why the term was eventually coined (low achieving Swedish bilinguals) the term has been associated with a negative connotation and has earned an alternative label 'limited bilingualism'.

It is evident in transcript one line twelve where 'C' states "five ninety nine" within what she aims to deliver a Punjabi sentence. In a further interview when questioned 'C' stated this was as a result of her limited knowledge of numbers in Punjabi. We researched this further and found that the system in English has an evident relationship between numbers for example the basic number count until the number nine is repeated along the continuum e.g. twenty one, twenty two etc. In Punjabi no number has a relationship nor is repeated for example 'iki, bai'. This would therefore make the process of recalling numbers in Punjabi extremely difficult.

In transcript two (see appendix three) line thirty one there is evidence to suggest semi-lingualism is a cause of code switching on this particular instance. When asked to describe a particular noun 'pumpkin' in Punjabi 'D' begins his utterance in the desired language but fails and uses an English adjective "orange" and the noun he wishes to describe. Hansegard proposed that a limited vocabulary in a particular language is a signifier of semi-lingualism (Chin, 2007). 'A', the mother of 'D', explained that 'D' was unable to sufficiently describe a Pumpkin due to its relevance culturally. She explained pumpkins to generally not be a "popular" vegetable in originating Punjabi countries such as India and Pakistan, Furthermore 'A' states stereotypically a male is limited on 'food' vocabulary compared to women and that the age of sixteen implies he is more

likely to not have come into contact with such a word living in the UK. The limited usage of the word has therefore capped 'D's vocabulary and thus regarded as a semi-lingualism.

### **Expression and Meaning**

Crystal (1987) believes another reason for a bilingual to code-switch is the notion that a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. At this semantic level one is able to express themselves successfully through the process of code switching to the language believed to fulfil proficiency (Chin, 2007).

An example of an aim to switch languages due to the belief of attaining meaning is that of line thirty one transcript one. Here speaker 'C' classes herself as speaker of Punjabi and English code switches to Arabic. During this intercultural communication the word 'Inshallah' is used of which is recognised as a connotative meaning with special significance due to its Holy nature and relevance to the language of the Quran. Morgan (1999) further states this expression to be widely employed on the basis of the future which is a conditioned very early in childhood. Therefore with the topic relating to the future 'C' naturally switches language as the word denotes a special meaning which any other language would lack.

Furthermore in transcript one D states 'taya'. In translation this stands for an uncle, a specified one, the uncle whom is the eldest of all uncles which is believed to have extensive respect at his own right. In Punjabi a general norm is that a person is never referred to by the name on the condition if they are older in age. If so, the person is referred to by their relation to signify respect. Though the age of the participant seems to suggest she is not able to yet understand her usage of this term it is taught as part of

her language to fulfil this cultural norm. As English is culturally diverse from that of Punjabi such norms are not appreciated, and not to be of compulsory nature. Therefore if said in English the value and cultural belief would not be fixated to the term.

Furthermore, in transcript two line eight C states 'eh digpya' which means 'it fell'. 'A' stated when anyone drops something, causing it to break or spill, and report the event tearfully our parents would prompt us not to say "i dropped it". This places the blame on the child who is already upset. 'C' stated that on this particular occasion it could have just as easily have said "it fell", but using the Punjabi gave it extra shade of meaning, the knowledge that our parents did not blame us for the accident. This extra shade of meaning when using Punjabi is seen in transcript one line forty eight whereby E states "tatta tatta". Danger is portrayed phonologically, and the term is coined specifically for children. Likewise an interesting example is that of the English child directed speech 'Night Night', 'E' stated that is said in Punjabi this has no relevance and is unheard of. The sarcastic meaning is also represented and associated with specific languages as each language has its own form of humour and sarcasm. In transcript two line forty three D states 'sooooo' this word again has no relevance and is neither heard of in Punjabi.

### **Addition of accent and phonemes**

Berthold et al (1997) stated that when bilinguals converse, they believe they are code-switching, yet they are using phonological interference to recompense for the insufficiency. Phonological interference is combined with interference at a lexical level, by loaning words from a language and converting them to phonologically resemble another language.

Within both transcripts, there was strong evidence to suggest a stereotypical Punjabi accent is used and deemed to be a Punjabi word. In transcript two line three 'C' states 'fry paan', an English noun changed from /æ/ to /a:/. Berthold (1997) stated stress is a common phonological interference. The addition of phonemes that represent the affix system of Punjabi are used in combination with English nouns again with an intonation different to that of English to transform the word into what is believed a Punjabi word (Cook, 1991/65). This is evident in transcript two line nine 'carpeteh', line nineteen 'schoolu' line twenty five 'exama'.

In line twenty nine 'B' states 'next time', the word time has an accent placed upon it at the sound of 't'. The Punjabi tongue does not have a letter sounding the same way the pronunciation of 't' in English. In Punjabi dialect many consonants are retroflex this is evident in letters such as /t, d, s, z, l and r/ (Collins, undated). In the Punjabi dialect when saying the letter 't' the tongue is rolled with the tip of the lower tongue touching the back of the teeth giving a more distinct sound as opposed to English which uses the upper front of the tongue. The use of this accent gives the illusion that one is speaking Punjabi and creates the belief that it is in fact Punjabi that they are speaking. Speech sound manipulation as illustrated above influence the combination of both the languages (Berthold 1997).

### **Level of understanding of hearer**

Crystal (1987) stated that speakers evaluate the level of understanding that their listener has of a specific language. They assess whether or not they are required to code switch to be understood.

In transcript one line twenty six 'D' has been ignored on many occasions by 'C' asking her 'what's this' and so she states 'ama eh ki ah' which translated means the same. 'D,' although being of only four years of age, code-switches as she is aware of the language proficiency of each individual based on experience. This process is demonstrated in a vice versa method as in transcript one when 'B' speaks to 'D' she uses 'pieces join' English vocabulary as 'D's vocabulary is limited 'B' knows she will not understand otherwise. With reference to the previous section regarding language dominance and numerical recall in line forty two transcript two 'B' acknowledges that numbers are a difficult system to remember in Punjabi and therefore attempts to say it in English.

This is suggestive evidence to prove the phenomenon proposed by Heredia (1998). Recent developments in psycholinguistic research has found code-switching to be a natural product of the interaction of the bilinguals two languages. Evidence portrays bilinguals to have organised each language in separate and distinct mental dictionaries (Heredia undated). Fishman found such languages to be home to an organised "functionally complementary sphere". Inside this sphere a "mental switch mechanism" determines which of the bilinguals two mental dictionaries are "on" or "off" during the course of language comprehension which is determined by the selection of the language most appropriate (Chin 2007).

## **Conclusion**

Our initial hypothesis regarding that a noticeable correlation will be witnessed between the younger the age and the higher the instance of code switching based on (Auer,1999) was proven. Participants such as 'C' and 'D' in transcript one and 'C', 'd', 'E', in transcript two code switched more than participants of an older age, though age alone did not seem to be an outstanding factor for one to code switch. From the transcripts it is

evident that situational factors were more likely responsible for the cause of code switching and the reasons identified were not age specific. All ages were acknowledged to have used code switching for each reason. It seems not that there are differences with regards to demographics e.g. age gender for one to code switch. A summary to suggest why one code switches which incorporates all the above reasons is that an individual generally aims to compensate for a deficiency whether that be in their knowledge of the language, others knowledge, or in the languages itself. The topic of code switching is proven to be a relatively insightful one, of which through the use of scholarly literature we have been able to further our knowledge into this field and appreciate its complexity.



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Interview Questions

Participant: E Transcript: 1

- 1) In line forty eight you use the term 'tatta tatta' why do you feel to code switch on this particular instance?

The sound of it makes you feel like its dangerous, we dont use it for adults just children.

- 2) Please repeat this 'I would like to watch a cartoon' and 'aaj me cartoon daikna chanda'

Participant when saying Punjabi phrase the tongue seems more reiled back end tip of tongue touches back of the teeth  
English phrase- tongue touches upper front of the tongue.

- 3) Did you receive any education in the English Language?

I came ~~up~~ here at a young age so any English I know is just of experience not really education.

- 4) What do you believe the most common reason for yourself to code switch to be?

My kids can't speak Punjabi too well so it would be pointless to speak strict Punjabi - they wont understand.

## Interview Questions

Participant: E      Transcript: 2

1) What do language do you generally interact in on a day to day basis?

Generally at home I would speak to my parents or elders in Punjabi but when outside of the house I would speak in English, depending on who I'm with.

2) How would you describe your neighbourhood and the daily language used?

My neighbours would speak in Punjabi but if speaking to younger people ie: their children I would switch to English.

3) How would you describe the number system in Punjabi?

I don't think there is a way to link the numbers with the words used for them so there doesn't seem to be a understandable link.

4) What language do you feel comfortable in speaking in?

Probably feel most comfortable in both English and Punjabi, but enjoy speaking Punjabi with elders mainly.

5) Do you see noticeable difference in the use of code switching between residents of Clarksfield and Bradford?

I think there is less code-switching in Bradford as people seem to be more fluent in Punjabi and generally tend to speak this language predominantly.

## Interview Questions

Participant: A      Transcript: 2

1) What language do you choose to say numbers in?

English because the systems easier and kids know only English, if im speaking to Punjabi only speaking individuals I say it in Punjabi

2) In line thirty one your son aims to describe a fruit in Punjabi but fails and states 'Orange pumpkin' why do you feel he code switched on this particular instance?

pumpkin is not really known not common vegetable and hes a boy so he doesnt know kitchen terminology.

3) In line 8 your daughter states 'eh digpya' why do you believe this is?

we've generally made them say mir since they were young its a popular phrase.

4) Did you receive any education in the English Language?

No - none what I know is generally because of my kids

5) What do you believe the most common reason for yourself to code switch to be?

depends who im talking to I switch accordingly.

## Interview Questions

Participant: C      Transcript: 1

1) How would you describe the number system in Punjabi?

There's no link just individual numbers,

2) We noticed in line twelve you stated 'ki hoya bachi ah five ninety nine da si' why do you believe you used English to communicate numbers?

I only know how to count up to 20 maximum but even then I won't ever say it in Punjabi just helps me understand if anyone else was to say it.

3) In line seventeen you say 'ai jigsaw hei pieces / join karida', why do you believe you code switched on this particular instance?

I went to school and they speak English that's what I tend to speak I'm use to it and I know it more confidently.

4) In line thirty seven you stated 'dad no don't compare' why do you believe you code switched on this particular instance?

Firstly I didn't want to speak Punjabi because its easier if I just speak English and also mum and auntie wouldn't have understood.

5) In line forty eight E states 'tatta tatta' why do you believe he did not simply continue the sentence in English and state 'hot hot'

That's what we use for children like in English you say 'night night' that's never heard of and no use in saying it.

## Interview Questions

Participant: C      Transcript: 2

- 1) In line 8 you state 'eh digpya' why do you feel to code switch on this particular instance?

The conversation consisted of English and Punjabi speaking participants so I felt comfortable to use Punjabi for this instance as everyone in the conversation would have understood too.

- 2) What language do you feel comfortable in speaking?

English is my mother tongue therefore this is the language I feel most confident in speaking.

- 3) Do you believe you code switch often?

Yes depending on the context. If I don't know a certain word in Punjabi I would substitute it for an English word instead.

- 4) What do you believe the most common cause for code switch you see in conversation?

Probably if someone doesn't know the alternative word form of if in Punjabi itself English words are also used ie: 'door' or 'keys'.

Appendix Two

The identified reasoning for code-switching have been identified and determined by our research findings and analysis of relevant literature

Language dominance      Semi-lingualism      Expression and Meaning      Level of understanding/speaking

Transcript One:

Punjabi Transcript

- 1) A: tu marai kaar ondi ni meh kya meh challi ja
- 2) B: Nah kasme kaddi idder / kaadi udder
- 3) A: / tu chup oh tu aveh ida
- 4) kehniyai (laughs)
- 5) C: look Lybah, this is what your sister Serish
- 6) bought you, do you like it? Is it nice?
- 7) D: yeah its nice is it for me?
- 8) C: yeah don't make a mess though sit over there
- 9) Ok
- 10) D: ok
- 11) A: tanu kyo lore si inu kahreednai di
- 12) C: ki hoya bachi ah five ninety nine da si
- 13) A: tanu shownk ah pesai zaya karnai da
- 14) C: mei kida zaya kardi ah / pesai
- 15) D: / what is this for
- 16) A: ki jaroorat ah
- 17) C: ai jigsaw hei pieces / join karida
- 18) D: / tell me whats this for
- 19) A: ki
- 20) C: ami tusi explain karo oh menu samaj deh ni
- 21) B: meh sowndi nay fir das ki kehni ai
- 22) C: bas ik game hei to eh jigsaw de pieces join
- 23) Kardo
- 24) B: ik kalona eh udai tukrai katai karnai ain
- 25) A: teek ah / fir vi koi jaroorat nih
- 26) D: / ama eh ki ah?
- 27) B: / bas pieces join karni ha
- 28) E: Have your sat your exam yet?
- 29) C: no not yet but soon
- 30) E: it best be good im telling you
- 31) C: inshallah
- 32) B: inshallah kis da
- 33) E: idai imtiaan ageh ha
- 34) B: acha / imtian
- 35) A: / acha pir merai mundai de ageh hona
- 36) E: acha pir meri beti naal moqabla hai
- 37) C: dad no don't / compare
- 38) B: / mazaq karnain
- 39) A: tusi moqabla kardai ha / merai mundai naal
- 40) B: / mazaq karnain
- 41) E: what you playing
- 42) D: jigsaws
- 43) E: do you like the game
- 44) D: yeah you want to play taya

English Translated Transcript

- 1) A: you don't come to my house I thought I'd come
- 2) B: no honestly sometimes here / sometimes there
- 3) A: / you be quiet you
- 4) just say that (laughs)
- 5) C: look Lybah, this is what your sister Serish
- 6) bought you, do you like it? Is it nice?
- 7) D: yeah its nice is it for me?
- 8) C: yeah don't make a mess though sit over ther
- 9) Ok
- 10) D: ok
- 11) A: what was the need in purchasing that
- 12) C: whats up shes a child it's only five ninety nine
- 13) A: you have an aim to waste money
- 14) C: how do I waste / money
- 15) D: / what is this for
- 16) A: whats the need
- 17) C: its a jigsaw the pieces / needed to be joined
- 18) D: / tell me whats this for
- 19) A: ki
- 20) C: mum you explain they don't understand me
- 21) B: i wasn't listening tell me again what to say
- 22) C: its just a game a jigsaw the pieces need to be
- 23) Joined
- 24) B: its a game the pieces need to be joined
- 25) A: allright / again there is no need
- 26) D: / mum whats this?
- 27) B: / just need to join the pieces
- 28) E: Have you sat your exam yet?
- 29) C: non not yet but soon
- 30) E: it best be good im telling you
- 31) C: if god wills
- 32) B: if god wills for what
- 33) E: her exams have arrived
- 34) B: ok / exams
- 35) A: / ok so my sons have arrived also
- 36) E: ok so my daughter has competition
- 37) C: dad no don't / compare
- 38) B: / hes joking
- 39) A: you are completing then / with my son
- 40) B: / hes joking
- 41) E: what you playing
- 42) D: jigsaws
- 43) E: do you like the game
- 44) D: yeah you want to play uncle

Appendix Three

The identified reasoning for code-switching have been identified and determined by our research findings and analysis of relevant literature

Language dominance

Semi-lingualism

Expression and Meaning

Level of understanding/speaking

Transcript Two:

Punjabi Transcript

- 45) A: tu marai kaar ondi ni meh kya meh challi ja  
 46) B: Nah kasmae kaddi idder / kaadi udder  
 47) A: / tu chup oh tu aveh ida  
 48) kehniyai (laughs)  
 49) C: look Lybah, this is what your sister Serish  
 50) bought you, do you like it? Is it nice?  
 51) D: yeah its nice is it for me?  
 52) C: yeah don't make a mess though sit over there  
 53) Ok  
 54) D: ok  
 55) A: tanu kyo lore si inu kahreednai di  
 56) C: ki hoya bachi ah five ninety nine da si  
 57) A: tanu shownk ah pesai zaya karnai da  
 58) C: mei kida zaya kardi ah / pesai  
 59) D: / what is this for  
 60) A: ki jaroorat ah  
 61) C: ai jigsaw hei pieces / join karida  
 62) D: / tell me whats this for  
 63) A: ki  
 64) C: ami tusi explain karo oh menu samaj deh ni  
 65) B: meh sowndi nay fir das ki kehni ai  
 66) C: bas ik game hei to eh jigsaw de pieces join  
 67) Kardo  
 68) B: ik kalona eh udai tukrai katai karnai ain  
 69) A: teek ah / fir vi koi jaroorat nih  
 70) D: / ama eh ki ah?  
 71) B: / bas pieces join karni ha  
 72) E: Have you sat your exam yet?  
 73) C: no not yet but soon  
 74) E: it best be good im telling you  
 75) C: inshallah  
 76) B: inshallah kis da  
 77) E: idai imtiaan ageh ha  
 78) B: acha / imtian  
 79) A: / acha pir merai mundai de ageh hona  
 80) E: acha pir meri beti naal moqabla hai  
 81) C: dad no don't / compare  
 82) B: / mazaq karnain  
 83) A: tusi moqabla kardai ha / merai mundai naal  
 84) B: / mazaq karnain  
 85) E: what you playing  
 86) D: jigsaws  
 87) E: do you like the game  
 88) D: yeah you want to play kava

English Translated Transcript

- 45) A: you don't come to my house I thought I'd come  
 46) B: no honestly sometimes here / sometimes there  
 47) A: / you be quiet you  
 48) just say that (laughs)  
 49) C: look Lybah, this is what your sister Serish  
 50) bought you, do you like it? Is it nice?  
 51) D: yeah its nice is it for me?  
 52) C: yeah don't make a mess though sit over ther  
 53) Ok  
 54) D: ok  
 55) A: what was the need in purchasing that  
 56) C: whats up shes a child it's only five ninety nine  
 57) A: you have an aim to waste money  
 58) C: how do I waste / money  
 59) D: / what is this for  
 60) A: whats the need  
 61) C: its a jigsaw the pieces / needed to be joined  
 62) D: / tell me whats this for  
 63) A: ki  
 64) C: mum you explain they don't understand me  
 65) B: i wasn't listening tell me again what to say  
 66) C: its just a game a jigsaw the pieces need to be  
 67) Joined  
 68) B: its a game the pieces need to be joined  
 69) A: allright / again there is no need  
 70) D: / mum whats this?  
 71) B: / just need to join the pieces  
 72) E: Have you sat your exam yet?  
 73) C: non not yet but soon  
 74) E: it best be good im telling you  
 75) C: if god wills  
 76) B: if god wills for what  
 77) E: her exams have arrived  
 78) B: ok / exams  
 79) A: / ok so my sons have arrived also  
 80) E: ok so my daughter has competition  
 81) C: dad no don't / compare  
 82) B: / hes joking  
 83) A: you are completing then / with my son  
 84) B: / hes joking  
 85) E: what you playing  
 86) D: jigsaws  
 87) E: do you like the game  
 88) D: yeah you want to play kava



Punjabi Transcript

- 45) E: (laughs) no you play yourself puthari im  
46) drinking tea  
47) D: no taya hold this please  
48) E: na na tatta tatta  
49) D: baji do you want to play  
50) C: ok pass me it  
51) D: here baji  
52) C: pass some to ama too  
53) D: eh le ama

English Translated Transcript

- 45) E: (laughs) no you play yourself child im drinking  
46) tea  
47) D: no uncle hold this please  
48) E: no no hot hot  
49) D: sister do you want to play  
50) C: ok pass me it  
51) D: here sister  
52) C: pass some to mum too  
53) D: here mum

## Transcript TWO:

### Punjabi Transcript

- 1) A: jaa kichen vichu salan leh aah
- 2) B: Pehle garam / karna si
- 3) C: / fry paan vich rakya vah
- 4) C: ami jaga banaw meh raka
- 5) A: iteh rakdai
- 6) C: oh shit
- 7) A: ki hoya
- 8) C: ami eh digpya
- 9) A: carpeteh par / digpya
- 10) B: / thats all mum cares about
- 11) D: thats what i was just thinking (laughs)
- 12) A: aaja baad vich saaf karlangi
- 13) E: koi door peh aagiya
- 14) B: someones at the door
- 15) A: una no kaho meh kanda piya
- 16) D: just tell him im eating be out inabit
- 17) C: aint your exams coming up
- 18) A: ai munda kush kaam nai karda
- 19) D: meh schoolu onda teh / sida upar janda hore
- 20) saara kaam karda
- 21) B: / so what do you think
- 22) your gonna get
- 23) C: leave him alone now
- 24) E: ha eveh tusi ino chord eh ni pir gal karlendio
- 25) A: challo exama airain uleh taksa hun kaw
- 26) D: guess what I wanted today / that pumpkin
- 27) thing mum makes
- 28) C: / menu jugg devo
- 29) B: ha next time oh hi bana na
- 30) A: ki banwa
- 31) D: oh tusi no patha oh orange pumpkin cheez
- 32) A: nai mehnu koni patha
- 33) B: ga / jrella
- 34) A: / acha gajrella har roze tusi different
- 35) different cheeza kandai oh
- 36) C: oh miki vi pasand eh
- 37) A: menu banowna ni onda
- 38) B: ami ino klu banwaleh
- 39) C: you / stay out of this
- 40) A: / tanu patha ni hega kinnai gentai lagdai ah
- 41) D: oh my god gentai?
- 42) A: two half
- 43) D: soooo banaya karo

### English Translated Transcript

- 1) A: go and get the curry from the kitchen
- 2) B: first heat / it up
- 3) C: / ive put it in the frying pan
- 4) C: mum make room il put it
- 5) A: put it here
- 6) C: oh shit
- 7) A: whats happened
- 8) C: mum it fell
- 9) A: on the carpet / has it fallen
- 10) B: / thats all mum cares about
- 11) D: thats what i was just thinking (laughs)
- 12) A: come here later we will clean it up
- 13) E: someones come to the door
- 14) B: someones at the door
- 15) A: tell them im eating
- 16) D: just tell him im eating be out inabit
- 17) C: aint your exams coming up
- 18) A: this boy does no work
- 19) D: i come from school and / go straight upstairs
- 20) and do all my work
- 21) B: / so what do you think
- 22) your gonna get
- 23) C: leave him alone now
- 24) E: yes you don't leave him alone bring it up again
- 25) A: well exams are coming we'll see then eat now
- 26) D: guess what I wanted today / that pumpkin
- 27) thing mum makes
- 28) C: / pass me the jug
- 29) B: yeah next time make that
- 30) A: make what
- 31) D: oh you know that orange pumpkin cheese
- 32) A: no i don't know
- 33) B: ga / jrella
- 34) A: / ok gajrella all the time different
- 35) different stuff to eat
- 36) C: i like that too
- 37) A: i don't know how to make it
- 38) B: mum get her to make it
- 39) C: you / stay out of this
- 40) A: / you don't know how many hours it takes
- 41) D: oh my god hours?
- 42) A: two half
- 43) D: soooo make it