Code switching and Code mixing in Kashmiri: A Linguistic Overview.

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Abstract

This paper presents a general account of different language interaction phenomena that are prevalent in the present day Kashmiri speakers.

Key Words: Code-switching, Code mixing, Code alternation, Bilingualism, Language contact.

Introduction

Code switching and Code mixing is a direct consequence of a language contact situation in a bilingual/multilingual speech setting. When two or more languages exist side by side while serving different purposes in particular speech community, they grow in an atmosphere of 'give' and 'take'.

The phenomenon of code switching and code mixing has been focus of attention of linguists, sociolinguist, sociologists, anthropologists and scholars of socio-cultural linguistics since the emergence of sociolinguistics. Since the second half of the twentieth century, it has been a subject of debate and much discussion among various scholars irrespective of their area of specialization. The concept of 'Code-switching' has been defined by various sociolinguists, sociologists, anthropologists and scholars of socio-cultural linguists differently. The first definition of code switching was given by Gumperz (1977) as "the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange"(Gumperz cited in Al-Rowais, 2012, p. 13) . According to Poplack (2000: 264), it is the "alternation between two linguistic systems in the course of speaking"(Poplack cited in Al-Rowais, 2012, p13). Auer (1999: 309) supported Poplack's view, and defined code switching as the "language alternation phenomenon". According to Savil-Treik (2003: 48) code switching refers to "change in language within a single speech event (conversation)". Dell Hymes (cited in Bayr 1986: 95) states that "it is a common term for alternative use of two or more varieties of a language or even speech styles". According to Einar Haugen (1973), code switching refers to the alternate use of two languages, including everything from introduction of a simple

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unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more, into the context of another language.

Objective of the study
Kashmiri speech community offers an excellent example of Kashmir-Urdu and Kashmiri-English language contact situation. This language contact situation provides basis for the language choice among Kashmiri speakers. The main objective of this study is to find out as to how the Kashmiri speakers cross their linguistic boundary and go for alternation of codes (code-switching and code-mixing) in course of use of their language.

The study is purely data oriented, and the entire data has been collected as discussed below:

Data collection
The main tool for collecting the data for the present study has been the investigator's close observation and investigation regarding the use of language by Kashmiri speakers in various domains of their social life. The investigator being a native speaker of the language under study directly observed the speakers of the Kashmiri speech community very closely and minutely when they had oral communication in their mother tongue among themselves. The investigator also visited the speakers belonging to different professional groups especially doctors, teachers and engineers.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS
After the completion of editing the data, the resultant and the desired portion was analyzed. This process involved the verification of the proposed hypotheses of the present investigation to arrive at the right conclusion and desired results.

Language contact situation in Kashmiri speech community

Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmir-English language contact situation

Urdu is the most significant contact language among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers which has given rise to a higher percentage of bilingualism in Urdu among Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. Another reason for the higher incidence of Kashmiri Urdu bilingualism lies in the fact that almost all Kashmiris receive their education through Urdu up to their secondary level of education. Thus an average Kashmiri who can read and write Kashmiri can read and write Urdu as well. Though the dominant and the principal majority of Kashmir is Kashmiri, it does not enjoy the same status as enjoyed by Urdu in the region. According to Beg (1996) Urdu functions as a link language and the 'communication bridge' in the linguistically heterogeneous atmosphere of Jammu And Kashmir State, and enjoys a special status in the region(Beg, 1996, p.103).

Koul and Schmidt (1983) hold that "Urdu has been assigned all the prominent roles in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. As an official language of the state, it is used in administration, education and mass media. It is taught as a subject in all government schools" (Koul and Schmidt 1983, p.19). In the Kashmiri speech community, although oral communication vastly takes place through Kashmiri in various domains of social life, Urdu is largely used in written communication. As

the majority of Kashmiri speakers interact through their mother tongue in almost all formal as well as informal situations, most of the code switching in Urdu takes place in social domains outside the home.

Despite the fact that Kashmiri is predominantly used as an oral medium for personal and group communication, the mode of written communication is Urdu and English. Although Kashmiri undoubtedly serves a medium of dreams and medium of communication within family, with friends, in the market, and other domains of social activity of the Kashmiri speech community, the entire written communication takes place through Urdu and English.

Besides Urdu, English is also a very significant contact language among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. Like Urdu, English has also availed an opportunity to enjoy a special status in Jammu and Kashmir. It is the second official language in the state after Urdu. It is the language of education (medium of instruction for imparting education) from secondary level of education onwards. Moreover, English is taught as a compulsory subject up to graduate (B.A/B.Sc./B.Com.) level of education and also the subject of choice at the postgraduate level. As a matter of fact, English has the current status of being used as the medium of instruction from nursery to high school level in all private, semi-government and government schools. Thus, it can be reasonably argued that the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers come across English in various spheres of their social activity, which has given rise it to emerge out as a significant contact language among them.

Kashmiri-Urdu code-switching

Kashmiri-Urdu code-switching has been found and analyzed over fairly a wide range of linguistic categories:

Phonological Switching

In phonological switching, the native phonological features of Kashmiri are shifted to the Urdu words by Kashmiri speakers. The interactions of two phonologies are discussed below:

Interaction of consonants

During the shift of native phonological features of their mother tongue into Urdu, Kashmiri speakers have been found to replace quite a good number of Urdu consonants by their Kashmiri counterparts. The examples showing this phenomenon are tabulated below:

Plosives

Table 2.1 The Kashmiri voiceless velar stop [k]stands for Urdu voiceless uvular stop [q]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
kara:r	qar:ar	relief
kalam	qalam	pen
kað	qað	height

kisim	qisim	type/kind
birki	bUrqi	veil
kəmi:z	qəmi:s	shirt
korba:ni:	qUrba:ni	sacrifice
kabar	qabar	grave
konu:n	qa:nu:n	law
ka:ri:	qa:ri:	reader
ko:m	qo:m	nation
kaðtr	qaðr	value

Table 2.2 The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated velar stop [kh] stands for Urdu voiceless unaspiratedvelar stop [k]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
pa:kh	pa:k	holy
ča:lakh	ča:la:k	clever
kha:kh	kha:k	dust
šari:kh	šari:k	partner
da:kh	da:k	post

Table 2.3 The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated dental stop [θ]replaces Urdu voiceless unaspirated dental stop [t]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
iba:ðaθ	iba:ðat	Prayer
zama:naθ	zama:nat	bail
a:ðaθ	a: ðat	habit
tija:raθ	tija:rat	business
naja:θ	naja:t	liberation
ta:kaθ	ta:qat	power
saða:kaθ	saða:qat	reality/fact
harkaθ	harkat	movement
barkaθ	barkat	blessing

Table 2.4 The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated velar stop [kh] replaces Urdu voiceless unaspirated uvular stop [q]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
Hakh	Haq	Right
takhsi:m	taqsi:m	division
nokhsa:n	nUqsa:n	loss
yitiPhkh	itifaq	chance/agreement/coincidence

| yekhla:kh | ixla:q | manners |

Table 2.5 Replacement of Urdu velar fricative [x] by Kashmiri velar stop[kh]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
kha:m	xa:m	raw
khara:b	xara:b	bad/rotten
kha:kh	xa:k	dust
kha:s	xa:s	main/particular
khabar	xabar	news
khu:n	xu:n	blood

Table 2.6 Kashmiri voiced velar stop [g] replaces Urdu voiced fricative [ġ]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
Galaθ	Ġalat	wrong
golam	ġUla:m	slave
ba:g	ba:ġ	garden
gam	ġam	grief/sorrow
gəri:b	ġari:b	poor

Table 2.7 Kashmiri voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [Ph] stands for Urdu voiceless labiodentals fricative [f]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
taPhsi:l	tafsi:l	detail
insa:Ph	insa:f	justice
sa:Ph	sa:f	clean
saPhe:ð	safe:ð	white
Phasil	fasl	crop

Table 2.8 Deletion of Urdu voiced dental stop [t] in Kashmiri when preceded by voiceless alveolar
[s] and /or voiceless palatal affricate [Š]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
Zabardas	zabardast	Strong
ya:ð:Š	ya: ð:Št	memory
ka:Ška:r	ka:Štka:r	farmer
do:s	do:st	friend

Interaction of semi-vowels

Table 2. 9 Replacement of Urdu high front short vowel [i] by Kashmiri voiced frictionless continuant [y]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
yi:ma:m	ima:m	religious leader
yintiza:m	intizam	arrangement
yina:r	inka:r	refusal
yizha:r	izha:r	expression
yinsa:Ph	insa:f	justice

Interaction of vowels

Table 2.10 The consonant clusters in the word final position in Urdu are broken by inserting Kashmiri high central unrounded short vowel [Ɨ]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
Jistm	Jism	Body
sabtz	sabz	green
ðartj	ðarj	mention/enroll
nabtz	nabz	pulse
nestPh	nisf	half

Table 2.11 Kashmiri mid central unrounded short vowel [ə] and mid back rounded short vowel [o] stand for Urdu low central short vowel [a]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
məhəl	mahal	palace
nəhər	nahar	canal
pəhər	pahar	moment
kəhər	qahar	massacre
obUr	abr	cloud
vəhəm	vaham	scarce
rəhəm	raham	mercy

Table 2.12 Kashmiri mid central unrounded long vowel [ə:] stands for Urdu low central long vowel [a:] when followed by a consonant and high front unrounded short vowel [i] or its counterpart [i:]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss

mɔ:liŠ	ma:liŠ	massage
hɔ:zir	ha:zir	present
tɔ:ri:kh	ta:ri:x	date
pɔ:liŠ	pa:liŠ	polish
khɔ:tir	xa:tir	service/mind
khɔ:li:	xa:li:	empty/vacant
mɔ:li:kh	ma:lik	owner/lord
mɔ:Ši:	maa:Š	economic
khɔ:likh	xa:liq	creator
kɔ:ri:	qa:ri:	reader

Table 2.13 Kashmiri low back rounded short vowel [half o] replaces Urdu high back rounded short vowel [U]

Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
Gona	gUnah	sin
gola:b	gUla:b	rose
gola:m	ġUla:m	slave
khoda	xUda	God

Kashmiri English code-switching

Kashmiri-English code switching occurs over a wide range of categories viz.-a-viz. nouns and adjectives. It has also been seen to occur in the use quite a good number of discourse markers and sentence clauses as well.

Insertion of Nouns

This process involves the insertion of both proper as well as common nouns:

me ro:v ra:θ nov **pa:rakar pen** ' yesterday I lost a new parker pen'

tihÏðis nɔvis maka:nas mãz čhi zɔ **ba:θru:m** tt zt **ha:l**   'their new house has two bathrooms and

                                                             two lobbies/halls'
su ao:s **ji:ntz pĕʈ** lɔ:giθ **ekzarsa:yiz** kara:n ' he was doing exercise in jeans pats'

sami:r ao:s rɔ:tY ra:tas **laibre:ri:** mãz para:n
'Samir was studying in the library for whole
night'.

asi vtčh ra:θ akh **ïgliŠ mu:vi:**
'yesterday we watched an English movie'

ra:jUhan kɔr **driÏkiŋ** kɔriθ **drai:viŋ** tt go:s **aksi:dãʈ**   'Raju drove after drinking and met an accident'

me kor lāč az takri: ban ðoyi baji
'I took my lunch today at around 2 o' clock '

2.2.2 Insertion of adjectives
ekba:l čhu seţha: **inţelijāţ** tt **hadvərkiŋ** 'Iqbal is very intelligent and hardworking'

kamrt ao:s lədkao sə:tY **ful**

'room was full with students'

aŠraf čhu **suma:ţ** ti tt **he:ndsam** ti
'Ashraf is smart as well as handsome'

rizva:n čhu va:iya: **selphiŠ** basa:n   'Rizwan seems to be very selfish'

yaθ ho:ţlas mãz əsY rukiθ ə:sy sU ao:s variya: **kamPhə:rte:btl**

'the hotel we stayed in was very comfortable'

2.2.3 Insertion of sentence clauses
aiem not seke:riŋ yu:, bt čhiasaθ tst bas khabarða: rkara:n
'I am not scaring you, I am informing you'
yeli əsY to:r və:tY, **ðe va:ir pha:sţ asli:p**
'when we reached there they were fast asleep'

dõţ go: a:vtţ sayid, ao:r čha az zyaðt sarði:
'don't go outside, it is very cold today there'

ya:m təmY takri: rkarUn Šoru: kor, **evri:van klaped and čiyə:d**
'the moment he started to deliver his speech, everyone clapped and cheered'

yiθen ha:la:tan mãz to:r gatshUn, **I θink it iz quite phu:liŠ**
'to go there in such circumstances, I think it is quiet foolish'

Insertion of discourse markers
vel...... bt vičhi harga me mUmkin sapUð btkarthov tohyi beyi ti kěh maðaθ
' well, let me see, if it is possible for me I will help you by something more'

o:ke: .... yeli tohY to:r və:tiv me kərYzev pho:n
'ok.... when you get there call me'

ai: mi:n…. tse čhe: va:rtya: mehnaθ karinY yitsh hiŠka:mya:bi: ha:sil karnt ba:paθ

' I mean… you have to work very hard to get such a type of success'

me karya:o təmis va:rtya: zo:r……buʈ təmY mo:n n tkeNh…..
'I forced him a lot but he didn't agree'

Conclusion

A very high incidence of Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English code-switching and code-mixing has been recorded among Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. As a matter of fact, Urdu and English are the most significant and dominant contact languages among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. On account of the availability of Urdu and English in various domains of the social life of the Kashmiri speech community, Kashmiri speakers have been found to cross their linguistic boundary and switch over from their mother tongue to these languages and incorporate linguistic items from these languages into their mother tongue. The phenomenon of Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English language choice has been observed and analyzed at various levels of the Kashmiri language. In Kashmiri-Urdu phonological switching the phonological interaction and contrast between Kashmiri and Urdu sounds has been thoroughly discussed. Kashmiri-Urdu phonological switching has been found to occur over fairly a wide range of linguistic categories such as nouns, verb, adverbs, adjectives etc. Similarly, Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English syntactic switching has also been found to occur over a wide variety of grammatical categories.

It has been observed that in the Kashmiri- Urdu and Kashmiri-English language contact situation, the main reason for this language choice (switching and mixing) lies in the fact that Urdu and English enjoy a very special status in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in general and in the valley of Kashmir in particular. English and Urdu are the first and second official languages of state respectively. They are also the languages of literacy /education and mass communication of the state. All Kashmiri's receive their education holy and solely through these languages and a majority of them make use of these languages in various spheres of their social activity.

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