

Fundamental Concepts in Sociolinguistics
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Lecture 21
Code Mixing and Code Switching

Welcome to class, today we will talk about a very significant and important manifestation of a bilingual mind, a multilingual mind where the individual speaker has the ability to mix and switch to from one code to another code, so the bilingual speaker can either mix the two codes, two languages or frequently can switch from one language to another language.

What is this phenomenon called and why the bilingual does it, what is the implication for it and of it as well? And what are the social linguistic implications of mixing languages or switching from one language to other, what are the circumstances in which we do this? What is the motivation behind it? What is its function of it? And what objective does the speaker obtain or get out of such acts?

So, this phenomenon is called code-mixing. Mixing happens in a bilingual situation or a multilingual situation and if you look at India as a linguistic area, here we have scores of languages and a very frequent mixing of languages, we have continuous sustained contact among languages and it is very difficult to draw a clear boundary, clear linguistic boundary because, in this Indian linguistic ecology, these languages have survived for hundreds of years of their contact, interaction and sharing.

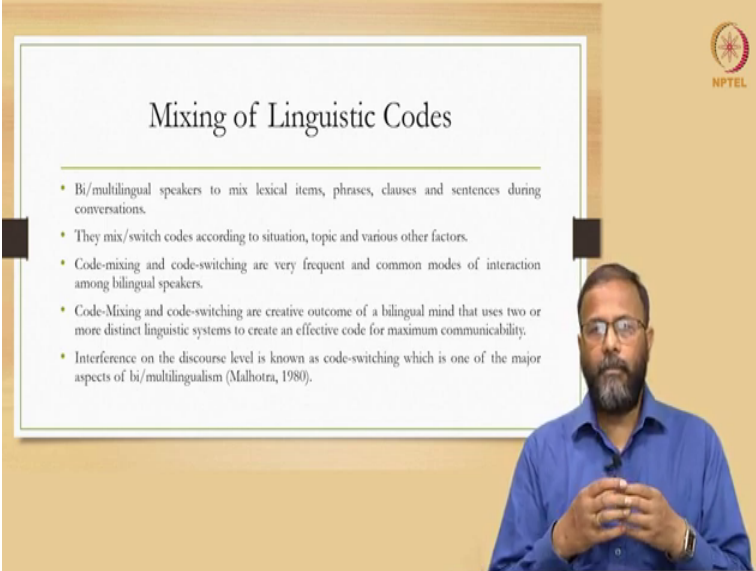
So, mixing is a very natural normal phenomenon specifically when we look at the Indian context and we have lots of examples in everyday conversation whereas the speaker at times we are not even aware of the mixing of languages. So, I am speaking Hindi for example, and I may draw words, phrases, idioms, and other lexical items from other languages and this is quite a normal phenomenon, it happens with all languages.

Given English is a very significant and important language in the linguistic ecology of India this is also our associated official language constitutionally. So, we find a very frequent mix of Hindi and English, English and Punjabi, English and Tamil, English and Telugu, English and Marathi, English and Bangla, so English mixes with the majority of Indian languages and almost all

Indian languages so frequently and so easily that sometimes English expressions, I mean are not noticed, expressions like file, road, highway, building, technology, science, so these are all English words but they all mix with other Indian languages so beautifully and so naturally that the speaker or the listener hardly notice that two languages are being mixed.

But what is the pattern of mixing, how it happens, and what is this phenomenon all about? We will talk about all these things today in this class. So, this phenomenon is called code-mixing and another phenomenon is called code-switching. So, code-mixing and code-switching are a beautiful manifestation of a bilingual mind, and it is very common, natural, and frequent. So, today we are going to talk about code-mixing and code-switching.

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The slide is titled "Mixing of Linguistic Codes" and features a list of five bullet points. In the foreground, a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, is speaking. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the slide.

- Bi/multilingual speakers to mix lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences during conversations.
- They mix/switch codes according to situation, topic and various other factors.
- Code-mixing and code-switching are very frequent and common modes of interaction among bilingual speakers.
- Code-Mixing and code-switching are creative outcome of a bilingual mind that uses two or more distinct linguistic systems to create an effective code for maximum communicability.
- Interference on the discourse level is known as code-switching which is one of the major aspects of bi/multilingualism (Malhotra, 1980).

So, bilingual speakers, speakers who have two languages at their disposal, and who have access to two linguistic resources, tend to mix lexical items, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences during their conversation. Sometimes it happens spontaneously for maximum communicability and sometimes it is deliberate and volitional. But this is a quite normal frequent phenomenon.

So, they mix the codes, in two languages or switch from one code to another code according to the situation, the context of the conversation, setting the topic they are talking about, the themes they are discussing, and other various factors. So, for mixing and switching there are multiple factors that are responsible.

So, code-mixing and code-switching are very frequent and common modes of interaction among bilingual speakers or multilingual speakers, and particularly in the Indian context, it is a very frequent and prolific phenomenon. So, code-mixing and code-switching are the creative outcomes of a bilingual mind. Why do we call it a creative outcome?

I will talk about it just now and it is a very creative outcome where the speaker or the user of language has the ability to draw from two distinct linguistic sources, to encode the message and communicate effectively. So, they use two or more distinct linguistic systems to create an effective code for maximum communicability.

And it is sometimes spontaneous and sometimes deliberate, so do it deliberately. The goal is maximum communication. And how beautifully and creatively it is mixed to communicate the maximum message. You might have been familiar with so many Bollywood songs and you can see in these songs lots of English words are mixed. What is the purpose? Look at this song.

Bhatiya, '*Tej K Bhatiya*' gives an example of '*crazy Kiya re*' a very famous Bollywood song, '*crazy Kiya re*'. Now, the word crazy does not, it is not the case that crazy does not have any equivalent in Hindi or Urdu, there are many equivalents of crazy, but what is the purpose of using crazy in the song?

It immediately connects with the target audience, the youth, it strikes the right code with them. And the word crazy has a very wide semantic shade and it quickly connects with your target audience you may have other equivalence of it, it could have been replaced by '*Diwana, Pagal*', whatever deliberate attempt to put that word in the line and you can take many examples of such kind where a deliberate attempt is made to insert a word or a phrase '*Kolaveri di*' song, very famous song '*Kolaveri di*' you may be familiar.

And it resonates with the aspirations of the youth, it connects with the young generation very quickly. So, this hybridity, this mixing has lots of implications, it is not simply that something is missing and that is why you borrow it from the other language, there may be two positions, when we talk about mixing, when we talk about mixing two languages, there may be two positions.

One, because language A lacks certain expressions, concepts and ideas you have to borrow them from language B, and you use those terms in language A. That means language A has a certain

deficit of expressions and that is why it is compensated from language B, there may be one argument for this.

But the research shows that there are scholars who go for the augmentation hypothesis. That means language A and language B are augmented so the user or the speaker has two rich linguistic sources to draw from. So, the ultimate goal of the language is to communicate achieved by augmenting these two linguistic sources and getting the best out of it, so it is a very natural phenomenon.

And there are multiple factors why we mix, and why we switch, we will come to that later but right now we will try to understand the pattern and the phenomena of mixing. So, code-mixing and code-switching are creative outcomes. And interference on the discourse level is known as code-switching. That means the sentence is taken as a unit. So, when we insert or when we put expressions, words, phrases, and clauses from one language to the other language.

So, when language A and language B, L1 and L2, so L1, in an L1 structure you mix or you bring in expressions, words, clauses, sentences, clauses not a sentence, clauses, expressions, words and mix it in L1, so it happens at the sentence level, so within a sentence. For example, *'morning mein highway pay accident hogaya'* let us check this Hindi example. *'Morning main highway pay accident hogaya'*, *'Aaj highway pay accident ho gaya'*.

Now, the highway is an English word, and the accident English word, *'Aaj highway pay accident hogaya'* is a very spontaneous normal sentence for a Hindi speaker who knows both English and Hindi as well. If you look for a Hindi sentence, the Hindi equivalent for these two words, highway means *'rajmarg'*, and accidents *'durghatna'*. So, we say *'aaj rajmarg pay durghatna hogayi'*.

Now, this looks very artificial sentence because bilingual speakers Hindi and English bilingual speakers now find it very awkward and marked sentence when they say *'aaj rajmarg pay durghatna hogayi'*. For fun, for satire you can use these words, for humor you can use these words, *'durghatna, highway, vidyalay'*, *'aaj mai vidyalay ja raha hun'*, I mean, I am going to school, *'aaj mai school ja raha hun'*, *'aaj school band hai'*, 'school closed', very frequent mixing.

And if you try to replace all these English words park, train, road, building, words from equivalent Hindi words the sentence looks artificial. So, mixing is a very productive and natural phenomenon, it will happen, it happens, and it keeps on happening. So, the difference between mixing and switching is that mixing happens within the sentence, so at the level of the sentence, so the sentence is taken as a unit.

And a sentence of L1 or language A and we insert or mix or bring in words like lexical items, expressions, and clauses from language B L2, so L2 and L1 are mixed. But if it happens beyond the sentence, like not between the sentences but the whole sentence is replaced by a sentence from language B in an extended conversation, a whole sentence is replaced, that means you switch from L1 to L2, you switch from language A to language B and you come back again.

So, this oscillation happens to go to language B and then coming back to language 1 and then, so you are going forward and coming back to the L1, then going forward coming back to L1, this happens beyond a sentence level and this is called switching. So, if mixing happens above sentence level at the discourse level where certain chunks or sentences, and utterances are in language B and the rest are in language A, you are switching from language A to B.

And this is the difference between mixing and switching. So, mixing happens intra-sentential, within the sentence, you bring in isolated words, lone words, isolated words, and you insert words. Sometimes you bring in an entire phrase or a clause but it happens between two full stops, so intra-sentential, then it is mixing, but the structure remains of language A, items can be borrowed and brought, brought in from language B and it happens at sentential level, before the full stop.

But what if the whole sentence is replaced? So, you have two-three sentences from language A then you have two, or three sentences from language B, and vice versa, then that is called switching, so that is the difference. Otherwise, both are mixing, if you look at mixing broadly, you are mixing two languages.

But the pattern of mixing at one place you are bringing in lexical items within the sentence, at the other level you are replacing the whole sentence with a sentence from language B. So, you

are replacing the whole sentence so that is switching, so mixing and switching. And this code mixing and switching happen in a bilingual context, in a multilingual context.

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The slide is titled "Code-Mixing/Switching: Communicative Strategy". It features a list of five bullet points. The first bullet point states that Weinreich (1953) describes bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages." The second bullet point notes that code-mixing and code-switching are stable and well-studied linguistic phenomena of multilingual speech communities. The third bullet point defines Code-Switching as "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems" (Gumperz 1982). The fourth bullet point explains that Code Mixing refers to the embedding of linguistic units such as phrases, words and morphemes of one language into an utterance of another language (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002). The fifth bullet point states that Code-Switching is usually inter-sentences while Code-Mixing (CM) is an intra-sentential phenomenon. Linguists believe that there exists a continuum in the manner in which a lexical item transfers from one to another of two languages in contact (Myers-Scotton 2002, Thomason 2003). In the foreground, a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, is speaking and gesturing with his hands. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the slide.

- Weinreich (1953) describes bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages."
- Code-mixing and code-switching are stable and well-studied linguistic phenomena of multilingual speech communities.
- Code-Switching is "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems" (Gumperz 1982).
- Code Mixing refers to the embedding of linguistic units such as phrases, words and morphemes of one language into an utterance of another language (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002).
- Code-Switching is usually inter-sentences while Code-Mixing (CM) is an intra-sentential phenomenon. Linguists believe that there exists a continuum in the manner in which a lexical item transfers from one to another of two languages in contact (Myers-Scotton 2002, Thomason 2003).

There are many people who have defined I am not going to tell you the list of researchers and scholars who have tried to define and describe this phenomenon. But of course, there are certain names that must be mentioned here like Weinreich 1953. He described bilingualism as the practice of alternately using two languages.

So, a bilingual whether he is a coordinate bilingual or a compound bilingual or early bilingual, a late bilingual, or whatever type of bilingual the person is depends on the efficacy to use two languages and have access to two languages without any problem, this tendency will be more in such cases where bilinguals have access to two different linguistic sources. And they have the capacity or capability to alternately switch or mix two languages.

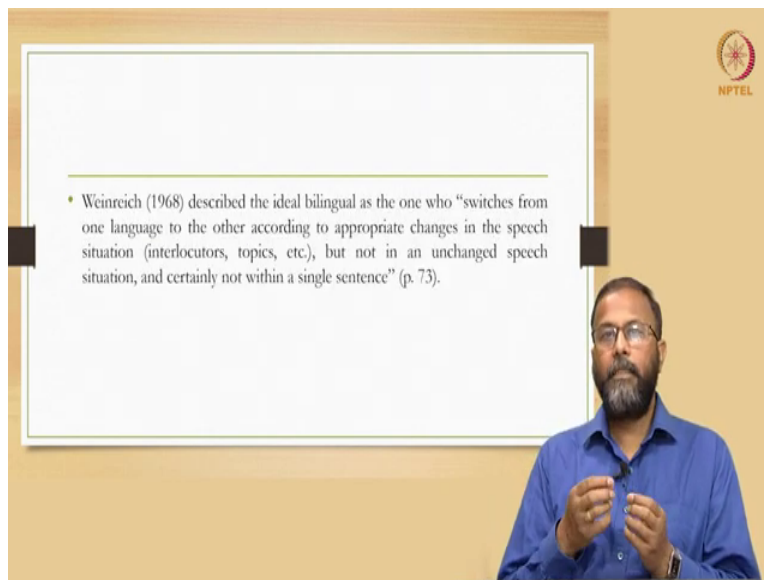
So, code-mixing and code-switching are stable and well-studied linguistic phenomena of multilingual or bilingual societies. And if you look at the emergence of social linguistics, modern social linguistics what we talked about, post-1950s, this phenomenon started getting the attention of scholars in the field in the 60s onwards, and a lot of work has been done in that.

John Gumperz, another scholar, says code-switching is juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passage of a speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. She is talking about how two structures are juxtaposed with each other creatively. Myers-Scotton for that matter in 1993, 2002.

They say code mixing refers to the embedding of linguistic units such as phrases, words, and morphemes of one language into the utterances of another language. The same thing that we are talking about. So, many scholars have talked about it and I am not going to repeat by reading the codes from their work, but that is a phenomenon where a bilingual mind is creatively expressed in terms of mixing of two codes and the reason that the bilingual mind has access to two rich linguistic sources to draw from. And why it happens? For maximum communicability, so we have to keep that in mind.

Another thing that we have to keep in mind is mixing happens within a sentence, so intra-sentential and switching happen beyond the sentence, at the discourse level. So, in an extended conversation, you switch from one language to the other language, so few sentences in one language and few sentences are brought in from another language. So, that is the choice of the bilingual speaker or multilingual speaker depending on the setting and the situation and the pragmatic need to do so.

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- Weinreich (1968) described the ideal bilingual as the one who “switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence” (p. 73).

Then moving on Weinreich 1968 described the ideal bilingual as one who switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in a speech situation, but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence, these are different theoretical descriptions that people have come up with.

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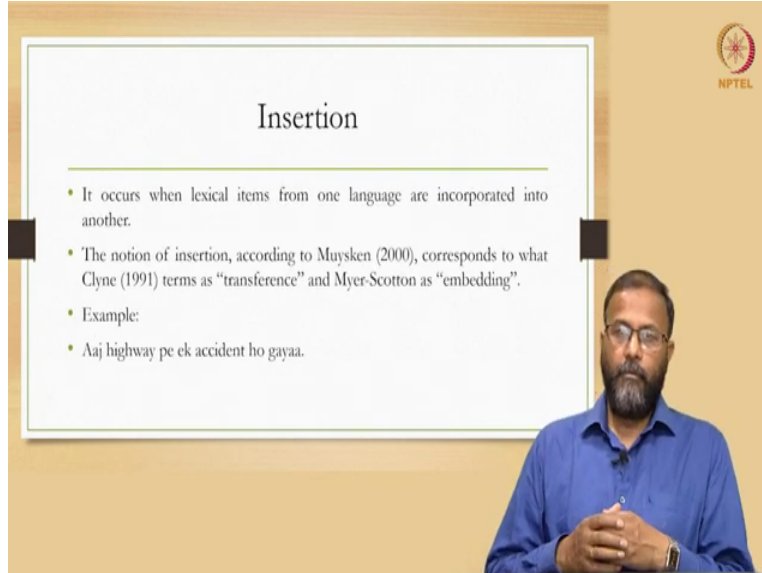
Patterns of Mixing

- Wei (1998) observes that if code alternation occurs at or above clause level, it is considered code switching, but if it occurs below clause level then it is considered code mixing.
- Tay (1993) explains how code-mixing functions as a communicative strategy in multilingual communities among proficient bilingual speakers;
- Patterns of codeswitching are found to be different from one another because of several distinct processes:
 - Insertion
 - Alternation
 - Congruent Lexicalization
 - These three processes correspond to dominant models, and approaches (Mhysken, 2000).

Now, if you look at the patterns of mixing how do we mix? There is no definite description of how we should mix, but if you look at the larger sample and the way people mix speak, bilingual speakers, and multilingually speakers mix, we can arrive at certain patterns and works like Wei, Tay, Muskin, and other people, Weinreich, Gumperz, they have tried to look at these patterns and the literature suggests three important aspects in the patterns of mixing within a sentence.

And what is that? Number 1 insertion, number 2 alternation, and number 3 congruent lexicalization, so there are three patterns over a larger size chunk of data when we look at, we find these three patterns of mixing, insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. What are these we will come in a while?

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The slide is titled "Insertion" and contains the following text:

- It occurs when lexical items from one language are incorporated into another.
- The notion of insertion, according to Muysken (2000), corresponds to what Clyne (1991) terms as "transference" and Myer-Scotton as "embedding".
- Example:
 - Aaj highway pe ek accident ho gayaa.

The slide is presented by a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, who is standing in front of the slide. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the slide.

So, let us look at insertion which is very frequent and frequently found and largely done by bilingual speakers, as the word suggests certain items are inserted, and certain items from let us say language B are inserted in the structure of language A. What are certain items? It can be a noun; it can be an adjective or any lexical item.

So, they are positioned in situ in the structure and you get a mixed hybrid variety, a hybrid sentence. So, something like I just talked about *'aaj highway pay accident hogaya'*, *'highway and accident'* are English words, the sentence is a Hindi sentence, *'aaj highway pay accident hogaya'*, the sentence is Hindi sentence.

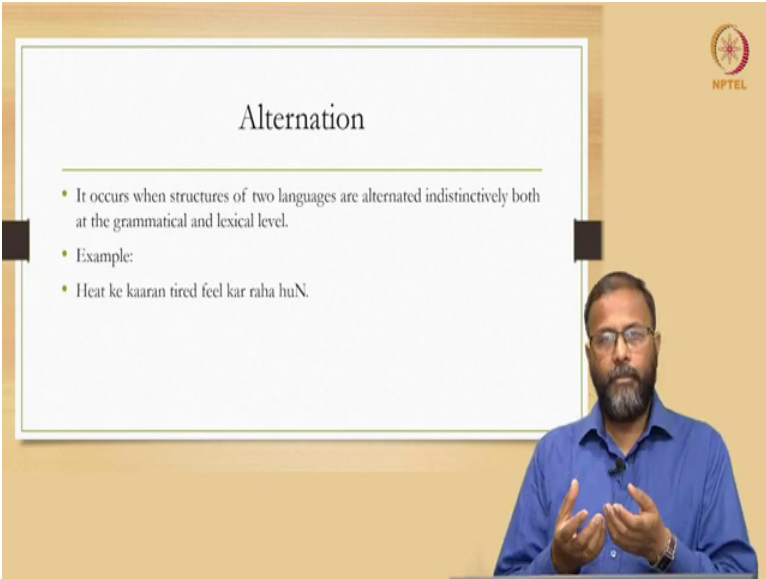
But we have two words, one is highway and the other is an accident, *'aaj highway pay accident hogaya'*. So, we have inserted highway, we could have replaced it with the original Hindi words *'rajmarg'* and *'ek accident'*, an accident that is *'durghatna'*. So, *'aaj highway pay accident hogaya'*. So, some accident happened or an accident happened on the highway, insertion where I have inserted two English words in the Hindi structure, 'accident', you can insert more words in the same sentence.

Like *'aaj morning mein highway pay ek accident hogaya'*, *'aaj morning mein highway pay ek accident hogaya'*. So, usually, open class words are frequently inserted, open class words like

nouns and so nominal categories and all nouns, and adjectives, but close class words are not so frequently inserted.

Prepositions, interjections, adverbs, and closed class words are not inserted so frequently the way we insert open class words, adjectives, and nouns they are frequently inserted. The notion of insertion according to Muysken corresponds to what the client terms as transference and the same idea is referred to as embedding by Myers-Scotton. So, it can be embedding, transference, or insertion, all the same where you bring in words and lexical items from language B and insert it in language A, and that happens within the sentence.

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The slide titled "Alternation" contains the following text:

- It occurs when structures of two languages are alternated indistinctively both at the grammatical and lexical level.
- Example:
 - Heat ke kaaran tired feel kar raha huN.

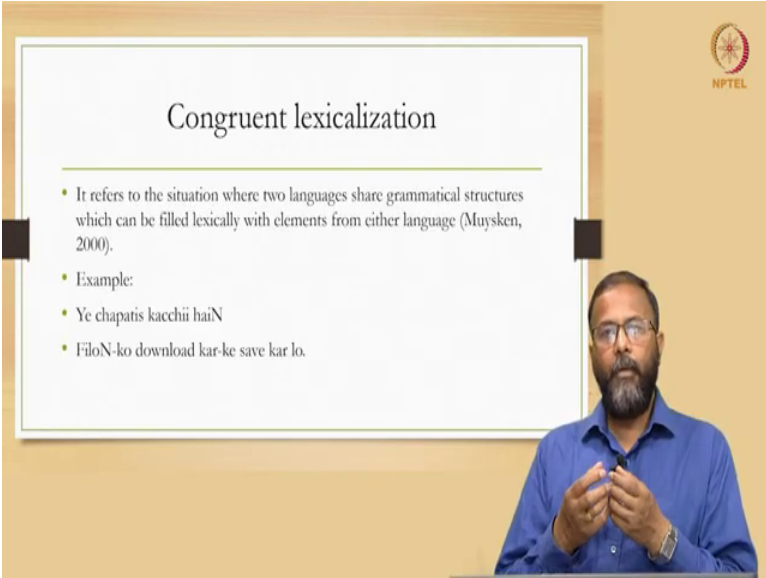
The second pattern is alternation, so you alter. Alternation occurs when a structure of two languages is alternated indistinctively both at the grammatical and lexical level, so there are certain grammatical units that undergo a certain change, and you alter it. How do you do that? Let us have an example. *'Heat ke karan tired feel kar raha hun'*, is a Hindi sentence with alternations from English. So, *'heat ke karan tired feel kar raha hun'*, *'feel karna'* 'to feel' in English. So, *feel karna* is a Hindi compound verb, to feel.

If you go for the equivalent of, *feel karna* in Hindi that is *'mehsus karna'*. So, *'heat ke karan'* 'heat' temperature, because of temperature tired *'feel kar raha hun'*, I am feeling tired,

exhausted. So, temperature *ke karan* I am feeling exhausted or tired. So, '*heat ke karan*' because of *heat tired feel kar raha hun*, feeling tired because of heat, I am feeling tired because of heat.

Look at this compound verb, '*feel karna*'. So, this is called alternation where a structure of two languages is alternated indistinctively both at grammatical and lexical levels. So, you are making a compound verb in the compound verb by mixing feel as the content word and the other word is '*karna*' 'do', *feel karna*.

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The image shows a video lecture slide. The slide has a white background with a thin green border. At the top center, the title 'Congruent lexicalization' is written in a black serif font. Below the title, there is a horizontal line. Underneath the line, there are four bullet points. The first bullet point is a definition: 'It refers to the situation where two languages share grammatical structures which can be filled lexically with elements from either language (Muysken, 2000)'. The second bullet point is 'Example:'. The third bullet point is 'Ye chapatis kacchi haiN'. The fourth bullet point is 'Filon-ko download kar-ke save kar lo.'. In the top right corner of the slide, there is a small red circular logo with a white star and the text 'NPTEL' below it. In the bottom right corner of the slide, there is a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, who is speaking and gesturing with his hands.

The third pattern is called congruent lexicalization. What is that? So, congruent lexicalization refers to the situation where two languages share grammatical structures which can be filled lexically with elements from either language, look, let us look at the sentence. For example, '*yeh chapatis kacchi hain*', '*chapatis - roti, bread*', '*yeh chapatis kacchi hain*', chapati is a Hindi word, but look at the plural marker with it 's', so the grammatical item 's' which is a plural marker is of English, 'chapatis'.

'*Yeh rotiya thandi hain, kacchi hain*', half cooked, not properly cooked, raw. '*Filon ko download karke save karlo*', it is a very common instruction, '*filon ko download karke save karlo*', '*filon ko*' file is an English word. But if you look at the case marker, '*filon ko*', '*filon ko*'. So, look at this case marker, files, so '*filon ko download karke save karlo*', '*save karna*' again a compound

verb, '*download karna*' again a compound verb, and look at the case marking on the word file, '*filon ko*'.

So, '*buildingo main*' '*building, building mein*', '*computero mein*', '*computero ko*', computer plus look at the case marker, it is a very frequent phenomenon and after an extent, because they are used so frequently that we stop even noticing them, it is a very frequent and productive phenomenon and we stop noticing them.

So, if you look at this mixing of codes or switching of codes. Why do we call it a creative manifestation of the bilingual mind? Because the ultimate goal of communication of language is to communicate, the function of language is to communicate and in order to make it maximum communicable and encode the message effectively, a bilingual mind or a bilingual speaker has a tendency of mixing.

And there are two arguments for such phenomena. One is called the deficit hypothesis where we believe that because the speaker lacks an equivalent in language X, he or she borrows from language Y and mix it, mixes it. So, this mixing happens because of the lack of availability of appropriate expression.

But the other argument which is the augmentation hypothesis that says that no, it is not the deficit in one language which forces the user to bring in items from another language. But it is augmentation, the speaker has free will and the speaker has the ability to use two distinct linguistic sources and he draws from this to make the sentence or the expression rich and effective which meets the communication goals.

So, the second hypothesis has some made it because mixing is not sometimes a deliberate attempt because as a bilingual or multilingual it becomes such a spontaneous, such a spontaneous habit or tendency that we sometimes do not even notice that we are doing it, at the both, both the level, speaker and listener as well.

So, what is important is the flow of information, an uninterrupted flow of information. And for that, there are multiple reasons you can talk about why people mix. For example, suppose I am talking about certain '*taboo themes*', '*taboo words*'. Now, taboo words are usually borrowed

from other languages and deliberately mixed, because we do not want to talk about taboo words in public.

But we feel comfortable by bringing in the same equivalent word from another language, it may be inhibition in language A that forces me to buy or to bring in a word or expression from language B. Sometimes the topic also determines that I am bringing and mixing from code B, in the Indian context for example the educated Indian is talking about some serious topic, maybe intellectual, that demands intellectual sound background or to reflect that you are intellectually capable of discussing it, be frequently broad, bring in those expressions.

Sometimes because your training and education and your background in that particular theme and topic is in English, even if you are talking in Tamil you will bring in lots of English expressions to express that you are familiar with this idea and sometimes you may not get the Tamil equivalent or Hindi equivalent or Marathi equivalent or Punjabi equivalent of those concepts and you prefer to use English.

So, this hybridity is quite normal, natural, and frequent, it is not an unmarked thing, it is a very marked thing. So, quickly we will recapitulate what we learned today, that code mixing and code switching are the creative outcome of a bilingual or multilingual mind, number one. What we can deduct further? Code mixing and code-switching are very common phenomena in any bilingual or multilingual society, and specifically in India, it is a very normal natural phenomenon.

It is not only about Tamil and English, it is going to be Tamil and Kannada, Tamil and Marathi, Tamil and Hindi, so many Hindi words, so many other expressions are mixed in language A from language B, it is a very, very frequent thing. And then there is a pattern of mixing, this mixing can happen within a sentence or sometimes at the discourse level, within a discourse.

So, when it happens within a sentence between two full stops, it is called code-mixing, intra-sentential and when it happens beyond the sentence where at discourse level you have certain chunks in language B, certain in language A and you oscillate, you mix, you go for forward and backward use language 1, then switch to language 2, then go to language 1 again, switch to language 2 again, this happens.

There are certain identity issues involved, sometimes you want to express your solidarity with the speakers, so you bring in, deliberately you bring in those words and those expressions from the other language, their language. So, there are multiple factors in some other classes, we will talk about what are the factors and social factors, political factors, and linguistic factors which force us to mix or which prompt us to mix or which inspire us to mix, not always forcing, but we are inspired to mix.

Sometimes it demands mixing, so we will talk about all these things and the social-linguistic aspect of mixing and switching in other classes. But for this class let us summarize that code mixing and code switching are very natural normal phenomena, it is a beautiful creative outcome of a bilingual or multilingual mind. There are multiple factors that allow us to mix and switch.

There are patterns, certain patterns in which we mix, patterns like insertion, patterns like alternation, patterns like lexical congruity, and congruent lexicalization. So, these are the patterns. And you can look at your own style of speaking, look at other's style of speaking, and people around you and try to see their tendency of mixing, try to see when they mix, try to see why they mix, try to see what objective they have in mixing, try to see what do they get out of it, try to see how does it affect you, try to see how you relate to them. So, this is it for now. Thank you very much.