CODESWITCHING PRACTICES OF LECTURERS AND STUDENTS IN AN INSTITUTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Multilingual practices, such as codeswitching (CS), have been widely explored both from grammatical and sociolinguistic perspectives. However, an exploration of CS from a micro-macro integrated sociolinguistic perspective has been neglected. Pakistan, being a multilingual country, is home to bilingual and multilingual practices, such as CS, but unfortunately these have not been fully explored, and in cases that involve local languages such as Pashto, there is a dearth of research. Therefore, the current study aimed to investigate the types, and reasons for CS, and the use of CS as a resource for identity formation in a group of lecturers' and students' interactive practices in an institute of higher education in Pakistan. Data were collected through ethnographic observations, recordings of interactions between lecturers and students and via semi-structured interviews, and then ethnographically analyzed. The findings showed the emergence of three types of CS, Inter, Intra and Tag CS, with diverse forms and patterns. The Inter, Intra and Tag CS are triggered by micro-macro reasons such as unconscious or habitual uses, solidarity, social status and emotional expressions which could be linked to socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative factors. In relation to an identity dimension, it was found that micro attributes and identities led to the formation of macro identities such as ethnic, social and hybrid bilingual identities of the speakers. The study is also important in the sense that CS has been approached from a multilingual perspective as proposed by MacSwan (2017). In the Pakistani context, the study can help trigger similar kinds of research and thus, further our understanding about multilingualism and the use of other local languages.

Keywords: Codeswitching, sociolinguistics, multilingualism, ethnography

AMALAN PENUKARAN KOD OLEH PENSYARAH DAN PELAJAR SEBUAH INSTITUSI PENGAJIAN TINGGI DI PAKISTAN

ABSTRAK

Amalan multilingual seperti Penukaran Kod (CS), telah dikaji secara meluas dari perspektif tatabahasa dan sosiolinguistik. Walau bagaimanapun kajian mengenai CS dari perspektif gabungan mikro-makro dan sosiolinguistik diabaikan. Sebagai sebuah negara multilingual, terdapat amalan dwi bahasa dan multilingual seperti CS di nakistab, tetapi malangnya perkara ini tidak dikaji secara menyeluruh, dan dalam kes yang melibatkan bahasa tempatan seperti Pashto, kajian masih berkurangan. Maka, kajian ini bertujuan untuk meneliti jenis dan sebab CS, dan penggunaan CS sebagai sumber pembentukan identiti dalam amalan interaktif sekumpulan pensyarah dan pelajar dari sebuah institusi pengajian tinggi di Pakistan. Data dikumpulkan melalui pemerhatian etnografi, rakaman interaksi pensyarah bersama pelajar, serta temu bual separa berstruktur, dan kaedah etnografi digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan kewujudan tiga jenis CS, iaitu *inter*, *intra*, dan *Tag CS* dengan pelbagai bentuk dan corak. *Inter*, *intra*, dan *Tag CS* dicetuskan oleh sebab mikro-makro seperti kebiasaan atau penggunaan secara tidak sedar, perpaduan, status sosial, dan luahan emosi yang boleh dikaitkan dengan faktor sosio-budaya, sosio-psikologi dan komunikatif. Berhubung dengan dimensi identiti, didapati bahawa atribut mikro dan identiti menuju ke arah pembentukan identiti makro seperti identiti etnik, sosial, dan identiti hibrid dwibahasa penutur. Kajian ini juga penting kerana CS telah didekati dari perspektif multilingual seperti yang dicadangkan oleh MacSwan (2017). Dalam konteks Pakistan, kajian ini juga boleh mencetuskan penyelidikan yang serupa yang menambah pengetahuan tentang multilingualisma dan bahasa tempatan yang lain.

Kata kunci: Penukaran Kod, sosiolinguistik, multilingualisma, etnografi

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AWKUM	:	Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan
Bi	:	Bilingual
CA	:	Conversation Analysis
CS	:	Codeswitching
CM	:	Codemixing
KP	:	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
L	:	Lecturer
MI	:	Medium of Instruction
S	:	Student
SM	:	Student male
SF	:	Student female
SS	:	Students
TL	:	Translanguaging
UK	:	United Kingdom
US	:	United States

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   Context of the study

Pakistan is a multilingual country with more than 70 languages used in different domains (Mahboob, 2017). English is the medium of instruction and official language mainly used in academic settings and in offices for official correspondence. Urdu is the national language used across the country by different ethnic communities serving as lingua franca which help to keep all the ethnic groups as one nation united. There are more than 60 local languages used at regional and domestic levels (Manan, Dumanig & David, 2015; Rahman, 1995; Raja, 2014). Ammar, Ali, Fawad and Qasim (2015) provide a short description of some of the main languages spoken in Pakistan, as displayed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Description of the main languages used in Pakistan

Languages	Percentage of Speakers	Sources	Functions/Domains
English		March 27, 2014/ daily times	Official/medium of instruction
Urdu	7.57%	Census 2001	National language
Punjabi	44.15%	Census 2001	Local//regional language
Pashto	15.27%	Census 2001	Local/regional language
Sindhi	14.10%	Census 2001	Local /regional language
Seraiki	10.53%	Census 2001	Local/Regional language
Baloch	3.57%	Census 2001	Local/Regional language

From Ammar et al. (2015, p. 112)

Ammar et al., (2015) provided a brief account of the major languages spoken in Pakistan. However, the study did not give the percentage of English speakers. This may be due to the fact that English, being a non-native language in Pakistan, is spoken by

people in different regions. In such a situation, it would have been difficult to get an exact figure. However, their description reveals that Pakistan has a rich and diverse linguistic heritage. On account of this diverse linguistic backdrop, the medium of instruction (MI) in educational institutes, particularly at the school and college levels, has always been a controversial issue (Mahboob, 2017; Rahman, 2010; Raja, 2014). Because the selection of any one regional language would imply the negligence of other languages, this can lead to resentment and disagreement as each group supports their language. For example, in Punjab, Punjabi has been mainly used as MI at the primary level in government schools, which has been strongly opposed by the Seraiki speakers living in the same province. This is also considered to be one of the reasons that has led to their demand for a separate province. In addition, the Urdu-Bengali controversy is generally quoted to be one of the main reasons for the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971.

Broadly speaking, the Pakistani educational system can be divided into two main streams: government-run schools, colleges and universities and private run schools, colleges and universities. In the government-run schools and colleges, the MI is generally Urdu and local languages. In the private sector, English tends to be MI (Mahboob, 2017; Manan et al., 2015; Rahman, 2010). The Government of Pakistan tried to bridge the MIs gap by introducing a uniform policy, the "National Education Policy (NEP) 2009," for both private and public sector educational institutes. In this policy, the government tried to accommodate local languages at school level by allowing each province to decide on the selection of MI up to class V. Sections 4 to 7 of the NEP (2009, p. 28) state:

> …4. The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
> 5. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.

6. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.
7. For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only….

The policy shows that initially English and Urdu should be taught as subjects and then from the 6th class onwards English should be used as MI across the board in both private and public-sector institutes, particularly for math and science subjects. However, up to the present time, the policy has yet to be implemented, and the bifurcation of educational institutes into English and Urdu MI continues (Ammar et al., 2015; Manan et al., 2015). This shows that there exists a mismatch between the policy statements regarding the MI at school and college level and the actual on ground practices reported by a number of studies (Ammar et al., 2015; Manan et al., 2015). Although the NEP (2009) did not categorically discuss the issue of MI at university level, it is generally assumed and deducted from the policy statements that the MI at university level would be English. The reason may be that at university level MI is not a controversial and contested issue and there exists a general consensus among the people regarding the use of English as MI in higher education across the country (Mahboob, 2017).

The linguistic scenario that has been depicted thus far about the uses of English, Urdu and regional languages may be true as long as you look at the country as a whole but when you shift your attention to its different provinces, each presents a different picture. For example, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) there are more than 26 languages spoken in different parts of the province. However, Pashto is the dominant and native language of the majority of the people. It is extensively used in different domains such as in electronic media, offices and in academic settings (Rahman, 1995). Although English is the MI at university level, but the lecturers and students mostly use local languages, such as Pashto and English in academic settings like the universities.

In such a multilingual environment, the emergence of bilingual and perhaps more commonly, multilingual practices such as CS in academic setting is a natural and common phenomenon (Khan, 2014). However, it has not been properly investigated. Some of the researchers did try to explore CS but their studies are limited in context, range and methods. These studies are mostly "survey-based" and lacking in "credible classroom-based research" (Mahboob & Jain, 2016, p. 9). They have mainly explored CS either from micro sociolinguistic perspective (Bashir & Naveed, 2015; Gulzar, 2014) or macro sociolinguistic perspective (Anbreen, 2015; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Nadeem, 2012) but there is lack of studies that have explored the reasons for CS from a micro-macro integrated perspective. Besides, the same picture is reflected in studies dealing with CS and identity. Most of the studies approached identity from a macro sociolinguistic perspective. They have just taken language as mere symbolic and static representation of a particular ideology and assumed a prior correlation between language and its symbolic significance (Khokhar, Memon & Siddique, 2016; Qadir & Riaz, 2015). But investigation of CS and Identity from a micro-macro integrated perspective is neglected. This lack of classroom-based research also leads to the fact that the teachers and students have very little understanding of CS, considering it as a negative practice emerging due to the lack of proficiency on the part of the speakers (Khan, 2014; Raja, 2014; Samar & Moradkhani, 2014). This is one of the main reasons which has motivated the current research. Being a university teacher, I used to visit different universities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in connection with different academic activities. I have observed that despite the strict instructions from educational authorities and keenness and consciousness of the lecturers and students about the use and status of English, they codeswitch between English and Pashto both inside and outside the classrooms. However, when you ask them about CS or the reason for CS, most of them would reply that this happens due to lack of proficiency and nothing more. On the other

hand, when you look at the other countries of the world, the monolingual pedagogic scenario is changing fast into bi- and multilingual approaches but unfortunately, in Pakistan the situation has not changed much, the teachers still adhere to the old and outdated ideas and practices of "English only" policy in the classrooms, considering the use of CS and other bi-multilingual practices counter-productive for language learning in particular and learning in general. These thinkings and situations were the main motivations to explore CS in-depth. It was necessary and very important to unpack the true nature of CS and create awareness and understanding among teachers and students about the same.

Besides, these studies have mainly investigated CS in the context of Urdu-English in English as foreign language (EFL) settings (Anbreen, 2015; Awan & Sipra, 2015) but CS in the context of other regional languages such as in the current context Pashto, has not yet been examined to date. The study will not only address the gap by investigating CS between English and Pashto but will also help to encourage research in other local languages of the country, which are neglected. Moreover, it will also be helpful to dispel negative perceptions regarding the use of CS in the classroom for pedagogic and communicative purposes.

Therefore, on account of the dearth of research on local languages such as Pashto and the lack of in-depth qualitative investigation of CS (micro-macro integrated sociolinguistic perspective), it was deemed important to investigate CS between English and Pashto in the interactive practices of lecturers and students in an institute of higher education in Pakistan.

In order to further the lecturers' and students' understanding of CS, it was thought appropriate to focus on the emergence, types and uses of CS in an institutional setting.

For this purpose, two research objectives were formulated. The first research objective necessitates an in-depth exploration of CS, its types and reasons, and thus, addresses the gap (lack of qualitative investigation) which led to the misperceptions of the lecturers and students about CS. The second research objective deals with CS and identity, and further highlights the uses and role of CS in identity projection. Thus, it can be stated that the research study covers important dimensions of CS.

1.2   Objectives of the study

1. To investigate CS practices and its uses in the interactions of lecturers and students in an institute of higher education in Pakistan.

2. To explore how the lecturers and students use CS to reflect their identities.

Based on these research objectives, three research questions were formulated. Research question 1 and 2 are related to the first research objective, while research question 3 is directly linked to the second research objective. In research question 1, the focus is to unpack the nature of CS by an exploration of CS types. Similarly, question 2 deals with the micro and macro reasons of CS with the aim of examining the actual motivations behind CS. Likewise, question 3 explores the roles of CS and its uses for identity projection.

1.3   Research questions

1. What types of CS emerge in the interactive practices of lecturers and students at a university in Pakistan?

2. What are the micro and macro reasons for the emergence of CS in the interactions of lecturers and students in a university in Pakistan?

3. How do the lecturers and students use CS to reflect their identities?

1.4 Limitations of the study

Initially, the plan was to conduct the study in three main universities of KP, Pakistan but then the law and order and security conditions at that time deteriorated in the wake of militant's attack on soft targets, such as the Army Public School Peshawar and then Bacha Khan University Charsadda in December 2015. In such situations, it was not possible to get access to educational institutes for research purposes. Thus, the study was restricted to the Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan (AWKUM), Pakistan. Moreover, the study is limited to examining CS types, reasons and CS as a resource for identity construction in speaking context only.

1.5 Significance of the study

The current research study examines CS from a micro-macro sociolinguistic perspective which will help in creating understanding about multilingual practices and guide further research in the same direction. In addition, it would be helpful to look at multilingual practices from the same perspective, which reduces the distance between CS and TL by acknowledging structural differences and similarities in named languages in certain cases, necessitating its existence (MacSwan, 2017). MacSwan (2017) criticized the TL approach and the unitary linguistic models proposed by Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) which disregards linguistic differences between different languages and thus lack empirical explanation and justification for the same.

The study also has the potential to further the understanding of lecturers and students about multilingual practices, such as CS, and in the process, the findings can contribute to the enhancement of learning and teaching practices. In the long run, the study may also help to deepen the insight of the policy makers regarding actual classroom practices and their theoretical assumptions.

1.6   Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. In Chapter one, an overall snapshot of the study is provided. Here, research questions, study objectives, limitations, importance, thesis structure, definition of terms and abbreviation are discussed.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the relevant codeswitching literature. The chapter focuses on the sociolinguistic investigations of codeswitching, specifically studies conducted in academic settings. It is classified into five main sections. In the first section, multilingual practices are discussed with a focus on CS and TL. In the second section, classifications of CS are explained and discussed. The third section deals with studies which have examined the functions and reasons for CS. The fourth section reviews the relationship between CS and identity. This section is sub-divided into three main sections: Introduction to CS and identity; the essentialist approach to identity; and the non-essentialist approach to identity. In the final section the conceptual framework of the study is discussed.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the research design of the study. This chapter is classified into six main sections. The chapter begins with an introduction and in the second section, the philosophical underpinning of the current research study and design are discussed, wherein justifications for selection of methods are given. In section 3, ethnography as research method and its application and justification for its use are presented. In section 4, the type of and data collection procedures are discussed in detail. In the fifth section, data analysis is explained and discussed. In section 6, the validity and reliability of the study are discussed.

Findings and discussion related to each research question, are presented and discussed separately in chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. In chapter 4, the findings on question 1 (types of structural CS) are discussed which is followed by a discussion. In Chapter 5,

findings on question 2 (The reasons for CS) are given and accordingly followed by a discussion. Similarly, in the sixth chapter, the findings on question 3 (CS & Identity) are presented, and thereafter, discussed.

Chapter 7 deals with conclusion which is divided into three sections: In the first section, a summary of the main findings is presented. In the second section, contributions and importance of the study are explained and discussed. In the third and final section, recommendations for future research are given.

1.7   Operational definitions of terms used in the study

In this section the main terms used in the study are introduced, which are further elaborated in the following chapter (Chapter 2).

Codeswitching: An alternation of languages, dialects and styles within the same piece of conversation. However, this alternation is not static but dynamic. Therefore, a hard and fast demarcation between different languages and varieties would not be possible. I believe that different varieties shared certain similarities but at the same time, there do exist some differences, which distinguish it from each other and necessitate its existence. I believe that the boundaries between languages, on the one hand, are flexible, which make the process dynamic but on the other, there also present some structural differences between certain languages, which distinguish it from each other. Codemixing: Codemixing is just a simple transfer of grammatical units from one language to another. Unlike CS codemixing requires grammatical rules negotiation of the languages involved in that process. Moreover, codemixing is not bounded by setting, participants and context.

Borrowing: Borrowing is actually the integration of a specific grammatical unit of one language into the grammatical system of another language.

Translanguaging: The term translanguaging (TL) was coined by Cen William (1994) in the context of Welsh-English in Wales. Williams explains TL as receiving information in one language and imparting the same information in another language. In other words, in TL, the languages of input and output remain different. The term now generally applies to bilingual practices where the boundaries between the two languages permeate and fluidly fusing into each other with no apparent restriction as well as such pedagogical practices which used and encourage such practices.

Intra-sentential codeswitching: Codeswitching within a clause or sentence is called Intra-sentential codeswitching. If a sentence or clause containing words or phrases from more than one language, then it would be called Intra-sentential CS.

Inter-sentential codeswitching: Codeswitching beyond sentence level or between sentences is called Inter-sentential codeswitching. If one sentence is in one language and the subsequent sentence is in another language, this phenomenon is generally known as Inter-sentential CS.

Tag codeswitching: Codeswitching, where a tag or word is added to a sentence which is entirely in another language is called tag codeswitching. It means that the tag part is in one language while the rest of the sentence is in another language. For example, in the sentence, I *know **chi ta teek na ye*** (You are not feeling well), an English tag *I know* is attached to a Pashto sentence ***chi ta teek na ye.*** In this sentence, except the tag part, the entire sentence is in Pashto.

Symbolic approach: Symbolic approach refers to the approach where words, phrases or utterances are taken as mere symbols of certain ideas, facts or structures exist beyond utterances. In other words, the interactive practices are taken to be a kind of representation of the broader social, political, historical and ideological issues. So, here

the focus is not on the immediate meaning but on the broader backgrounds of the interactants and their interactive practices. The symbolic approach is quite similar to the macro approach as both mainly concerns with broader factors and societal structure. In the current study, it is used as alternative terms for the same broader meanings and factors which guide the interactive practices of the lecturers and students in one way or the other.

Sequential approach: Refers to the approach where meanings of the interactive practices develop from the sequence of the interactions. In other words, here the emphasis is made on the sequence and pattern of interactive practices. An example of sequential approach can be conversation analysis. In conversation analysis, the interactive turns, the connection and relation between turns, its sequence and the nature of talk itself are focused and thus meaning is developed from the immediate context of situation. In this way, the technical aspect leads to the enactment of a complete picture of the situation. The sequential and micro approaches are considered to be similar because both emphasize the immediate meaning of the interactive practices and the current study has used it in the same sense.

Brought about approach: Brought about approach is used for an approach when an idea or theory is generated from the data.

Brought along approach: Brought along approach refers to an approach when the data is studied from the perspective of an already existed theory/ concept.

Micro sociolinguistics: Generally, the word micro is used for smaller level of something. The micro sociolinguistic is used for that approach which focuses on the local meaning created out of the immediate context of the interaction. It means that in a

micro sociolinguistic approach, the focus is to understand the meaning of an interaction from the perspective of that particular context and situation where it takes place.

Macro sociolinguistic: Macro refers to the bigger or broader aspect of something. In this way, a macro sociolinguistic approach stands for the broader social-cultural, historical, political and ideological factors which guide and influence micro level activities, behaviours and overall conduct of people in general and the lecturers and students in the current context in particular.

Metaphorical codeswitching: Refers to that type of codeswitching wherein the alternation of language is triggered by other factors than the change of setting, participants and topic. Suppose a teacher is teaching a group of students in English in the classroom, and then if the teacher codeswitches to another language mid sentence without any change of topic, situation and the participants, it would be an example of metaphorical CS. Because, here the topic, setting and participants remain the same but the teacher code switches for other reasons.

Situational codeswitching: Here the change of language is prompted by the change of situational factors such as participants, setting and topic. Suppose a person uses English in the classroom and then outside the class in his office or faculty room he or she turns to Pashto, at the change in language is caused by the change of situation. This would be an example of situational CS.

Participant-oriented codeswitching: Participant-oriented codeswitching is triggered by the needs of the participants. In this case, speakers, in order to accommodate the linguistic preferences/choices or competence level of their co-participants, codeswitch to their language of choice. This phenomenon is termed as participant-oriented codeswitching.

Discourse-oriented codeswitching: In discourse-oriented codeswitching, the change in language is caused by discourse-oriented reasons such as topic change or shifting emphasis.

Marked choices: Marked choices actually refer to the unexpected behaviours or language choices of a participant in situations where specific linguistic choices are expected.

Unmarked choices: Unmarked choices are the expected and predictable language choices connected to events, situation and settings.

Identity: The perception of an individual about himself and others guided by social-cultural and historical factors, is called identity. In a way, our identities more or less are the reflections of the social environment and setting where one has grown and brought up. However, this reflection is dynamic and not static. In the current study, identity is approached as something emerging, dynamic and relational, which is influenced and shaped mainly by the socio-cultural and historical backgrounds of the speakers.

Hybrid and bicultural identities: Hybrid identity refers to the merging of two different types of identities into a new single identity which is different from both source or base identities. Bicultural identity, on the other hand, is used for such identity, where an individual possesses and maintains two different types of identities side by side, belonging to two different cultures, such as local (national) and global. In the current study, hybrid identity is used for those who have merged their native ethnic Pashtun identity with the global English identity, resulting into a new kind of identity which is neither ethnic Pashtun nor global.

Essentialist: In this context, essentialist is used for those researchers who believe that identity is fixed and static and just a reflection of the inner psychological aspect of

human mind or societal structure. They mostly deny the role of agency and inner voices of the participants. In the current study, the term is used in the social sense, as a reflection of the societal structure.

Non-essentialist: The advocates of non-essentialist perspective believe that identity is not something given but structures and restructures through interactive practices in a dynamic manner. In other words, identity could not be attributed to certain predefined features or concepts, but it is an ongoing process subject to continuous change. The interactants are actively engaged in their identity construction through their interactive practices and performances.

Stance: Refers to the speaker's intent for responding in a particular way or using a particular linguistic structure in a particular sense.

Socio-cultural: Refers to the how society and culture influence the interactive practices of the speakers. In the current context, the term socio-cultural is used for the influence of class division, ethnicity, social values, norms, beliefs, practices, life styles, social status, social identity and socially shared characteristics on the interactive behaviours and practices of the lecturers and students.

Socio-psychological: Socio-psychological means the combination of social and psychological. In the current study, it has been used in the sense how the thinkings, behaviours and feelings of an individual are affected by social forces.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into five main sections. In the first section, multilingual practices are discussed, with a focus on CS. In the second section, classifications of CS are explained and discussed. Section 3 deals with studies which have examined the functions and reasons for CS. In section 4, CS and Identity are taken up and explained in detail. The final section highlights the conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 Multilingual practices

In multilingual practices, approaches in CS, differences between CS, code mixing (CM) and borrowing, differences between CS and translanguaging (TL), and finally types of CS are discussed.

2.1.1 Approaches in codeswitching

Table 2.1 shows that different researchers have defined CS in different ways mainly relying on their theoretical backgrounds. Some of the researchers while defining CS have emphasized the macro sociolinguistic dimension. For example, Hymes (1971, p. 9) approached CS from a social variationist perspective and explained that CS is "a common term used for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles". In addition to variation, Hymes (1971) used the words such as "languages", "varieties" and "style", which take us to his macro sociolinguistic world. This definition is problematic in the sense that it deals with the modes of CS but the purpose, function and grammatical aspect of CS have been completely ignored. Similarly, Trudgill (1992, p. 16) also approached CS from a broader sociolinguistic perspective and defined CS as " the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between languages and dialects within the same conversation". Trudgill (1992) like Hymes (1971) also emphasized the variation and alternation components in CS and did not talk about any other aspect. On the other hand,

Blommaert (1992, p. 63) turned to the social and historical dimensions and defined CS as "a kind of social historiography, in which the object of inquiry is fundamentally historical in nature". In comparison to Hymes (1971) and Trudgill (1992), Blommaert (1992) emphasized the historical and functional dimensions and highlighted the symbolic and social significance of CS. Likewise, CS was seen "as a use of language alternation or of code choice (that is, deciding to speak one language rather than another) in order to contextualize an utterance" by Nilep (2010, p. 2). Here, the word "contextualize" was used in the sense of social context, which takes us to the macro sociolinguistic world. A critical look at the definitions presented in this section reveals that they have approached CS from a very narrow angle, falling within the realm of macro-sociolinguistic perspective but the studies did not really address CS as a whole. A short summary of CS approaches based on definitions are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Approaches in codeswitching

No	Name of linguist	Approach	Focus	Drawbacks
1	Hymes (1971,1974)	Macro sociolinguistic	Variation	Did not talk about the purpose and grammatical aspects
2.	Trudgill (1992)	Macro sociolinguistic	Variation& bilingual	Did not talk about the functional and grammatical aspects
3.	Blommaert (1992)	Macro sociolinguistic	Historical& Semiotic	Did not talk about grammatical aspects
4	Nilep (2010)	Macro sociolinguistic	Function	Did not talk about the grammatical aspects
5	Heller (1988)	Macro sociolinguistic	Functional	Did not talk about grammatical aspects
6	Auer (1998)	Micro sociolinguistic	CA	Did not talk about macro sociolinguistic and grammatical aspects
7	Myers-Scotton (1995)	Micro sociolinguistic	CA	Did not talk about macro sociolinguistic and grammatical dimensions in the definition
8	Valdes-Fallis (1981)	Grammatical	Form	Did not talk about the functions
9	Bokamba (1989)	Grammatical	Form	Did not talk about the functions

Some of the researchers, while defining CS, have focused on the micro-sociolinguistic perspective and tried to explain it locally. Heller (1988, p. 1), for instance, defined CS as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode". The definition is self-explanatory wherein focus is made on the meaning of communicative episode. In other words, there is an over-emphasis on the local/situational meaning, while the grammatical and broader social aspects are neglected. The same focus on micro sociolinguistic dimension can be observed in Auer (1998, p. 1) who defined CS as "the alternation of two or more modes within the same conversational episode". This definition explicitly showing his position as conversation analyst but certain terms like "modes" and "episode" are left unexplained which need clarification. Myers-Scotton (1995, p. vii) also approached CS from the perspective of conversation analysis (CA) and defined it as "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn". It can be observed that in comparison to Auer (1998), Myers-Scotton (1995) in her definition has gone into more details by talking about the position of turn and level of CS even. However, in these definitions both of them have restricted themselves to CA lens and have not gone beyond that. They also did not talk about the purpose, function or the grammatical aspect of CS.

Contrary to the social side, there are some researchers, who while defining CS, have mainly focused on the grammatical aspect. For instance, Poplack (1980, p. 581) defined CS as "CS proceeds from that area of the bilingual's grammar where the surface structures of L1 and L2 overlap, and that CS, rather than representing the debasement of linguistic skill, is actually a sensitive measurement of bilingual ability". The definition very explicitly emphasizes the grammatical aspect, particularly bilingual grammar. However, the functional side is not touched. Similarly, Valdes-Fallis (1981, p. 95) very directly turned to the grammatical aspect and described CS as "the alternate use of two

languages at word, phrase or clause level". It can be noted here that Valdes-Fallis focused on the structural levels (words, phrase and clause) as the basis of which CS is classified into three main structural types. He did not look at the functional aspect. In the same way, Bokamba (1989, p. 278) also focused on the grammatical side, maintaining that "(code switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event …".

In short, all these definitions very clearly reflect the theoretical backgrounds of the researchers. It can be stated that CS has been approached from two main perspectives: social and grammatical. However, none of these studies attempted to discuss CS as a holistic bi-multilingual practice. So, a more balanced definition of CS would be the dynamic alternation of languages, varieties and styles guided by micro and macro sociolinguistic considerations.

2.1.2 Codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing

CS, codemixing (CM) and borrowing are the product and outcome of bi-multilingual practices. The difference between CS and CM is seen as following: CS is bounded and regulated by situations, participants and functions, while CM, on the other hand, is just a simple transferring of grammatical units from one language to another. In addition, unlike CS, CM requires grammatical rules negotiation of the languages engaged in the process of mixing (Kachru, 1983). In simple terms, CM is a purely grammatical issue while CS is more social than a grammatical phenomenon. CM is just an insertion of lexical items from one language into another. For example:

Za razum daily (I am coming every day)

Yaw hum lunch ta tayar na da (No one is ready for lunch).

In both these examples, there is just a mixing of two grammatical systems having no connection with situations, functions and participants and can be used anywhere. On the other hand, in CS language alternation is bounded and guided by the functional aspect. For example:

I want to drink **oba khu chi yakhu ve** (I want to drink cold water).

This is an example of CS because you only use this sentence when you are sure that the speaker can understand both the languages.

Borrowing, on the other hand, is different from both CM and CS. Borrowing is actually the integration of a particular grammatical unit from one language into the grammatical system of another language. This integration normally happens at three levels: syntactical, morphological and phonological (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Another important difference is that CS and CM both mainly focus on the speech side while borrowing on other hand related to grammatical system (Hudson, 1996). For example, the words such as "internet", "computer" and "television" are generally used in both Pashto and Urdu which are borrowed from English and now have become an integral part of the lexicon of Pashto and Urdu.

2.1.3 CS versus Translanguaging (TL)

TL has gained great momentum during the last decade or so. It has challenged the traditional static concept of language, teaching and learning and has come up with a dynamic and learner-oriented approach. It has shifted the focus from monolingual norms to multilingual policies and practices. It has also questioned the concepts of languages (named languages) codeswitching, multilingualism, speech community and native language. Being an emerging area, TL also faces certain challenges and has to justify and offer plausible explanations for its certain concepts and stances. In the

following section, the current study briefly reviews the development of TL, its challenges, compare and contrast it with CS and then finally has come up with the stand adopted in the current study**.**

TL began in Wales and then very rapidly spread to other parts of the world. In the beginning TL was used in the sense of receiving information in one language and imparting the same information in another language. It means it began as a pedagogic strategy where both the languages were used in an integrated, complementary and dynamic manner, adding to the cognitive and communicative potential of the speakers (Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012). Lewis, Jones & Baker (2012) further elaborated the same that TL actually means using one language to consolidate grip on other language. Then Garcia (2009) and Creese and Blackledge (2010) not only "extended the concept of TL beyond Welsh context" but in the process changed and further added new dimensions such as "code meshing" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 2), "translanguaging space" (Wei, 2011, p. 1223), "translanguaging instinct" (Wei, 2017, p.16) which moved the field ahead. Canangarajah (2011, p. 401) highlighted that TL is "shuttling between the languages treating the diverse languages that form their linguistic repertoire as an integrated system". He further explained that TL mostly approached language alternation from the perspective of speaker/individual but how it is to be taken by others and how they are going to respond to, are questions which remain a little undervalued and needs to be demystified. He suggests that TL should be taken as an interactive dialogical process, which could not be divorced from the social setting where the interactive practices take place. The creation of meaning is a dialogic process and the purpose of interactive activities is meaning making, therefore, it should accommodate the perspective of the speaker as well as interlocutor. Wei (2017) on the other hand, focused on the dynamic and creative aspect of TL. He explained that TL is a process and not a finished product or a thing accomplished but it is developed from languaging,

which means continuity. He emphasized on the performative aspect of TL and highlighted that TL is not what it is but it is the name of becoming, which is a never-ending process. Thus, in this vein, TL is an unfinished process and the researchers in TL are mainly concerned to discover and unpack the nature of this process.

The term now generally applies to bilingual practices where the boundaries between the two languages permeate and fluidly fusing into each other with no apparent restriction as well as such pedagogical practices which used and encourage such practices. Garcia and Lin (2016) further elaborated that there are two main versions of TL: i) the one which believes and propagates the softening of boundaries of languages in bilingual practices which are known as flexible bilingualism, and ii) the second is bit harsh and strong version of TL advocating the disruption of "named languages" and emphasizes idiolect, the linguistic repertoire of a bilingual. Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015, p. 281) taking the stronger side defined TL as "translanguaging is the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages". In this way, TL proponents are against the boundaries drawn by "named languages" dividing the people into different groups, which they labelled as mainly political acts. So far, the influence of social and cultural factors on the linguistic repertoire of an individual is concerned, all of them acknowledge and endorse that these have positive impact on the linguistic repertoire of an individual (Canangarajah, 2011; Cummins, 2017; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Lin, 2017; Turner & Lin, 2017). They believe that everybody should be given the right to use her/his linguistic repertoire in a free and fluid manner.

In fact, the emergence and rise of TL can be termed as a kind of reaction against the "English only" policy, which emphasizes the use of English for instructional purposes

in the classrooms and discourage the use of speakers' native languages as sub-standards and insufficient to meet the demands of the modern world. Moreover, they assumed that the use of native languages negatively affects the proficiency of the speakers in the target language (Moore, 2013). In simple terms, the "English only" policy deprived the people of their right of using native languages for instructional and other communicative purposes (Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Hornberger, 2005). The bilingual-centred approaches such as TL called it as "monolingual bias". Because, here the proficiency of the monolinguals are not only the touchstone criteria for the bilinguals to achieve and to be evaluated against but also the monolingual is given the liberty to use their L1, while on the other hand, the bilinguals are restricted to use only one of their two languages. Consequently, they believe that it will be unfair to apply the same evaluation system both on monolingual and bi-multilinguals alike (Cummins, 2009; Garcia & Flores, 2014).

Though TL was mostly taken as a pedagogic practice used in educational context but Garcia (2009) extended it beyond educational setting, taking it as a routine norm commonly found in multilingual societies all around. Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 103) moved a step further and argued that TL is not the "acceptance of native language" but it is, in fact, a "cultivation of languages through their use". Both the languages are used in a complementary manner cementing each other and coming to rescue at times of need. In short, the proponents of TL believe that the speakers should not be bounded from outside to avoid using such and such languages, but rather this authority should rest with the speakers to use their linguistic repertoire in a creative and critical manner.

While TL has great utility, and facilitates the process of communication and learning, there do appear certain challenges that the researchers and scholars have to handle and come up with amicable solutions. The first thing is that TL being student-centred would

be highly challenging for the teachers. It is dependent on students' motivation and comprehension and there are chances that the students may go off track in the use of their linguistic repertoire then in such situations, it would be quite difficult for the teachers to control and bring them back to track (White, Chefena & Sarah, 2013). In addition, there emerges the question of teacher's proficiency in the students' native language, which is considered important for the process of TL without which it would not be possible for the teachers to allow the students to get engage in TL (McMillan & Rivers, 2011). Moreover, problems and difficulty will also arise in situations where the students have diverse linguistic backgrounds. In such cases, it would be quite difficult to allow each and every student to use their L1 freely, which in a way would be advantaging some students at the cost of disadvantaging others. Besides, there are other important issues such as designing textbooks, setting evaluation system and other cultural issues that the researchers have to take up seriously. On the whole, TL as a communicative strategy and as a pedagogic approach have great potential which needs to be properly explored.

So far, the relation between CS and TL is cornered; there exist similarities and differences between the two approaches. But the proponents of TL, in order to justify and establish it as a distinct approach have mainly focused on the differences between CS and TL. They have made certain claims about CS, which are based on just assumptions without empirical evidence. The current study has discussed some of these differences and claims in this section.

Highlighting the difference between CS and TL, Garcia and Lin (2016) argued that CS and TL are two distinct paradigms. The purposes of both practices stand pole apart; CS may not focus on sustaining bilingualism but teaching an additional language and or in teaching itself. Besides, CS investigations mainly focus on the product of bi-

multilingual practices whereas TL practitioners are engaged with the source and process of such practices. In addition, the exponents of TL believe that CS takes a monoglossic view of languages, considering that bilinguals have two separate linguistic systems which govern and regulate their speech/ interactive practices. TL on the contrary views bilingual practices as heteroglossic assuming to be controlled not by two but one unitary linguistic system (Garcia & Lin, 2016). However, MacSwan (2017) responded quite strongly on this point and argued that it is baseless and just an assumption to believe that CS takes a monoglossic view of language. Moreover, it is equally erroneous to think that the languages of a bilingual are governed by two separate linguistic /grammatical systems. MacSwan (2017, p. 190) explains: "it is erroneously ascribed to codeswitching researchers a dual competence perspective on bilingual mental grammar attributing to them a monoglossic ideology that privileges the monolingual speaker". The view might be formulated on the basis of their presumption that in CS languages are approached from an external perspective, therefore the same might have been taken as reflection of their views about the internal linguistic system. MacSwan (2017, p. 182) elaborates:

> In actuality, codeswitching researcher have guarded carefully, this fallacy, the potential for which it is real and have taken care to conceptualize language differences according to the structural patterns evidenced by the speakers not according to the political identifications of languages.

MacSwan (2017) criticized the current TL approach and argued that it would be quite hard for TL exponents to prove and justify on empirical grounds the "undifferentiated unitary linguistic system" presented by Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 282), which they believe to govern the linguistic repertoire of the speakers. Because the undifferentiated unitary linguistic system lacks explanation for structural differences exist between

certain languages. For instance, there exist structural differences between Farsi and English, more evident at word order level. Now, these differences could not be explained with the help of an "undifferentiated unitary linguistic system". Therefore, the integrated linguistic model which takes into consideration both the similarities and differences arise between certain languages seems to be more plausible.

Moreover, he also agreed with TL that in most of the cases "named languages" are created on political and social basis and that idiolects are real and languages in general are abstractions. However, calling "named languages" as only political entities and accordingly, presuming the differences between them to be political in nature, are not absolute and true in all cases. There also exist some structural differences between certain languages, which necessitated it to be named separately. Moreover, when "named languages" are out rightly dismissed as political entities, then concepts such as "speech community" "multilingualism", "code switching" and "native language" will stand nowhere. Therefore, the "multilingual perspective on translanguaging" is not only logical but flexible as well. This approach will not only accommodate the concepts such as CS, multilingualism, speech community and native language but will also strengthen the position of TL and reduce the distance between CS and TL. So, in this way, it be stated that the multilingual perspective on multilingual practices appear to be more credible and justifiable.

2.2 Classification of CS

So far, the structural classification of CS is concerned; studies have followed two main models: Popolack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993). The main difference between Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993) is in the fact that the former classified CS into three categories, while the latter restricted CS classification to two main types. In the current section, CS studies have been divided on the same line. In the first category,

those studies which followed Poplack (1980) scheme of classification have been discussed, while the second category includes studies, which restricted their classification of CS to Inter and Intra CS only, mostly guided by Myers-Scotton (1993).

Poplack (1980) is a seminal study, where CS is approached from a structural perspective. In addition to the classification of CS into three types (Inter-sentential, Intra-sentential and Tag CS), the study also explored each of these types in detail and provided a comprehensive commentary on its nature and features. This is a highly influential work, which can be gauged from the fact that since 1980 onwards, most of the studies dealing with the types of CS (grammatical), conducted in different parts of the world, followed her three-pronged structural classification scheme (Casas, 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Mabule, 2015; Romaine, 1995; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016). One of the common problems of these studies is that most of them just classified CS into three types and then instead focusing CS types, they took up a particular structural dimension in connection with some structural or functional issue and explored that further. For instance, Saraswati and Octavita (2016) investigated the types and functions of CS in teen magazines Indonesia. The study just reported three types of CS (Inter, Intra and Tag) and then mainly focused the functional dimension. They did not discuss these CS types in detail. Rather, the study centred on the micro functions of CS. Similarly, Mabule (2015) explored the types and functions of CS in South Africa and came up with the three main types of CS, Inter, Intra and Tag CS. The study illustrated each of the CS types with data extracts and then focused on the functions of CS. Thus, the main point is that these studies did not explore CS types in-depth. They just classified CS into three categories, mostly counted its frequency and then did not go beyond that.

In the second category, studies have restricted the classification of CS to Inter and Intra CS only (Kebeya, 2013; Koban, 2012; Tajolosa, 2013). These studies are mainly guided

by Myers-Scotton (1993). They did not include Tag CS in the structural classification of CS. The reason may be that as Intra and Tag CS both occur within the sentence boundary, and therefore, they might have not thought it necessary to get into further details within the sentence level CS and just relied on the broader structural classification of CS into Intra and Inter CS only. In this category, most of the studies explored CS types in relation to some conceptual or functional issue. For example, Kebeya (2013) compared the configurations of embedded and matrix languages in Intra and Inter CS and tried to find out the factors which determined these patterns in Swahili and English context, Kenya. The study reported the patterns of embedded and matrix languages in Intra and Inter CS and its motivations, which were found completely different. Therefore, Intra and Inter CS could not be compared in this respect. Moreover, the study highlighted that the patterns of Intra CS and its motivations were highly complicated, which could not be easily determined. Likewise, Koban (2012) investigated CS types in relation to language proficiency in Turkish and English context in US. The study showed the emergence of Intra and Inter CS and then concentrated on the link between Intra CS and the proficiencies of the speakers. Both Kebeya (2013) and Koban (2012) instead of exploring types of CS in detail mainly focused Intra CS in relation to some structural or conceptual issue. These studies lacked details on CS types and were limited in range and focus. But as the current study focused in-depth exploration of CS types, therefore, it was thought appropriate to follow Poplack (1980). The reason is that in the first place, she has not only provided a comprehensive three-pronged CS classification but has also explained each of the CS types in detail. On the other hand, the two-pronged CS model seems to be oversimplified, which lack in-depth CS structural exploration. Here, CS has been classified into Intra and Inter CS, while Tag CS is subsumed in the Intra category.

2.2.1 Inter-sentential CS

Inter-sentential CS actually refers to CS at clause or sentence level. It means that if a speaker produces one clause or sentence in one language and then subsequently produces the next sentence in another language, this phenomenon would be called Inter-sentential CS. Poplack (1980) while commenting on Inter-sentential explained that Inter-sentential CS is comparatively easy and any average bilingual can involve in Inter-sentential CS. Numerous studies conducted in different parts of the world reported Inter-sentential CS (Gulzar, 2010; Kebeya, 2013; Romaine, 1995).

2.2.2 Intra-sentential CS

In Intra-sentential CS, codeswitching takes place within a word, clause or sentence level (Casas, 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Mabule, 2015; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016). In addition, some of the researchers have referred to Intra word CS, which is included in the current study in Intra-sentential CS. Intra CS is considered to be one of the most difficult types of CS because here the speaker is supposed to be competent enough to deal with the grammatical rules of both the languages. Besides, Intra CS is risky and the speaker can easily get confused and therefore, can lose the direction in the sentence. Poplack (1980, p. 570) referred to the same point that Intra CS is "… running the risk of rendering utterances which will be ungrammatical". So, it can be stated that Intra CS involves grammatical negotiation of two languages, which require grammatical knowledge of both the languages.

2.2.3 Tag CS

In Tag CS as the name indicates, a tag is attached to a sentence which is entirely in another language. According to Poplack (1980 p. 569) "tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule". It means that the Tag phrase/constituent can be placed

anywhere in the sentence. There is no restriction on its position. Moreover, Tag constituent is an independent grammatical component in a particular language which maintains itself and remains independent grammatically. A number of studies reported Tag CS in their classification of CS (Casas, 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Mabule, 2015; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016).

2.3 Reasons for CS

In this section, studies dealing with the functions and reasons for CS have been reviewed and discussed. These studies have been divided into four main categories. In the first category, studies related to micro functions and reasons have been taken up and discussed at length. In the second category, studies dealing with macro functions and reasons are explained. In the third category, the micro-macro sociolinguistic studies of CS are discussed. And finally, a short section on CS in Pakistan is given. Before looking at each category separately, a review of CS studies, which covers all the previously mentioned dimensions, are critically discussed.

Lin (2017) conducted a very comprehensive review where a historical overview of different research paradigms and approaches dealing with the sociolinguistic investigation of CS in the classroom is given. A close look at the review suggests that the studies mainly investigated CS from a micro functional perspective except for the 4th section where she discussed studies which approached CS from a micro-macro integrated perspective. Based on historical and theoretical considerations, she classified sociolinguistic studies of CS into four major categories.

In the first category, she included all those studies, which examined CS in terms of using the relative amount of L1 and L2 in the classrooms (Frohlich, Spada, & Allen, 1985; Wong Fill-more, 1980). In the second section, she discussed studies dealing with

the functional distribution of L1 and L2 in quantitative terms (Flanders, 1970; Guthrie, 1984; Milk, 1981). These studies involved a lot of interpretive work on the part of the coder. However, it is to be noted that the functional categories are assumed as something stable and fixed, which are linked and correlated to specific linguistic structures and utterances. In the third category, studies have drawn on both interactional sociolinguistic and ethnography of communication for investigation of CS in the classroom (Martin, 2003; Merritt et al., 1992; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005). The interactional and ethnographic lenses brought a change in functional perspective. The meanings and functions of CS practices were not assumed but rather generated and developed from within the interactive practices (Goffman, 1974). In the fourth and final section, she included studies which approached the interactive practices from the perspective of interpretive and critical research paradigms (Canangarajah, 2001; Heller & Jones, 2001; Lin, 1999). In this category, the broader macro societal factors and ideologies are clearly at work and reflecting in the interactive practices of the participants in one way or the other. They tried to link the micro-interactional functions of CS with the broader societal issues including language ideologies. These ideologies were either reproduced or contested (Canagarajah, 2001; Lin, 1999).

So, in this way, the review has drawn on all the major sociolinguistic theoretical paradigms and approaches including micro sociolinguistic, macro sociolinguistic and micro-macro sociolinguistic approach. In the following section, studies which fall in one of the three above mentioned categories have been discussed. It should be noted here that due to the inter-dependence and overlapping nature of one dimension into another, a complete and exclusive classification of studies into different discrete categories would not be possible. However, on the basis of the overall orientation of the study, it has been placed either in one or the other category.

2.3.1 Studies dealing with micro functions and reasons

A number of studies have approached the functions and reasons for CS in the classroom from a micro perspective focusing on the local functions and reasons, emerging from the immediate and local context of situations. It provides s a feeling of overemphasis on the local meaning, while the broader social dimension seems to be neglected. A close analysis of micro CS studies investigating the functions and reasons for CS reveals that mostly studies have focused on two aspects: the pedagogic functions and reasons for CS and CS as a communicative strategy. It is also worthy to mention that studies dealing with attitudes of the teachers and learners have been placed variedly, sometimes in the micro category and at times in macro section, however in the current study, these studies have been placed under the micro section (attitudes towards CS). It is to be noted here that the micro dimension has also been discussed in the conceptual framework section (see 2.5.2 for further details); here some of the latest studies on CS have been reviewed critically.

2.3.1.1 The pedagogic functions and reasons for CS

A growing number of studies have approached CS from a pedagogic perspective. Most of these studies have mainly focused on the micro pedagogic reasons, while the macro social dimension is neglected (Cahyani, Courcy & Barnett, 2016; Ma, 2016; Msimanga, Denley & Gumede, 2017; Nguyen, Peter & Michael, 2016; Nukuto, 2017). In this context, special mention should be made of Msimanga et al. (2017). Msimanga et al., (2017) published a detailed review mainly focusing on the pedagogical functions and role of CS in science classes in South Africa. The study reviewed about 27 papers mainly dealt with the role of CS in the development of classroom interaction, learner literacy, meaning making, cognitive development and language in assessment. The review showed that there emerged a shift of focus from the perception of crisis in English in ESL to the exploration and mobilization of linguistic resources in the

classroom for conceptual development and engagement of the learners in learning process. The earlier micro studies focused on the exploration of CS and its main functions in the classroom. While the later studies emphasized on the practical aspect, the utility and mobilization of those resources for the benefits of learners, teachers and the overall learning and teaching process. So, the pedagogic and learning components, particularly from the perspective of the learners, are more evident in the later than the earlier studies. The same functional and learner-oriented thread could be observed in the studies reviewed in the following section.

Nukuto (2017) examined the reasons and functions of CS in students' and teachers' interactive practices in Japan. The study reported that CS was used to fulfill three main pedagogic functions: to support learner lack of proficiency in the target language, setting up communicative activities and finally transmission of information. The same functional flow continued in Ma (2016). The study explored the functions and reasons for CS in teachers' and students' interactive practices in Australia. The study showed that CS was mainly triggered by pedagogic reasons. Both the teachers and student used CS mostly for pedagogic and learning purposes. In the same vein, Nguyen et al. (2016) explored the reasons for teachers' and students' CS in language classrooms in Vietnam. At a theoretical level, the study indicated a strong shift from the monolingual norms to the bilingual practices and showed that the teachers CS served a number of purposes including content transmission, comprehension, establishing rapport between students and teachers and creating an overall leaner friendly environment. Likewise, Cahyani et al. (2016) investigated the functions of CS in teachers' interactive practices in the classrooms at school level in Indonesia. The study showed that teachers' CS served certain pedagogic and socio-cultural functions. However, the pedagogic dimension featured more prominently.

It can be noted that these studies indicate a change from monolingual norms to the utilization of multilingual resources and practices in the classrooms. There is embedded a transition from the functional perspective to the mobilization and integration of multilingual resources for the benefits of learners, teachers and the overall learning and teaching process. This may be attributed to the emergence of TL, which has strongly impacted the teaching and learning practices.

2.3.1.2   CS as a communicative resource

Likewise, some of the researchers focused on CS as a communicative resource and tried to highlight its communicative utility. Here, focus on the micro layer is clearly evident (Amorim, 2012; Kim, 2015; Moore, 2002). These studies mostly lacked in-depth and restricted in range as they focused on the communicative dimension of CS only and did not explore it further. Besides, instead of exploring the interactive practices from within, they mostly approached the data from a prior assumed functional list. So, what they did, just one to one mapping between the functional categories and the linguistic structures. For example, Amorim (2012) investigated the functions and reasons for CS in the interactive practices of students in a university in EFL context, Portugal. The study showed that the speakers used CS as a communicative strategy. They study came up with a list of communicative functions of CS and then concluded that the students codeswitched to native language on account of lack of proficiency in the target language. The same communicative functional thread can be observed in Amorim (2012). Amorim (2012) investigated the functions of CS in teachers' and students' interactive practices in EFL context. The study showed that the teachers and students used CS for a number of communicative and pedagogic functions.

Likewise, Lee (2010) also approached the reasons for CS in Korean-English context in a heritage school in US from a micro sociolinguistic perspective. However, the

approach in this study is slightly different from the previous functional perspective. Data were collected by audio-taping interactive practices which were then analysed from the perspective of conversation analysis (CA) informed by Auer (1984). The study showed that in addition to classroom management, the participants also used CS to accommodate the language preferences and proficiencies of the participants. On the whole, the study came up with participant-oriented and discourse-oriented uses of CS.

Unlike the studies mentioned in this section (Amorim, 2012; Kim, 2015; Moore, 2002), Bruen and Kelly (2017) explored the behaviours and attitudes of the teachers and students towards the use of L1 in L2 classrooms. The study investigated CS in an Irish higher Educational Institute. The findings showed that the participants supported the use of L1 particularly in situations where it facilitated the reduction of learners' cognitive burden and anxiety level leading to the creation of a relax and learner-friendly environment. On the whole the study mainly focused on the communicative dimension of CS. The same communicative and pedagogical line is also reflected in Moore (2002). Moore (2002) analysed the functions of L1 in L2 classes in two different contexts, French and Spanish and French and Italian at school level in Spain. The study reported that the participants used CS for leaning and communicative purposes.

The brief overview in this section suggests that CS has been widely used as a communicative strategy in different places and times. The studies mainly focused on the micro functional and communicative aspect of CS and assisted the current research in gaining further insight about the communicative aspect of CS.

2.3.1.3 Attitudes towards CS

Some of the research studies, while exploring CS in the classroom mainly focused on the attitudinal dimension and investigated the perceptions and attitudes of the students

and teachers towards CS (Balam & Perez. 2017; Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1984; Harris, Gleason & Aycicegi, 2006; Hornberger, 2005; Ibrahim, Armia & Najwa, 2013; Jingxia, 2010; Kim, 2015; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Martin, 2005; Wong-Fillmore, 1985). Keeping in view the high volumes of CS attitudinal studies, it has been clubbed into three main groups and then discussed them accordingly. In other words, we can say that the attitudinal studies have reported CS in three main ways: CS as a negative practice, the discrepancy between speakers' perceptions and their actual classroom practices and CS as a positive practice.

A number of studies conducted in different parts of the world reported that the speakers perceived CS as something negative and emphasized that it should be avoided in the classrooms. These were earlier studies (Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1984; Wong-Fillmore, 1985). The use of L1 in the classroom was discouraged on account of two major reasons. It was argued that only target language should be used in the classroom, while CS to other languages should be banned because it hinders the learning process. The assumption was that learners' use of L1 diverted the attention and mind of the learners from the target language and thus impedes the process of learning (Wong-Fillmore, 1985). Secondly, they believed that the use of L1 minimizes the learners' exposure to the target language, which negatively affect their proficiencies in the same. They further elaborated that the students' exposure to L1 and target language at times exerts extra pressure on their mind, which reduces their performances and proficiencies in the target language (Bhatt, 1997; Martin, 1999).

In the second category, studies where there appeared discrepancy in the reported perceptions of the speakers and their actual practices in the classrooms, underlying the transition period from negative perception to positive perception of CS, have been discussed. In this category studies showed that the participants perceived CS as

something negative and so avoided it accordingly but unconsciously they were found engaged in CS in their actual practices (Hornberger, 2005; Ibrahim, Armia & Najwa, 2013; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Martin, 2005). For example, Ibrahim et al. (2013) investigated the attitudes of the teachers towards CS in ESL setting in Malaysia. The study showed that most of the teachers opposed CS in the classroom but in their actual interactive practices, CS was freely observed. In other words, the study highlights a discrepancy between the reported attitudes and actual practices of the speakers. Likewise, Lawson and Sachdev (2000) explored the attitudes of the speakers towards CS in Tunisia. The study revealed that the negative evaluations of CS by speakers elicited through questionnaires were not reflected in their behavioural data obtained through self-reports and actual practices.

In the third category, in contrast to the negative perception of CS, a growing number of studies, mostly the recent ones showed that the teachers and students perceived CS in the classrooms as something positive. In addition, they have even recommended that CS should be used in classrooms (Balam & Perez. 2017; Harris, Gleason & Aycicegi, 2006; Jingxia, 2010; Kim, 2015). Balam and Perez (2017) investigated the attitudes of teachers and students towards CS between Spanish and English in Central America. They found that the teachers and students perceived CS positively. They believed that CS should be used as a communicative resource for learning and teaching purposes. Likewise, Kim (2015) investigated students' perceptions regarding the use of L1 in L2 classrooms at the university level in Korea. The study reported positive perceptions of L1 in L2 classrooms. Similarly, Jingxia (2010) explored the attitudes of the students and teachers towards the functions, patterns, factors and influence of codeswitching in the context of Chinese and English in EFL setting in China. The study revealed that both the teachers and students showed positive attitudes towards CS for learning and teaching purposes. Likewise, Harris et al. (2006) also recommended the use of native

language in the classroom. They further highlighted the advantages of CS, particularly the use of native language in the classroom and emphasized that certain concepts happened to be culture specific which could not be easily explain in target language. Therefore, CS at times becomes too much necessary.

In short, the attitudinal studies reveal that with the passage of time the negative perceptions of the teachers and students reported in the earlier studies gradually changed into positive ones. This change is actually indicative of the fact that now the people have developed awareness about the utility of using CS and other multilingual practices for pedagogic and communicative purposes. However, it is to be noted that the negative perception of CS is still prevalent in some parts of the world. Therefore, there still arises the need to create awareness among teachers and students regarding the utility of CS and other multilingual practices in the teaching and learning context in the classrooms. For instance, in Pakistan, a number of studies have reported speakers' negative perceptions of CS. This is also one of the main reasons which has motivated the current research. In the current research, these studies remained helpful in accessing and unpacking the lecturers' and students' perceptions and their understanding of CS.

2.3.2 Studies dealing with macro functions and reasons

In this section, the broader macro sociolinguistic studies of CS are divided into two main sections i.e., Macro sociolinguistic CS studies and CS and socialization. Although, socialization can be placed more appropriately in the micro-macro integrated category, on account of its broader nature and goals, which deals not only with the acquisition of language or languages but also with the absorption of socio-cultural norms and ideologies of the concerned community, it has been placed in the macro sociolinguistic category. So, in the macro functions and reasons, studies approaching the functions and reasons for CS and studies dealing with socialisation are included.

Macro sociolinguistic studies mainly dealt with the investigation of broader socio-cultural, historical and ideological issues. They assumed that social factors such as class, gender, ethnicity, language policy, national and global ideologies govern and guide the interactive behaviours and practices of the speaker. In a way these macro forces reflect in the interactive practices and behaviours of the speakers (Chang, 2014; Debose, 1992; Probyn, 2009; Sebonde, 2012; Sophocleous, 2011). For example, Chang (2014) investigated CS in the interactive practices of the students in the context of Pangcah and Mandarin at school level in Taiwan. The study aimed to explore the mismatch between the official medium of instruction and actual on ground practices. The study showed that Mandarin being the medium of instruction was assumed as a representation of the hegemonic domination, while Pangcah being the native language of the speakers were considered as the language of lower social status. So, here the choice between Pangcah and Mandarin were taken and assumed as a choice between allegiance to the state and to their social heritage. In this way a direct correlation between Pangcah with ethnic attachment and mandarin with state policy were established. In addition, each language was taken and used in relation with power paradigm and the participants and their interactive practices represented were assumed as symbols reflecting the same. A similar kind of study was conducted by Probyn (2009) in South Africa. Probyn (2009) examined CS in the interactive practices of the teachers and learners from the perspective of language policy and actual classroom interactive practices. The study was conducted in English-Xhosa context at school level in South Africa. The study reported that CS practices of the learners, on the one hand, outlined the gap between policy and practices but on the other, showed the macro level contestation between the status of English and Xhosa. The study referred to the pedagogic uses of CS but the emphasis was on the broader ideological issue of language policy and voicing justice for Xhosa speakers. In a way, the two languages symbolically

represented two broader social realities. These studies presumed a prior direct correlation between the languages concerned and its broader social and ideological values and significance.

The same symbolic correlation between the language choice and its ideological association was observed in Debose (1992). Debose (1992) investigated the reason for CS between Black and White English from the perspective of social stratification. In this context, each language was connected with a social class and thus bearing a symbolic value. White English was associated with an educated high social class, while Black English symbolically represented the lower poor class. In other words, the varieties and languages were assumed as just symbols, representing class division and social stratification. The direct association between language and its symbolic value is something which takes to the static view, where language is considered to be just a mere reflection of the broader social structure.

Unlike Chang (2014), Probyn (2009) and Debose (1992), Sebonde (2012) turned to investigate the effect of social class, gender, age and educational level on the codeswitching practices of trilingual, Chasu, Swahili and English speakers in Tanzania. The study reported that that socio-economic status of language and the degree and duration of the contact influenced the choice of the speakers. The same macro static orientation can be observed in Ennaji (2005). Ennaji (2005) investigated the reasons for CS in the interactive practices of educated men and women between Arabic and French in Morocco. The study was informed by Fishman (1972) which showed that the language choices of speakers were strongly influenced by the topic and situations of the interactive practices and social setting of the speakers. It can be said that the interactive practices of the speakers reflected the broader socio-cultural fabric of the community concerned.

In sum, most of these studies have approached multilingual practices especially CS from a broader national, ethnic or social perspective. They assumed that interactive practices in the classrooms and in other settings reflect the broader socio-cultural factors and forces. Consequently, interactive practices were taken as static, mere reflections of the social structure. In addition to the symbolic studies, numerous studies have also approached CS from a language socialization perspective. Language socialization refers to the process by which speakers acquire knowledge of the social order, system and principles in a tacit and mostly unconscious manner. This happens through the speaker direct exposure and active engagement with language practices in the environment around. Research has shown that the family members, particularly parents through spontaneous interactions with their children, implicitly or explicitly transmit their socio-cultural beliefs, norms and values to them (children), which influence their interactive practices and behaviours in one way or the other (Garrett, 2017; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986). In this sense, one of the main reasons for the emergence of CS, TL and other multilingual practices in the interactions of the speakers can be their socialization in a bi-multilingual environment. In the following section, in order to see the role of family background and social environment in the emergence and development of CS in the interactive practices of the speakers, some of the very recent studies on CS and socialization are briefly reviewed (Cho, 2016; Garrett, 2017; Kharkhurin & Wei, 2014; Song, 2016; Wang, 2017).

Song (2016) examined the reasons for CS in the interactive practices of a Korean bilingual child in USA. The study showed that the home languages and ideologies that the child imbibed and developed through socialization got reflection in his interactive practices. The child acquired Korean and English as L1 and L2 respectively. In Korea English is considered to be a language of power, social status and a source of global communication. They assigned a comparatively low status to their native language,

Korean. The child being socialized in such environment reflected the same in his interactive practices demonstrated through CS. Likewise, Wang (2017) investigated the emergence of CS in a Chinese bilingual child in US. The child was exposed to English in the school and Chinese at home. The child's exposure to two languages led to his bilingual socialization and consequently to the emergence of CS in his interactive practices, which helped him in learning and enhancing his communicative potential. Unlike Song (2016), where the focus was on socio-cultural aspects, here the study focused on the development of communicative competence of the speaker. A similar kind of study was conducted by Cho (2016) in US. He investigated the socialization of a bilingual child who was exposed to two different languages in formal and informal settings. The child used English in the school while Korean in the community Sunday school and home. So, the child was socialized in two different languages leading to the development of his multilingual and multicultural competence. The study showed that both the school and environment at home produced positive effects on the child's socialization and his development of multicultural competence. The findings of Cho (2016) like Wang (2017) strongly embedded in the interactive practices of the participants of the study.

Kharkhurin and Wei (2014) took slightly different direction. They investigated CS and creativity among habitual and non-habitual code switchers. They tried to find out which one of the two types (habitual and non-habitual code switchers) happened to be more creative. For this purpose, 157 multilingual university students were selected from American University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates. The study revealed that the habitual code switchers were found to be highly creative than the non-habitual switchers. They were born and brought up in multilingual families. In other words, they were socialized in multilingual families, which led to the development of habitual or unconscious CS in their interactive practices.

Studies in this section showed that the speakers in their interactive practices reflect the broader macro social factors. They suggest that for an in-depth exploration and understanding of interactive practices of the speakers, the knowledge of broader social setting is essential without which it would not be possible to unpack the real and actual spirit of these practices. Thus, in the current research as CS practices of the lecturers and students were approached from an integrated sociolinguistic perspective, therefore these studies helped in understanding the broader social dimensions and its role in the emergence of CS and identity orientations of the speakers.

2.3.3 Studies dealing with micro-macro functions and reasons

A growing number of studies tried to investigate the reasons for CS from a micro-macro integrated perspective. The reasons for using a micro-macro integrated lens might be the shortfalls of the micro and macro approaches, on the one hand, and the in-depth exploration of CS, on the other (Al-Masaeed, 2013; Anderson, 2009; Cahyani, Courcy & Barnet, 2016; Canagarajah, 1995; Kiramba, 2016; Shim, 2014; Zhang, 2005). As some of the studies which have approached CS from a micro-macro sociolinguistic perspective, have already been discussed in the conceptual framework section (For further details see, 2.5.3: Micro-macro sociolinguistic integrated approaches), therefore, a few more will be discussed here.

For instance, Anderson (2009) tried to accommodate all the three dimensions, micro, meso and macro in a single theoretical framework. She explained that for in-depth exploration of interactive practices, it is imperative that it should be studied from all three levels (micro, meso and macro) which would help to unpack the phenomenon in entirety. She used the micro for the "lived" or interactional layer that we come across in face to face interaction. The micro level in this vein is akin to conversation analysis as it also refers to the meaning emerging out of the immediate or local context of the

interactive practices. She elaborated that meso referred to ethnographic layer or the meaning of something within the context of the specific locality of the speaker. In other words, what we do is obviously named or categorized in a particular manner in that community, which could be called as meso level. Finally, she used the macro level for the idealized or broader social meaning and significance of something. In simple words, the three levels can be labelled as local/immediate, institutional/ intermediate and structural. Anderson (2009) argued that the positionality framework approached the interactive practices from all these three levels. The researcher elaborated and illustrated the framework with the help of data that she collected in different schools in USA. The framework is useful for in-depth qualitative investigation, but the main issue will be the management and organization of all three layers. Because at times, it would be very difficult to draw a dividing line among the above mentioned three levels. On the other hand, if all these levels are maintained separately, then it would be very difficult to bring them to gather as an organic whole. It would be more fruitful to handle these layers dynamically, so that it may not seem disjointed. On account of the inherent difficulty in positionality framework, most of the studies have preferred and opted for the micro-macro integrated approaches.

So far as the micro-macro integrated approach is concerned, Canagarajah (1995) is worthy to be discussed here. Canagarajah (1995) carried out a detailed and comprehensive study where the functions of CS in teachers' interactive practices were approached from a micro-macro integrated perspective. The study was conducted in ESL setting, Sri Lanka. The findings showed that the teachers codeswitched for two main purposes: classroom management and content transmission. The classroom management functions as revealed by the study were: starting the class, teacher advice, teacher directives, teacher admonition, maintaining discipline and teacher encouragement. The content transmission functions included, review, definition,

explanation, negotiation and so on. He explained that that the interactive practices inside the classroom prepare us for the macro functions of outside social world. In other words, it can be stated that micro interactive practices and activities inside the classroom, reflect the macro aspect of the outside social world. The study is well organized would have been more impressive, if the research could have elaborated the macro dimensions as well. Similarly, Cahyani et al. (2016) explored the reasons for CS in the interactive practices of the students and teachers in the Indonesian and English context in Indonesia. The findings of Cahyani et al. (2016) and Canagarajah (1995) almost remained the same. Cahyani et al. (2016) also showed that the teachers and students codeswitched for pedagogical, communicative and social reasons. The study revealed that the broader societal factors influenced the interactive practices inside the classroom. The same micro and macro blend can be observed in Shim (2014). Shim (2014) investigated the language choices of the Korean bilinguals in Korean-English context. The purpose of the study was to explore how the bilinguals use their linguistic resources for achieving certain social goals and then how these linguistic resources connected with the broader societal structure. In simple terms, they tried to find out how the micro uses of CS are influenced by the broader macro social factors. The findings showed that the micro interactive practices of the participants mostly reflected the broader socio-cultural norms of the Korean society. However, at times they did deviate by going against the institutional and established norms and asserted their creative and inner voices. In a way, the study attempted to approach CS practices from a micro-macro integrated sociolinguistic perspective. Unlike Cahyani et al. (2016) and Shim (2014), Zhang (2005) investigated CS from both micro-macro and macro-micro perspectives. The study explored the motivations behind CS in Chinese dialects (Putonghua and Cantonese) used in a radio program in China. The main aim of the study was to find out the role of the macro level social factors in the micro level

interactive practices of the speakers. They looked at the interactive practices from both dimensions, micro to macro and macro to micro and tried to unpack its relationship. The finding showed that the micro level language choices very clearly reflected the broader social structure. The speakers' preference for Putonghua was indicative of the official and social status of the dialect, while their uses of Cantonese symbolically represented their ethnic attachment and affiliation with their community. In this vein, the shuttling between the two dialects was motivated by the socio-political and social-cultural factors implied within the interactive practices of the speakers. The analysis of the study mainly focused on the symbolic value of Cantonese (ethnic and local bond) and Putonghua (social and official status) leading to the socio-political and socio-cultural background of the community concerned.

Likewise, Al Masaeed (2013) investigated the reasons and functions of CS in students' interactive practices in an Arabic-English context in Morocco. Data were analyzed by using Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model and Auer (1984, 1998) conversational codeswitching approach. The findings on Markedness model showed that the participants' codeswitched for certain micro and macro reasons including solidarity, showing authority, aesthetic effect, joking, clarity of concepts and accommodating the less proficient students. Similarly, the conversational approach revealed that the participants codeswitched for quotation, accommodation, reiteration and language negotiation. This, here, an attempt was made to investigate CS functions from both micro and macro perspectives.

In the final category, those studies which have shown orientations towards TL have been included and discussed. In this section, mostly studies have shown orientations towards the micro dynamic dimensions. For example, Kiramba (2016) investigated the motivations behind the language choices of the teachers and students in the multilingual

(Kimeru, Kiswahili and English) setting of Kenya. The study aimed to find out the role and importance of socio-cultural factors in the language choices of teachers and students. The findings showed that participants preferred to use their multilingual repertoires in a natural and free manner by overriding their monolingual language policy. The study at micro level discussed the communicative functions of CS and at macro level outlined the tussle between socio-political forces emphasizing on the monolingual norm, on the one hand, and the socio-cultural multilingual realities of the speakers pushing for heteroglossia, on the other. The multilingual practices not only played an agentive role by asserting the speakers' right to use their multilingual repertoires freely but also voiced the concerns of the local community by outlining their socio-cultural heritage.

The review of this section shows that most of the studies have investigated the reasons for CS either from micro or macro perspective. They have shown their orientation either towards the local or social perspective but CS investigation from a micro-macro integrated perspective is comparatively the less explored dimensions. Although there did exist studies which have explored CS from a micro-macro integrated perspective, but these are limited in numbers and restricted to specific contexts. Therefore, keeping in view the aim of the study (In-depth sociolinguistic investigation) and the dearth of research, the current research approached CS from a micro-macro sociolinguistic perspective. The review remained helpful in gaining insight and furthering understanding about the micro, macro and micro-macro integrated sociolinguistic investigations of CS.

2.3.4   CS in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country with more than 70 languages spoken in different regions. The emergence and development of CS in such an environment is a

natural phenomenon, which is commonly observed across the country. But unfortunately, it has not been properly researched. Some researchers did try to investigate CS from grammatical (Abbas, Aslam & Rana, 2011; Iqbal, 2011) and sociolinguistic (Ahmad, Saeed, Rauf & Seemab, 2015; Chughtai, Afsheen & Khan, 2016; Dar, Akhter & Khalid, 2014; Khan, 2014) perspectives but most of these studies have certain limitations. Keeping in view the focus of the current study, (sociolinguistic investigation of CS) only those studies which have explored CS from a sociolinguistic perspective, have been reviewed. The sociolinguistic studies of CS have mainly focused on two dimensions: investigation of the functions/reasons for CS and attitudes towards CS.

A number of studies tried to explore the reasons for CS in teachers' and students' interactive practices in Pakistan. Chughtai et al. (2016) investigated the reasons for CS in teachers' interactive practices in a university in South Punjab. Data were collected by means of a close-ended questionnaire. The findings showed that the teachers codeswitched mainly for pedagogic and communicative purposes. Interestingly, the study did not talk about the method, framework and even objectives of the study. Similarly, Dar et al. (2014) investigated the reasons for teachers CS in an academic setting at school level in Punjab, Pakistan. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews. The findings showed 14 reasons which made the teachers to codeswitch in the classrooms. These reasons were divided into four categories, contextual, situational, need based and objective based. A critical look at the study revealed that the study has overlooked the method and analysis section. The researchers neither mentioned the research design (qualitative or quantitative) nor discussed the analysis of data.

A similar kind of study was conducted by Khan (2014). Khan (2014) explored the patterns and reasons for CS in students' and teachers' interactive practices at the

graduate level in Karachi, Pakistan. Data were collected through observations and audio-taping their interactive practices in the classrooms. The study reported the lack of proficiency as the only reason behind students and teachers CS in the classrooms. Yet again the study is problematic in both method and analysis. The study did not mention how much data were collected, how it was transcribed and then analysed. The researcher directly goes to the conclusion that the teachers' and students' lack of proficiency in the target language is the main reason for the emergence of CS in their interactive practices. Likewise, Bashir and Naveed (2015) investigated the functions of teachers' CS in English-Urdu in diploma classes in Lahore, Pakistan. The study showed that the teachers used CS for Pedagogic and social purposes.

Besides, a number of studies have also tried to explore the teachers and students' attitudes towards CS. Ahmed et al., (2015) turned to EFL setting and investigated the attitudes of college's students towards CS in Punjab, Pakistan. The study reported students' positive perceptions of CS. Similarly, Nadeem (2012) probed the perceptions of teachers and students regarding the use of CS in the classrooms. Data were collected through close-ended questionnaire. The study revealed that both teachers and students approved the use of CS as a pedagogic strategy for some limited purposes only. However, this study is survey based with no direct insight into classroom practices. The same survey-based approach can be observed in Tahir and Fatima (2016) and Gulzar (2014). They explored the attitudes of the students and teachers towards CS in Punjab, Pakistan. The findings showed that majority of the participants agreed to use CS in the classroom for comprehension purposes. These studies just reported the perceptions of the participants but did not explore their actual interactive practices.

The review showed that in Pakistani context CS has not been properly investigated from a sociolinguistic perspective. Most studies are survey based and not embedded in actual

classroom practices. Moreover, CS in the context of local languages such as Pashto has been neglected, which needs to be investigated. Keeping in view the dearth of research on Pashto, and the lack of in-depth qualitative investigation of CS (from a micro-macro integrated sociolinguistic perspective), this study was motivated to investigate CS in lecturers' and students' interactive practices in the context of English and Pashto in an Institute of Higher Education in Pakistan.

2. 4   CS and Identity

In this section an attempt is made to briefly review studies on CS and identity conducted in different parts of the world. This section is sub-divided into three sub-sections: introduction to CS and identity, essentialist approach to identity and non-essentialist approach to identity. In the first section, introduction to CS and identity, CS and identity are linked, defined and then, finally an overall picture of the different theoretical approaches used in the investigations of CS and identity, are given and explained. In the next two sections (2.4.2 & 2.4.3), studies on CS and identity on the basis of theoretical orientation, are divided into essentialist and non-essentialist approaches and reviewed accordingly.

2.4.1   Introduction to CS and identity

The existence of human societies is indispensable for the emergence and growth of languages across the globe. Society provides both content and context for languages and thus languages develop in societies, carrying its social, national and global ideologies. Mahboob (2015) endorses the same point by stating that languages are not just linguistic structures but treasures of semiotic resources available to the speakers for carrying out their routine business of lives. Therefore, the existence of societies, social contexts, social networks are essential for the growth and recognition of languages and its speakers. Besides, languages being the product of active human beings living in

different socio-cultural settings are dynamic, flexible and subject to change and growth. Each time that we use language, we adjust and readjust ourselves in relation to the social world around (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this way, the socio-cultural, socio-political and historical background of the speakers are closely engaged in the negotiation between self and others. In view of this backdrop, CS is not just mixing or alternation of linguistic codes but in fact, it is a fusion of human activities and behaviours, a source of creation and recreation of different meanings, ideologies, social and ethnic identities. Hence, linguistic codes serve as resources available to a speaker for construction and projection of his ideas and perceptions about himself and others.

In this vein, identity can be defined as the perception of a person about himself/herself in relation to the world around. The link between identity and CS in this context is deep and rooted in the socio-cultural contour of the community concerned. This link has been unpacked by different research studies in different ways. Hall and Nilep (2015) very recently published a detailed review where they have classified studies on CS and identity into four main streams.

In the first category, they included studies which explored CS and identity from an ethnographic perspective. These studies investigated CS and identity in the local speech communities during the 1960s and 70s, where the researchers were found moving between local and non-local varieties and languages. They viewed bidialectal and bilingual practices as symbolic representations of local and non-local identities. For example, Gumperz (1982) concepts of "We" and "They" codes were correlated with certain prior identity positions such as solidarity, intimacy, formality and authority shared by the entire speech community. Similarly, Blom and Gumperz's (1972) concepts of "Situational and Metaphorical CS" were used for specific local functions and situations. However, the concepts of "We", "They" and "situational CS" were

criticized, for its prior assumed correlation between the linguistic forms and its functions ahead of its use. Nevertheless, the concept of metaphorical CS remained influential in a number of contemporary studies on account of its open and dynamic nature, which could not be restricted to specific settings or domains. Likewise, Myers-Scotton (1993) concepts of marked and unmarked choices were also used in the local communities for certain presupposed functions and situations. As a result, Myers-Scotton (1993) is also criticized for its conventional categorization of language structures into marked and unmarked choices, which presuppose a correlation between linguistic forms and its functions.

The second tradition which began in the 1980s focused on the nation-state identities. These studies tried to explore CS and identities from the point of view of standard and non-standard languages and varieties. They also assumed a symbolic relation between language and social and national ideologies. They approached CS and identities from the perspective of social hierarchies such as class and mainly dealing with the issue of national standard language and the languages of minorities. They considered interactive practices as reflection and production of social and political relations and associations. These studies assumed language choices as ideologically and politically motivated reproducing social hierarchies. In this context, the perception of a speaker about self and other are shaped and moulded by political, economic and social considerations. For example, Hill (1985) outlined the same point very clearly. He showed that Mexicano and Spanish symbolically represent two different social realities. He explained that the speakers used Mexicano to project their ethnic identities and Spanish for showing authority and power. In other words, each language is given specific symbolic meaning and value. In addition, these studies also dealt with the issues of class, gender and ethnicity. Woolard (1985) examined the interactive practices from the perspective of social strata and reported that the regional Catalan dominated standard Catalan because

the regional Catalan remained associated with business and high social class while the standard Catalan lacked in this respect. These two approaches have mainly assumed a prior and stable correlation between the varieties or languages and its social meanings and functions. That is why in the current review, these are placed in the essentialist category.

The third tradition emerged in 1990s which challenged the static functional approach by focusing on CS and identity from an interactional discursive perspective. They opposed the prior functional categorization of CS and identity by emphasizing on the dynamic construction of identities through the interactive practices of the speakers. They considered CS as a resource for the construction of different interethnic and multicultural identities (Heller, 1999; Martin, 2003). The fourth tradition focused on hybrid identities, which emerged due to the current surge of globalization. These studies crossed the ethnic and national borders and entered into a global/international arena. They believed that the ethnic and national demarcations were happened to be elusive and now the people could not be restricted to the confines of their regional and national boundaries. They not only challenged the ethnic and national classification of identities but also taken languages as fluid and dynamic which could not be classified into separate and discrete categories (Garcia & Lin, 2017; Henry & Goddard, 2015; Kebede, 2017; Rosendal, 2017; Wei, 2017). In this way the review outlines the main theoretical threads that the researchers adopted in their investigations of CS and identity substantiated in their studies in different parts of the world.

Speaking broadly, these four main theoretical streams can be classified into two main approaches: essentialist (static and stable) and non-essentialist (dynamic and fluid). In the current study, the first two streams are integrated into essentialist, while the last two into the non-essentialist category.

2.4.2 Essentialist approach

The essentialists believe that identity is something static and fixed, which could not be easily changed or challenged. Furthermore, they consider identity just the mirror and reflection of the psychological structure "inner capital" of an individual (Erickson 1959, p. 94) or societal structure exhibited and outlined through language in general and CS in particular (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Bosch & Mullins, 2012; Gong, Shuai & Liu 2013; Khokhar, Memon & Siddiqui, 2016; Myers-Scotton, 1993). As the current study focuses on the sociolinguistic investigation of CS and identity, therefore, only the sociolinguistic studies on CS and identity have been briefly reviewed here. Some of the studies, particularly the older ones as discussed above, approached CS and identity from an essentialist perspective. They believed that speakers use CS to express to their identities, which are thought to be fixed and reside in the societal structure. They denied the role of agency and inner voices of the speakers. This approach is no more in vogue. However, some of the studies have shown orientations to the essentialist approach, which are briefly discussed here.

Gong et al, (2013) turned to investigate the motivations behind the linguistic choices of Chinese university students in the context of Cantonese and Putonghua in Hong Kong. The study showed that those who were oriented towards mainland identity, they opted for Putonghua-dominated linguistic practices and language choices, while those who were inclined towards Cantonese identity, they preferred Cantonese linguistic practices and choices. Despite the fact that the study was guided by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), which considers identity as something dynamic, each language was directly correlated with a particular type of identity, which gave a feeling of given or fixed rather than developed. Likewise, Khokhar et al. (2016) examined the role of CS in the identity construction of the speakers between English and Urdu in Pakistan. Data collected through questionnaire and interviews were analyzed. The findings showed that each

language was symbolically associated with a particular type of identity. Despite the fact that the researchers used the word construction of identities time and again, what they actually did is a one to one mapping between languages and categories of identity. Identity in this context was taken as something fixed and stable, and the speakers and their interactive practices were presumed to represent those predefined categories of identities and ideologies. The same assumed and static symbolic representation of CS and identity can be observed in Bosch and Mullins (2012). The study explored the CS practices and identity formation process in the Metro FM commercial music program run by South Africa Broadcasting Corporation. The study showed that the radio music programs typically reflected the African ethnic identities. The speakers frequently codeswitched to the African local dialect in the program for in-group identification only. In this way, here a correlation between language choices and ethnic identity of the speakers can clearly be established.

All the studies presented in this section are oriented towards an essentialist approach. Their approach towards identity seem to be brought along rather than brought about. Though this is an old approach which is no more in vogue and mostly replaced by the non-essentialist approach, however, these studies did assist the current research in understanding the impact of broader social factors and ideologies on the language choices of the speakers.

2.4.3   Non-essentialist approach

The advocates of (Non-essentialist approach) dynamic perspective believe that identity is not something given but structures and restructures by the speakers through their interactive practices in a dynamic and emergent manner. In other words, identity could not be restricted to certain predefined features or concepts, but it is multiple and an ongoing process subject to continuous change. They believe that the interactants

construct their identities in their interactive practices and performances. One of the main features of the dynamic approach is that here studies have looked at identity from a micro dynamic perspective and then tried to link it with the broader social and historical dimensions. A number of researchers have emphasized on the integration of micro and macro perspectives for in-depth exploration of identities. Casas (2008) argued that bilinguals construct their identities through their interactive practices and performances by taking into consideration both the established social norms and indexical local values. Therefore, bi-multilinguals develop and enact their identities in their interactive practices but at the same time their identities are influenced and guided by the broader societal structure as well. Mahboob (2015) very aptly highlighted the same point. He argued that languages are generally used by the people for enforcing and implementing certain ideologies. These language structures are organized in such a way, which could lead to the creation of a particular mind-set, to serve the vested interest of a particular social class. Gee (1990) turned to the academic setting and from thereon positions identity as both multiple, dynamic and at the same time situated. He further elaborated that the people try to be or like to be associated with particular situations/occasions, individuals, groups and communities but at the same time, they would like to be distinguished and different from them. All this happens in a dynamic way. In a teaching context, identity can be seen as "the ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, and of acting" that the students use to associate or mark themselves as members of particular social groups (Gee, 1990, p.143). Bailey (2007) suggested that in order to develop a sound understanding of identity, it should be explored from both social and local perspectives. In short, the advocates of the dynamic view stress on that identity should be explored from a local-social integrated perspective.

The dynamic approach has gained strength during the last decade or so. A growing number of researchers have tried to unpack the relation between CS and identity from a

dynamic perspective (Achugar, 2009; Gu & Benson, 2014; Kebede, 2017; King & Ganuza 2005; Lin, 2018; Makalela, 2014; Martinez, Duran & Hikida, 2017; Rosendal, 2017; Sarkar & Winer, 2006; Sophocleous & Themistocleous, 2014). These studies approached CS and identity from three main dimensions: inter-ethnic, ethnic-national and national-global. These dimensions actually represent the change taking place in the thinking and aspirations of the speakers, which move them from local to national and national to global norms and ideologies. In a way, the change in speakers thinking and behaviours are indexical of the change in their social environment. This shows how the broader social environment and ideologies impact the thinkings, choices and orientations of the speakers. So, the bottom line is that one could not properly understand the micro interactive practices, language choices and behaviours of the speakers without taking into consideration their broader social backdrop.

Therefore, in the current section, two main aspects have been focused. First the type of identities that the speakers construct and its range (local national and local global) and, second, how the local (micro) and social (macro) components are negotiated and brought together. For the sake of convenience, here studies have been divided into two main categories. In the first category, studies have focused on identities such as inter-ethnic, ethic-national and so on, which are maintained separately. These identities are mostly linked with the ethnic, national and socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds of the speakers (Achugar, 2009; Ashabai & Dumanig, 2012; Gu & Benson, 2014; Lin, 2017; Makalela, 2014; Martinez et al., 2017; Sophocleous & Themistocleous, 2014; Tajolosa, 2013). In the second category, those studies which have reported the emergence of hybrid and bi-cultural identities, are included and reviewed (Henry & Goddard, 2015; Kebede, 2017; King & Ganuza, 2005; Lamb, 2009; Rosendal, 2017; Sarkar & Winer, 2006).

In the first category, studies have examined CS and identity constructions in different contexts and domains. Some of the researchers turned to academic settings and explored the use of CS for identity constructions in the interactive practices of teachers and students. For instance, Gu and Benson (2014) explored the identity construction of Chinese teachers in the context of English and Cantonese in Hong Kong. The study showed that the teachers' interactive practices led to their identity construction in a dynamic way, guided by their broader socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds. The study reported that teachers were oriented towards English on account of socio-political and socio-economic considerations, while showed attachment to Cantonese, due to their ethnic affiliations. Both these languages are the official languages of Hong Kong. However, the ethnic component in the case of Cantonese was found more evident than its national significance. The study further highlighted that the differences in teachers' identities could be attributed to the differences in their socio-cultural backgrounds. The same ethnic and national blend can be observed in Martinez et al. (2017). The study explored identity constructions in the bilingual students' interactive practices in the context of English and Spanish in USA. The research tried to show how the students use their bilingual interactional resources to contest, negotiate and assert their identities in their routine classroom talks. Drawing on ethnographic and interactional resources of the students, the study reported that the speakers constructed their identities in a dynamic manner through their active engagement in the interactive process. Here, the students were found moving between their ethnic (Spanish) and national (English) identities, which were maintained separately.

Unlike Gu and Benson (2014) and Martinez et al. (2017), Lin (2018) turned to investigate identity construction in the interactive practices of the local Taiwanese and international university students in Taiwan. Data collected through interviews were analysed. The finding showed that the students discursively constructed their linguistic

and cultural identities. The word linguistic was used for micro and cultural for macro identities of the students. The research further highlighted that Taiwanese as well as international students in their identity constructions were guided by their socio-cultural backgrounds. The study recommended that in the investigation of identities, one should take into consideration both the local /linguistic and the broader/cultural dimensions. Moreover, CS and identities have not been studied only in face to face interactions but some of the studies explored CS and identity constructions in written and electronic mediums as well. For instance, Makalela (2014) examined the role of multilingual practices in identity construction in the written narratives of the students in Kasi and Taal context, South Africa. Data were gathered through twenty written narratives. The findings revealed that the students demonstrated highly fluid and complex multiple identities' affiliations negotiated through hybrid language choices, which break down the discrete language boundaries into fragmented healthy linguistic repertoires. Likewise, Achugar (2009) examined the identity construction of the bilingual students in a bilingual (Spanish and English) creative writing program in Texas, USA. The findings revealed that the participants freely used their bilingual repertoires for construction of their professional identities. The study focused the professional identities of the speakers which were embedded in the ethnic and national contour of USA in general and Texas in particular. Furthermore, the study emphasized that the identities of the speakers ought to be observed in socio-historical context. In other words, the research tried to highlight the fact that it would be quite difficult to categorize identify different identity orientations without taking into consideration the socio-cultural and socio-historical background of the participants. So, for an in-depth exploration of interactions, the knowledge of social context is necessary.

In addition, CS and identity have also been investigated in the electronic and web-based interactive applications. Here, the speakers not only used verbal resources but also

resorted to non-linguistic means for identity constructions. For example, Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) investigated CS as a resource for identity construction in the Facebook chat in the context of Greek Cypriot and Standard Modern Greek dialect. The study reported that Cypriot dialect was used for informal and humorous kind of situations indicating solidarity and community membership while Standard Greek was used for formal purposes by the mature users. Here, the focus is made on the inter-ethnic and ethnic-national identities of the speakers. Moreover, the study also tried to link the discursive with the social aspect to depict a complete picture of the users but in the process, the discursive side seemed to be given a bit more space than the social one. Similarly, Ashabai and Dumanig (2012) explored CS and identity construction in the English newspapers' advertisements in Malaysia. The study aimed to find out the role of CS in the construction of different types of identities. For this purpose, advertisements published in different English newspapers in Malaysia during the period from August 1, 2011 to January 31, 2012 were collected. The findings revealed frequent codeswitching among English, Malay, Tamil and Chinese in advertisements, which led to the construction of three different types of identities: Islamic identity, ethnic identity, and national identity. In the same vein, Tajolosa (2013) examined the motivations behind CS and identity construction in the television ads in Filipino context. The study aimed to unpack the motivations behind CS and the construction of Filipino identities in the television ads. Data were gathered by means of collecting 56 CS television ads which were then analyzed. The findings showed that CS in ads was motivated by certain linguistic and stylistic considerations such as euphemism, language economy, emphasizing a point, changing topic and so on. Moreover, the study also reported the construction of multiple Filipino identities associated with Tagalog and English codeswitching such as dutiful wife, loving and beautiful woman, financially stable man and so on. These identities are centred on the Filipino social backdrop. In sum, studies

in this category investigated CS and identity in different contexts, which mainly focused inter-ethnic and ethnic-national identities.

In the second category, mostly recent studies extended to investigate CS and identity construction from a broader national and global perspective. The rapid increase and developments in the means of traveling, transportation and technological advancement, especially ready and easy access to electronic resources have changed the shape of the world. This situation has led to the creation of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multilingual spaces and societies, which have strongly affected the human's thinking and their ways of livings. These new developments have also affected and changed people's conceptions of self and others. Now they not only try to link themselves to their local or national communities but at the same time desire to cross the physical and geographical borders and aspire to join and act globally. These aspirations and thinkings resulted in the emergence of hybrid and bicultural identities. Though hybrid and bicultural identities are generally used as alternative terms but conceptually there did exist some difference between the two. Hybrid refers to the integration of two different types or kinds of identities into a single whole, while in bicultural identities, both types of identities are retained and maintained separately side by side (Lamb, 2009).

Numerous studies reported the emergence of hybrid identities in the interactive practices of the speakers in different settings which could be attributed to the speakers' socialization in a multilingual environment. For instance, Henry and Goddard (2015) investigated the role of identity in students' enrolment in the Swedish English medium university programs in Sweden. Data collected through questionnaire and interviews were analyzed, which showed that identity did play role in students' enrolment in the English medium university programs. Moreover, the study reported the emergence of hybrid identities of the students in their interactions underlying their desires to be local

and global at the same time. The study further reported the strong presence of English in the socio-cultural and socio-political fabric of the Swedish community, which guided the students' aspirations and ended up on their hybrid identities. Likewise, Kebede (2017) explored the interactive practices of second-generation Ethiopian Americans to find out the dynamics behind their transnational identity constructions in USA. The study showed that the participants were socialized and brought up in a diverse multilingual environment with different cultural values in their families and social networks, ultimately resulted into their transnational hybrid identities. This situation, on the one hand, kept the participants on advantageous footing by giving them choices to select the most appropriate among the available linguistic structures for communication and projection of their ideas and thinkings but on the other hand, subjected them to bear extra pressure from historical, social and political quarters for making its way in their selections. The study is grounded well in the interactive practices of the participants leading to the dynamic and creative construction of their identities. In the same way, Rosendal (2017) examined CS and identity construction in the interactive practices of the Ngoni native speakers in Swahili-Ngoni, Tanzania. The study aimed to show how the symbolic values of Swahili and Ngoni were negotiated in the social actions and interactive practices of the speakers. The findings revealed that despite the fact that Ngoni was the native language of the participants but they frequently codeswitched between Swahili and Ngoni in a diverse manner. In this context, the diverse CS practices of the speakers representing the shift from Ngoni to hybrid identities, reflecting the socio-political dimension of their social setting.

Likewise, bicultural identities have also been reported in different studies conducted in various parts of the world, which yet again reflect the social norms and ideologies prevalent around in the social environment of the speakers. For example, King and Ganuza (2005) turned to explore the use of CS for identity construction in Spanish-

Swedish context in Sweden. The study showed that the participants' interactive practices led to the construction of a type of identity, which was Swedish and Chilean at the same time and could be rightly termed as bicultural identity. Somewhat, similar kind of findings were also reported by Lamb (2009). The study investigated the nature of identity constructions in schools' students in Indonesia. Data were collected through interviews. The findings showed that the students constructed bicultural identities which on the one hand, rooted in their socio-cultural values and beliefs but on the other, stretched to the globalized norms and values mediated through English. In a way, they wanted to be Indonesians but at the same time aspired to be recognized as liberal and enlightened global citizens. In simple terms, the students were found to be divided into two selves: local and global, and their thinkings and practices moved around these two extreme positions, leading to their bicultural identity constructions. In the same way, Sarkar and Winer (2006) turned to the poetic world and investigated CS in Quebec rap lyrics for identity construction in Canadian context. The findings showed that the lyricists assumed different identity positions, which challenged the traditional notions such as speech community and ethnic identity. In other words, the lyricists performed different identities by crossing ethnic and social borders to cater the local and global audience. This is an interesting study wherein identities have been approached from both local and global perspectives.

The brief review of this section shows that the non-essentialist (dynamic) approach has changed the conception of identity from a static and stable phenomenon to something dynamic and emergent. The focus of identity changes from local to national and national to global spheres, merging the cultural, social, political, and linguistic barriers and borders by providing equal opportunity to every speaker to think and use their linguistic repertoires in a free manner. Moreover, the review also indicates that the broader socio-cultural, national and global factors and ideologies guide and steer the

interactive practices and behaviours of the speakers in one way or the other. Thus, in this way, the speaker's perception of self and others are guided by various local, social, national and even global level factors and forces. As the current study aimed to investigate CS and identity from a micro-macro integrated perspective, these studies assisted in unpacking identities from local, social and global perspectives.

2.5 Conceptual framework of the study

Studies have approached CS from different theoretical perspectives, which are generally subsumed under two main categories: structural and sociolinguistics. Keeping in view the focus of the current study, a detailed investigation of the structural or grammatical perspective would be beyond its range. Therefore, in this section, focused has been made on the sociolinguistic dimension only. Speaking broadly, the sociolinguistic theoretical approaches are classified into three major categories: Macro sociolinguistic approaches, Micro sociolinguistic approaches and Micro-macro sociolinguistic integrated approaches.

2.5.1 Macro-sociolinguistic approaches

Macro-sociolinguistic approaches have also been labelled as symbolic approaches. The term symbolic has been used in the sense that here linguistic structures are taken as symbols representing particular ideas and concepts. They believed that interactive practices could not be properly unpacked without employing macro social structure. Speaking broadly, the macro approaches and researchers are essentialists in nature, which consider that the social interactions are mere reflections of the social structure. In other words, they believe there exist a fixed and stable social structure and all the social activities are guided and moved around the same (Casas, 2008). As far as the macro sociolinguistic approach is concerned, it would be unfair to elude the name and contribution of John Gumperz. Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982) are

considered to be among the pioneer sociolinguistic studies on CS. Gumperz approached CS from an interactional perspective. He called CS as "bilingual resource rather than communicative deficit" (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 89-90). Blom and Gumperz (1972) explored the interactive practices of the speakers in their famous study conducted in Norway and came up with the concept of Situational and Metaphorical CS. Situational CS is triggered by a change in the social situation including setting, speech event, participants and so on, while in Metaphorical CS, the setting and situation remain the same, but CS is triggered by other reasons. They further elaborated that code alteration is affected by social event, setting and social situation. In other words, CS in this context is quite predictable, which in a way take us closer to Fishman's (1972) concept who explained that in bi/multilingual communities each variety has a specific domain of use, where it serves certain functions. He explained that the functions and uses of these varieties are determined by the social and cultural norms of the concerned communities and the speakers have very little choice of their own.

Theoretically, both Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Fishman (1972) shared that social interactions are parts of the broader social structure, which could not be properly understood without having knowledge of the broader socio-cultural norms. The differences between the two were found in the fact that Blom and Gumperz (1972) were oriented towards the interactional dimension while Fishman (1972) ascertained the radical role of broader social structure. Gumperz (1982, p.66) moved a step further and introduced the concept of "We" and "They" codes for identity orientation. "We" code refers to the ethnic minority variety and "they" code stands for majority variety. It means that in speech communities, certain codes/varieties are associated with some specific activity and when the speakers move to that specific activity, they use that particular code. According to Gumperz (1982) "We" code is used within a speech group for in-group purposes such as solidarity and "They" code for communication with the

outer group. Again, here it can be observed that the concept of "We" and "They" code are something, which can be predicted and predetermined, and the speakers are bound to be a part of one of the groups.

Despite the fact that there is clear-cut differences between Gumperz (1982) interactional approach and Fishman (1972) static symbolic approach, both these approaches are generally labelled as symbolic theoretical approaches and are criticized for its over-orientation towards a presupposed correlation between language structures and its meanings. Gumperz (1982) distinction of "We" and "They" codes have been criticized for its lack of clarity and direct co-relation with certain identity groups (Gafaranga, 2005).

To a greater extent, the interactional concept of Gumperz (1982) was taken up further and developed by Myers-Scotton (1993, 1998) in her Markedness model. She explained that the speakers' choices of language can be either unmarked or marked. Central to Myers-Scotton model is the concept of rights and obligations which steer and guide participants in their selection of specific language choices on specific occasions. Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 84) argued that unmarked choices are the predictable and expected language choices linked to specific events, situations and settings. Marked choices are the unexpected choices made by the participants against the unmarked choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 131). She elaborated that it is not possible to predict all the choices and classified them but some features/factors such as setting, topic and so on will be there which will determine the unmarked choices of the speakers. Myers-Scotton (1993) markedness model again takes to the broader macro social dimension for classification of language choices into unmarked and marked ones, particularly unpacking the unmarked ROs. Her approach can be distinguished from Gumperz (1982) and Fishman (1972) by the fact here she has also emphasized on the psychological component mainly

in connection with marked choices. The Markedness model is also criticized for its direct indexical value linking linguistic choices with presupposed situations and functions, which sound given and brought along rather than brought about (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994).

The same macro symbolic orientation can be observed in Bruce (2016). Bruce (2016) published a very comprehensive review wherein he combined ten papers on the role of social class and socio-economic status of the speakers in learning practices in US. The review discussed CS as a social marker of social class and then highlighted the importance of social class as an identity marker. He concluded that social class impacts the learning experience of the individual, his confidence level and his overall learning experience. In all the papers included in the review, the approach seemed to be from top to bottom which runs the risk of forcing data into the pre-defined structures and concepts and in the process new concepts and categories often get neglected. Here a direct and fixed link between the language structures and concepts are established. In fact, a straightforward and fixed relation between language and its meaning could not be presumed. Language has rich symbolic values which vary from time to time and even sometimes situation to situation. Therefore, one cannot suppose one to one direct and categorical correlation between language symbols and certain concepts (Casas, 2008; Sebba & Wootton, 1998).

2.5.2 Micro-sociolinguistic approaches

In view of certain limitations in symbolic approaches, some of the researchers turned to the interactional process, sequence and immediate context to unpack the meaning of CS. As here the meaning and purpose of the interactive practices develop from within the micro level/local immediate context of the interactions, therefore these are known as micro approaches. The micro sociolinguistic approach is also known as a sequential

approach, which is somewhat close to the non-essentialist school of thought who believe that the social world is constructed by the interactive practices and behaviours of social actors, which is something non-static and subject to change (Hall & Gay, 1996). Likewise, the exponents of the sequential approach argue that the meaning of an interactive activity/behaviour is not predetermined but develop and structure during the interactive process. However, the sequential approach is a bit more inclined towards the sequential and mechanical aspect of the interactive behaviours, while the social side is slightly overlooked.

Auer (1984) further explained that in order to explore in-depth, the meaning and purpose of an interactive phenomenon, it has to be unpacked from the perspective of its immediate and local context. He argued that neither macro sociolinguistic, nor grammatical investigations are sufficient enough to account for codeswitching practices unless it is duly supported by the local and context bounded interpretations. He believe that for in-depth exploration of CS, reference to the broader social structure is also important but for understanding an interactive activity, it has to be studied from within (Auer, 1984). He elaborated that the meaning of an interactive activity is not predetermined or brought along but rather developed locally from the process and immediate context of interactive practices. Auer (1984) suggested that such an approach is Conversation Analysis (CA) wherein the meaning of an interaction is locally created/developed turn by turn without making any direct reference to the broader social factors such as age, gender and ethnicity. He strongly reacted against Myers-Scotton's (1993) categorization of "unmarked" and "marked" choices and Gumperz's (1982) "We" and "They" codes which presupposed the meaning of interactive activities and attached socio-cultural and socio-psychological connotations to different codes. Auer (1984) came up with the concepts of discourse-oriented and participant-oriented CS. Discourse oriented CS is triggered by certain discourse-oriented reasons, such as topic change,

shifting emphasis, highlighting certain point and so on. On the other hand, participant-oriented CS is initiated to accommodate the linguistic choices/preference and competence level of the participants (Auer, 1984). Both participant-oriented and discourse-oriented CS are embedded in local context and forces. Wei (2005) emphasized the same point and argued that the meaning and categorization of the functions and reasons for CS should develop from the interactive process and sequence of interaction itself and should not be assumed and brought from outside.

In the micro sociolinguistic approach, different researchers have emphasized different micro sociolinguistic dimensions. Martin-Jones (2000) published a very comprehensive review where he combined different research papers addressing classroom CS from micro sociolinguistic perspective. He classified research studies conducted on bilingualism in general and codeswitching in particular into three broad streams. The first section included studies which emphasised on the situatedness of bilingual discourse. This means that bilingual interactions are shaped and embedded in the environment and context of the interactive practices. Consequently, to unpack the meaning of interaction, it has to be studied within its context of use (Auer, 1984, 1998; Gumperz, 1982). In the second section, studies focused on the timing and synchrony of interaction. Here instead of interactive activities, the interactive process was given importance (Erickson & Mohatt, 1988). Then, in the third category, he talked about studies where the emphasis was made on the sequence and pattern of interactive learning and teaching events in the classroom (Martin, 1996; Mehan, 1981; Zentella, 1981). The most important point of the review is that it refers to a shift from the concept of context of teaching and learning as stable to one as dynamic constituted through the process of interaction negotiated and renewed as the interactive process proceeds.

The sequential approach has been questioned for its overemphasis on the mechanical and sequential aspect of the interactive process. It is time-consuming and offers a direct explanation for language choices/alternation disregarding and underestimating the broader social dimension (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001; Redinger, 2010; Wei, 2002). Moreover, the sequential approach is audience-oriented where the speaker agency has no role but to adjust and re-adjust his stance according to the interlocutor.

2.5.3   Micro-macro sociolinguistic integrated approaches

Keeping in view the shortfalls of macro (static and deterministic) and micro (time consuming and over emphasis on the immediate contextual meaning) approaches, some of the researchers tried to combine these two dimensions into a single framework and employed it in their investigations of interactive practices (Casas, 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Redinger, 2010). They believed that it enables the readers to observe a phenomenon from both immediate context and social perspective, which will deepen their insight and understanding about the way that the bilingual speakers use their interactional and linguistic resources for achieving their desired goals (Wei, 2005). Gafaranga, (2005) argued that the local aspect which develops through discursive practices should take us dynamically to the broader social dimension.

Some of the studies investigated CS from a micro-macro integrated perspective but these are limited in numbers. Alam (2011), Casas (2008), Gulzar (2010) and Redinger (2010) merit discussion here. Alam (2011) examined the functions and reasons of CS in the context of English-Urdu-Punjabi among multilingual Pakistani community in London by applying a synthesis of micro and macro approach. The study revealed that CS is used for different micro and macro purposes. Similarly, Redinger (2010) also investigated the codeswitching behaviours and attitudes of the teachers and students in the classroom from a micro-macro sociolinguistic perspective in Luxembourg. Data

were collected through audio-taping students' and teachers' interactive practices and serving an attitude based questionnaire which were then ethnographically analysed. The study showed that the interactive practices were strongly influenced by the social context of the study. The learners and teachers codeswitched for content clarity, classroom management and interpersonal purposes. On the attitudinal level, the participants' attitudes were influenced by certain socio-pragmatic, socio-psychological and socio-political factors. Then these findings were linked with education policy of Luxembourg, which revealed that the existed education policy of Luxemburg has a negative impact on the learning and educational attainments of the students. A close look at the study revealed that here CS behaviours and attitudes have been approached from both micro-macro perspectives. The micro factors such as pedagogic goals and discourse-oriented purposes and reasons have been explored and linked to the broader societal factors such as socio-psychological, socio-pragmatic and socio-political. However, the analysis section seems to be complex which may be attributed to the fact that the research at times tried to combine many threads together. Likewise, Casas (2008) also approached CS from a micro and macro integrated perspective. He explored the reasons for CS and CS and identity construction in English–Spanish context, in the network of elite bilinguals on the Island of Puerto Rico (PR). Data collected through observations and interviews were ethnography analyzed with a focus on the style of the bilinguals. The study showed that CS helped in the construction of Puerto Rican, elite American and bicultural identities. All this is done by identifying their orientations towards three main identity categories: Puerto Rican, elite American and hybrid/ bicultural identities. The study also showed that identity is not something which could be restricted to interpersonal level only but it is deeply embedded in the socio-cultural and historical processes. Moreover, here identity is not taken as something given, fixed and static but rather dynamic develop through interactive practices. However, it is to be

noted here that Casas (2008) seems to be a bit more inclined towards the micro dimension than the macro dimension.

Similarly, Gulzar (2010) ethnographically investigated the functions and reasons for CS in the interactive practices of students and teachers in the context of Urdu-English in diploma, teaching of English as foreign language (TEFL) classes, in Pakistan. Gulzar (2010) has further developed, the reasons reported by Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult, (1999), Guthrie, (1984) and Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, (1992). Based on these studies, he delimited his investigation to the following reasons and functions of CS, clarification, giving instruction effectively, topic shift, checking understanding, emphasis, repetitive function, socializing function, sense of belonging, ease of expression and linguistic function. These reasons have been classified into pedagogic, social and linguistic categories. A fine-grained analysis of Gulzar (2010) reveals that he over-emphasized the micro dimension which outweighed the macro aspect. The reason may be that he has tried to combine a number of threads such as purposes, functions, patterns and reasons and in addition, employed a mixed method, which might have made it difficult for him to control all of them. Moreover, the range of the study is narrow and limited to diploma classes in Punjab. In addition, he has explored CS for some specific reasons, but the current study is not bounded or limited to some specific reasons. Here, bottom to top approach is adopted, which moves from micro to macro dimension in a free manner. Despite certain limitations, the research study has been able to achieve a formidable place in CS literature dealings with the functions and reasons for CS in Pakistan.

As far as the micro-macro integrated investigation of CS and identity is concerned (See further detail 2.4.3), there comes a seminal study Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) which is considered to be a balanced socio-cultural theoretical framework. Bucholtz and Hall

(2005) is an integration of insights drawn from different areas. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) based on five principles i.e., emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness. A close look at the framework reveals that it is mainly inclined towards the individual and local aspect, while broader social dimension stands ignored. Realizing the fact, Bucholtz and Hall (2008) emphasized that along with micro, due consideration should also be given to the macro dimension. (Bucholtz & Hall 2008, p. 154) felt that:

> When identities are forged in relation to language, they become bound up with language ideologies, which, as historically rooted and publicly articulated statements of cultural belief about language and its users, mediate between the interactional moment and broader socio-political structures.

Moreover, they argue that in addition to the micro-macro perspectives, there also arises the need for a third level which could mediate and hold both the levels together. They called that stance which is somewhat similar to Goffman (1974) "footing" refers to the participant's intention for using a particular linguistic structure in a particular sense in a specific context.

As the current study aimed in-depth sociolinguistic investigations of CS wherein identity was a part of the study, for CS and identity, it is guided by Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008). Because Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) is considered to be one of the balance theoretical framework wherein identity has been approached from a micro-macro integrated perspective. Therefore, it was thought appropriate to opt for Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008). However, it can be noted that the researcher, being a native speaker of Pashto, and part of the same community, thought it appropriate to merge the interactional and ethnographic layers into the micro category. As a result, the current study has restricted categorization of analysis to micro and macro level of identities. An attempt is made to address these categories in an integrated manner.

In short, keeping in view the aim of the current study, an in-depth exploration of CS, its reasons and role in identity projection, the study opted for a micro-macro integrated perspective. In view of this fact, the current research study is guided by Poplack (1980) for question 1, Gulzar (2010) for question 2, and Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) for question 3.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises six main sections. In section 3.2, the philosophical underpinning of the current research study and design are discussed, wherein justifications for selection of a particular method or methods are given. In section 3.3, ethnography as research method with its application and justification are presented. In section 3.4, data collection and procedure are discussed in detail. Data analysis is explained in section 3.5. Finally, the validity and reliability of the study are discussed in section 3.6. An outline of epistemology and research design is displayed in Figure 3.1.
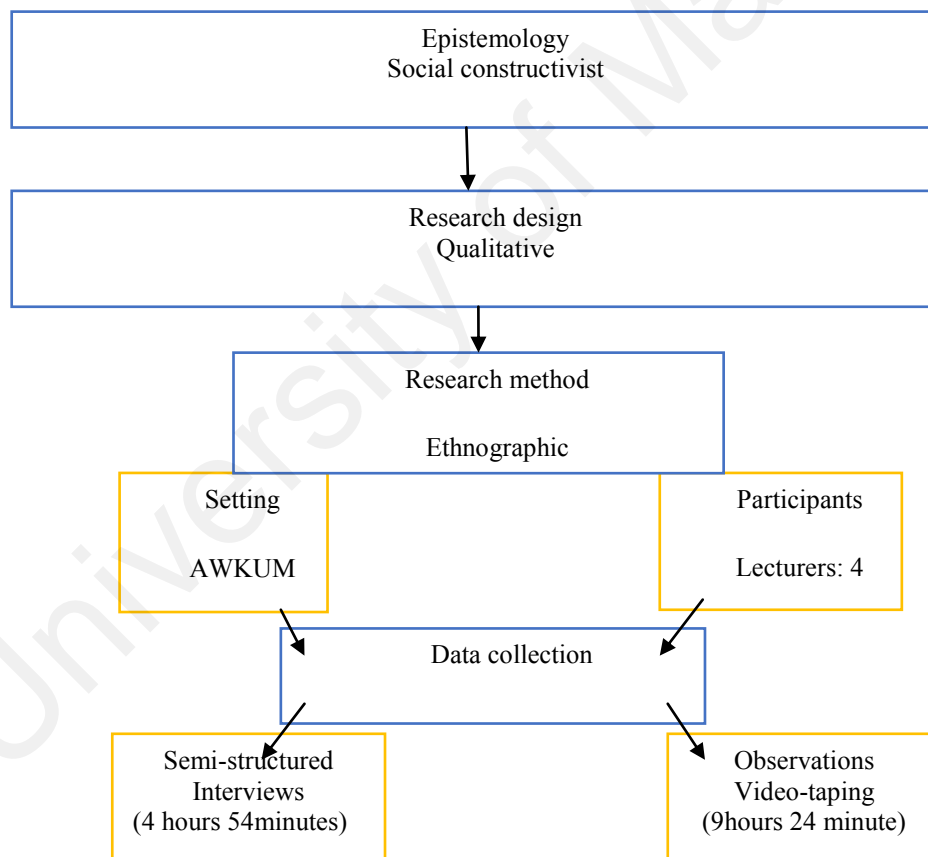
Figure 3.1: Epistemology and research design

3.2   Epistemological position and research design

The first thing, which helps to determine the nature of a research study, is the worldview or epistemological position. Epistemology means "worldview" how you view the world/ how you understand the world (Creswell, 2013). Carter and Little (2007, p. 2) called it as "the study of the nature of knowledge and its justification". Creswell (2013) expounds that there are generally four main worldviews accommodated under four umbrella terms: post-positivism, constructionism, transformative and pragmatism. As the current study investigates the interactive practices of lecturers and students in a particular socio-cultural setting from their perspectives, it takes us to the social constructivists paradigm. The social constructivists believe that meanings are social in nature, embedded in social contexts and constructed dynamically through the active engagement of the human beings in the affairs of the world. All these aspects are not only the important components of qualitative research but of primary relevance and the main focal points in the current research as well. The bottom line is that the epistemological position, which in this case is a social constructivist one, guided us towards the selection of a qualitative research approach. Therefore, keeping in view the epistemological position (social constructivist), the nature of the present research (in-depth exploration) and research questions (open), a qualitative research approach was used.

Speaking generally, there are two main research approaches, qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative paradigm is used for in-depth investigation of an unknown phenomenon. Here theory is developed from the data while in quantitative a hypothesis/theory is presupposed, and it is tested through data. Quantitative as the name indicates is statistical in nature dealing with figures and quantifications while for qualitative it is imperative that researchers should have critical, creative and ethical investigative approach conditioned by contextual factors (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Besides, the distinction of "words" and "figures", qualitative research is also different from quantitative in terms of the nature of inquiry and research questions. In qualitative research, the research questions and nature of inquiry are open while in quantitative the matter moves the other way around (Creswell, 2013).

So far, the nature of the current study is concerned; it mainly deals with unpacking the interactive practices in an institute of higher education in Pakistan. In other words, it is concerned with the interactive activities and behaviours of lecturers and students, which need to be explored and properly observed from their perspectives. Through figures and numbers, it is not possible to gather insight and depth into the interactive behaviours of the speakers for which one has to dig deep into the interactive practices through the lens of observations and perspectives of the participants, and all these are the hallmarks of qualitative research. In this way, it can be stated that the nature of current study which explores in-depth an unknown phenomenon (codeswitching in the context of Pashto-English) is in keeping up with the qualitative paradigm.

The second point which helps to determine the application of either quantitative or qualitative paradigm is the nature of research questions. The relation of research questions and research method is also referred to by Duff (2002, p. 14), who says that "the approach or method is crucially linked to the research question or problem under investigation". As in the current study, the research questions are open in nature and the research aimed to explore in-depth the motivations behind lecturers' and students' interactive practices/behaviours and CS as a resource for identity construction, therefore, it was deemed appropriate to rely mainly on qualitative paradigm. Then, in qualitative paradigm, as the current study approached human activities/ behaviours in a particular socio-cultural setting, therefore, ethnography as research method was opted.

3.3 Ethnography of interaction as research method

Ethnography is basically the study of human beings and their cultures. It is a kind of inquiry which developed from anthropology and sociology wherein the researchers mainly explore human behaviours, actions, common patterns and languages of a social group in a particular cultural context over an extended period of time (Creswell, 2013). Likewise, Carter and Little (2007) argued that ethnography is actually a detailed description of a group of people and their behaviours/activities in a particular cultural context. A close look at the definitions of ethnographic research method made by different researchers reveal that they have mainly emphasized on four points: human behaviours, particular cultural group, natural settings and participants interpretations. The current study fulfills and addresses all these four main points. It deals with human behaviours in the form of interactive practices of lecturers and students and their behaviours in the context of Pashto-English. It is concerned with a particular socio-cultural group; Pashtun community. The study is conducted in a university in KP, which is located "in the heart of KP" Mardan and a popular habitat of the Pashtun community. And finally, being a qualitative investigation, the phenomenon (codeswitching) is approached from the perspective of the participants. In sum, the current research, keeping in view the epistemological position of the study and the nature of the research which investigates the reasons behind lecturers' and students' CS behaviours and identity construction in the context of a particular socio-cultural group (Pashtun society) located in Mardan (Pakistan) , fitted well within the design, nature and purpose of ethnography of interaction. Therefore, it was thought appropriate to opt for ethnographic method.

3.4   Data collection and procedure

Data collection and procedure is divided into four main sub-sections: sampling and setting, video recording, observations and notetaking and semi-structured interviews.

3.4.1 Sampling and setting

Before proceeding with data collection, all ethical formalities, such as the consent of the participants; their reservations and anonymity were fulfilled (See Appendix "A"). As per participants desired, they were given codes. For lecturers "L1", "L2", "L3" and "L4" were used. Likewise, for male students "SM1, SM2 and so on were used while female students were labelled as "SF" i.e. SF1, SF2 and so on. Similarly, for students and lecturers who were not part of the study, but their names came in the discussion/interaction, they were labelled just as "S" and "L" respectively.

A total of 26 participants including four university lecturers, 22 graduate students were purposely selected from the department of English, Abdul Wali Khan University (AWKUM) located in KP, Pakistan. The reasons for selection of four lecturers were; their native languages (Pashto) qualification (MPhil), designations (lecturers). The age ranges of the teachers were between 25-45 year, while the graduate students (English literature) were 18-25 years old. The reasons for selection of 22 graduate level participants were, to be native speakers of Pashto, to be students of the senior most class, and finally their availability on the campus, who can be approached anytime. On the above mentioned criteria, the lecturers and students were selected. This sampling procedure is known as purposive sampling which is considered to be one of the most suitable and commonly used sampling techniques in qualitative research. Creswell (2013, p. 239) recommends and emphasizes the importance of purposive sampling in qualitative research as "the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question". Ritchie and Lewis (2003) also emphasize that purposive sampling is best for focused and in-depth exploration.The profiles of the students are shown in Table 3.1 while the profiles of the lecturers are presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.1: Students' profile

No	Name/Code	Age	Under-graduate/ Semester 7th	Gender	Languages	Residence
1	(SM1)	21	BS 7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Nowshera
2	(SM2)	21	BS 7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Risalpur
3	(SM3)	23	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
4	(SM4)	21	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
5	(SM5)	22	BS 7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Nowshera
6	(SM6)	21	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
7	(SM7)	22	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
8	(SM8)	21	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
9	(SM9)	21	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
10	(SM10)	22	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
11	(SM11)	21	BS7th	M	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
12	(SF1)	24	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
13	(SF2)	23	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Dir
14	(SF3)	21	BS 7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Peshawar
15	(SF4)	24	BS 7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Landi Kotal
16	(SF5)	23	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
17	(SF6)	24	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
18	(SF 7)	21	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
19	(SF8)	23	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Bunir
20	(SF9)	24	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Swabi
21	(SF10)	22	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
22	(SF11)	23	BS7th	F	Pashto, English Urdu	Dir

Table 3.2: Lecturers' profile

No	Name/Code	Age	Designation	Qualification	Languages	Residence
1	(L1)	31	Lecturer	MPhil	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
2	(L2)	28	Lecturer	MPhil	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan
3	(L3)	27	Lecturer	MPhil	Pashto, English Urdu	Bannu
4	(L4)	39	Lecturer	MPhil	Pashto, English Urdu	Mardan

The study was conducted in Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan; a public-sector university in KP, Pakistan. As the study was exploring CS in the context of Pashto-

English in an institute of higher education, therefore, the selection of an institutional setting in KP was mandatory for conducting the study. Creswell (2013, p. 234) while highlighting the importance of conducting research in setting where the interaction actually takes place elaborates:

> Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. This up-close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research.

3.4.2   Recording interactive practices

Audio-video taping is considered to be an important data collection tool in classroom research, particularly in the exploration of interactive practices. Not only in classroom research but audio-taping and notetaking are the two important tools in any type of qualitative research which can help the researchers in quote, requote with play and replay for descriptions and interpretations of results and findings (Eisner, 2017). Audio and or video taping is also important because it is deemed to be a useful tool for capturing precise utterances and naturalistic interactions (Burns, 2003). In addition, one can listen to the same interactions in fast and slow motion for clarification of certain points

However, while video-audio taping classroom interactive practices; the researcher has to be careful about the negative effect of his/her presence on the participants' activities and behaviours. In the current study, in order to cope up with the negative effect of researcher's presence (observer paradox) and the recording instrument, on the

participants' behaviour and activities, certain precautionary measures were taken. In the first place, all the participants were taken into confidence that the recording is just done for the purpose of research and would be used accordingly for the same purpose only. Secondly, the video-camera was placed at a central point so that it might not be moved much which might have caused to disturb the proceedings of the interactive activities. In addition, the participants familiarity and active participation in video conferencing, the presence of University Radio Channel and the frequent use of multimedia equipment including projectors in the classroom have further helped to mitigate the negative effects of recording on the interactive behaviours and practices of the participants. Moreover, the fact that the researcher being a member of the same faculty has also resolved the issue of outsider presence effect on the participants' behaviours.

Before proceeding with recording, all ethical formalities were fulfilled. First, time and place (classrooms, faculty-room, common-room) where the interactive practices of the lecturers and students were used to take place, were identified. Their written consent s were obtained. They were briefed about the purpose of the study. On the scheduled times and locations, the interactive practices were recorded. On the whole, a total of 9 hours and 24 minutes lecturers' and students' interactions were video-taped. The recorded interactions are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Recordings of the interactions

Type of interaction	Total duration	Location
Lecture mode (Students and Teachers interactions)	3 hours 7 mins	Classroom
Students' interactions among themselves after the lectures	3 hours 20 mins	Classroom
Lecturers' interactions	2 hour, 57 mins	Faculty rooms

The reason for selection of three types of interactions was to get an in-depth insight into the interactive practices of the lecturers and students. As the main stakeholders of the interactions were lecturers and students, therefore it was thought appropriate to observe them in different situations: lecturers-students in the classroom, students among themselves in the classrooms and lecturers among themselves in the faculty rooms.

3.4.3 Observations and notetaking

One of the most important aspect of qualitative research in general and ethnographic research in particular, is observation and notetaking. Observation is one among the most common method used in investigation of human behaviours. Creswell (2013, p.244) explained the nature and the role of observations in qualitative studies as "Researchers often engage in multiple observations during the course of a qualitative study and use an observational protocol for recording information while observing". These field-notes help the researchers in recalling certain points and interactional moves, which at later stage facilitate them in analysis and interpretations of the data (Creswell, 2013). In the recording stage of the interactive practices, the researcher closely observed the interactions and behaviours of the participants and noted it down as ethnographic notes. Sometimes, during the recording process, the participants behave in a specific manner which is too much grounded in that particular context or something suddenly emerges in the setting which changes the shape of the interactive process without which the meaning and interpretation would not be possible and if done would not be justified. Therefore, the presence of researchers at the research site is important and their roles may vary "from a non-participant to a complete participant" observer in the study. In fact, it is the researcher who has to understand the behaviours of the interactants in order to make sense of the situations and then interpret accordingly. Creswell (2013) explains that in ethnographic research, the researcher has to penetrate and dig deep into the phenomenon and unpack the meaning of ongoing interactions, behaviours and discover

shared patterns of the participants' behaviours and activities from the perspective of the participants. Therefore, it is mandatory for researchers to observe every point from close quarters.

In the current study, despite the fact that the interactive practices of the lecturers and students were video-taped, which has greatly reduced the hectic exercise of note taking in details, however important points were noted down wherein the study was guided by Spradley (1980) (see Appendix B). Observations played an important role in the analysis of the current data. In the first place, the study is ethnographic in nature requiring the participants to be observed in actual place, time and setting of the interactive events, without which the analysis and interpretation of the data would have lost the desired credibility. Secondly, the observance of the participants in real life setting helped in accessing the real intents of the speakers within the specific context of the interactive events. It would have been unjust to comment on the behaviours and interactive practices of the participants whom one has not observed in actual lifelike situations. In view of the above, the researcher himself was mostly present taken the position of a "non-participant" observer during the entire period of recording which is extending over a period of nine hours and twenty-four minutes. The presence of the researcher enabled him to observe the entire interactive process and where necessary noted down the main points. These notes were later incorporated in the analysis.

In the observations of the interactive practices special attention was paid to setting, participants, nature of event, switching pattern, switching point/types, body language, intended purpose/immediate reason and broader reflection. As the researcher were familiar with setting where the interactive practices were taking place and the participants who were involved in the interactive event, so this made the task easier. Then the nature of event, such as academic lecture or non-academic general discussion,

was also given attention. Thereafter, the switching patterns/directions and points were specifically focused upon which helped in the classification of CS guided by poplack (1980). In order to determine the micro and macro reasons and identity projection in the codeswitching practices of the lecturers and students the utterances of the speakers were closely observed within that specific context and situation. Then, these micro reasons were reflected upon deeply by taking into considerations the broader social context, which enabled us to identity the broader reasons and orientations of the speakers. In this way, these observations helped in identifying and labelling the micro and macro reasons and identity orientations of the speakers informed by Gulzar (2010) and Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) respectively. In addition to observations, in qualitative research, the researcher should also use other data collection tools such as interview which will, on the one hand, strengthen the findings of the study but on the other increase the validity of observations (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002).

3.4.4   Semi-structured interview

Interview is another important data collection tool which is commonly used in qualitative research in general and ethnographic research in particular. It cannot be denied that qualitative research in social sciences heavily relies on interviews, which link the researcher with the participants (Wooffitt & Widdicombe, 2006). The importance of interview in qualitative research can be gauged from the fact that it stands next to observations (Eisner, 2017). Interviews are preferred in cases where the research aims at probing the perceptions of the participants on some specific issue such as in the current case CS. It means that interview is the best choice when you try to study and understand the phenomenon under investigation from the perspective of the participants. Moreover, interviews also play an important role in analysis, interpretation and then the validity of the findings. The interpretations of the interactive data of the participants will

lose the desired credibility if the participants own explanations and interpretations are not taken into consideration in the analysis and findings of the study (Tarone, 1994).

Keeping in view the nature of the current study and the importance and utility of interview in the current context, a semi-structured interview was opted (see Appendix C). The interview comprised six main questions, which were mainly guided by the research questions. These six questions served as an umbrella wherein the researcher and the interviewees were moving within its limits. In other words, in addition to the main questions in-between a number of other questions emerged such as related to direction of CS, the broader social context and so on were also asked. It is on account of this flexibility, that these were considered as semi-structured interviews because the semi-structured interview gives enough space to the participants to express their views freely and at the same time restrict them to stick to the main agenda of the interview. It means semi-structured interview is neither too flexible nor too rigid for both the interviewer and interviewee (Dornyei, 2007). This happened in the current study as well. The six main questions kept it within the main agenda of the current research but at the same time provided freedom to move within the limits of those questions. On the other hand, structured interview gives very little space and choice to the participants for outlining their own views at length. In contrast, an unstructured interview allows the participants to be completely at their own which at times become very difficult to control and often lead to digression. Therefore, it was thought appropriate to opt for semi-structured interviews.

In order to get an in-depth feedback from the participants, they were briefed about the function and purpose of the interview. Each and every question was explained to them in both the languages (English and Pashto). Being a semi-structured interview, in addition to the main questions, a number of additional questions were also asked from

the participants, which on the one hand, clarified the main questions, but on the other ,added depth to their feedback. The semi-structured interview also helped to get the feedback of the participants on their own interactive practices. In a way, it has triangulated the findings of the interactive practices. As the interactive data and interviews are guided by the same research questions, therefore the findings of the interactive practices are validated by the participants own explanations and comments.

Before proceeding with the process of interview, all the 22 students and four teachers were contacted individually and time and place for interviews were decided. The participants were given a free hand in terms of time, views and language choices. In order to document the views of the participants, their interviews were video-taped. The details of the lecturers' and students' interviews are shown in Table 3.4 and Table 3.5 respectively. The tables show the names of interviewees who are given separate codes, followed by their designations and then the duration of each interview is displayed separately.

Table 3.4: Details of the lecturers semi-structured interviews

No	Code/Name	Designation	Duration/length of interview in minutes
1	(L1)	Lecturer	9: 24
2	(L2)	Lecturer	11:15
3	(L3)	Lecturer	10:07
4	(L4)	Lecturer	14:30

The details of the students' interviews are given in Table 3.5. First, particulars of the interviews of female students from 1-11 are listed and then followed by the male students' interviews from 12-22.

Table 3.5: Details of students semi-structured Interviews

No	Code/Name	Designation	Duration/length of interview in minutes
1	(SF1)	Student	9:08
2	(SF2)	Student	8:04
3	(SF3)	Student	14:58
4	(SF4)	Student	12:31
5	(SF5)	student	8:35
6	(SF6)	student	6:15
7	(SF7)	Student	9:49
8	(SF8)	student	7:33
9	(SF9)	student	12:32
10	(SF10)	Student	6.49
11	(SF11)	Student	9:56
12	(SM1)	Student	22:10
13	(SM2)	Student	9.05
14	(SM3)	Student	12:09
15	(SM4)	Student	9:41
16	(SM5)	student	11:00
17	(SM6)	student	9.15
18	(SM7)	Student	8:44
19	(SM8)	student	9.38
20	(SM9)	student	10.00
21	(SM10)	Student	9.10
22	(SM11)	Student	9.15

3.5   Data analysis

Data collection was followed by transcription and analysis. First data was orthographically transcribed informed by Barnard and McClellan (2013) (see Appendix E). In the transcription of the data, focus was made on words than the pronunciation of the words and tried to record all that was actually said including, false start, repetition, hesitations and so on. After transcription, data was codified. First the switching points and positions in the text were observed and highlighted in the data. Then on the basis of position and length, three different types of CS (Intra, Inter and Tag) were identified and labelled as intra CS, Inter CS and Tag CS. In the categorization of CS, Poplack (1980) three-pronged scheme of CS was followed. Thereafter, the frequency of each type of CS was counted and noted down. For instance, in extract 4. 1, the speaker begins in Pashto and utters a complete sentence in the same language. Then he turns to English and

delivers another sentence in English. As here codeswitching occurs at sentence level so, on it is labelled as Inter CS.

Likewise, for micro and macro reasons of CS, the switching points were closely observed and then on the basis of function and the purpose for which the speaker code switched within that specific context, it was categorized. In the labelling and categorization of reasons due assistance was also taken from Gulzar (2010). For example, in extract 3.1 SM6 discusses the results of his last semester with his class-fellows. He begins the discussion in English and states that they were disappointed by the results. Then in order to explain the reason for his disappointment, the speaker codeswitches to Pashto and elucidates that they did hard work but could not achieve good grades. The context shows that here the speaker very clearly codeswitches for explanation purposes.

Extract 3. 1: Interaction between the students about their results

| SM6 | our results dishearten us **munga dir mehnat kary wu khu mung ta numbary kamay milao shave** (We have done hard work but could not achieved good grades) i am not satisfied | Inter CS CS for Explanation (Communicative) |

Besides, the participants in their interviews also referred to explanation as one among the important reasons for CS. Consequently, it was labelled as CS for explanation. As explanation is generally made for communicative purposes, so it was placed in the communicative category. Broadly speaking, in the macro categorization of micro reasons, specifically the social context, background and views of the participants were taken into considerations. In this way, the micro reasons were found to be linked with the socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative aspects of the participants which implicitly remain involved in their selections of language choices. Finally, the frequency of each micro reason was counted and noted accordingly.

Then finally, for question 3, In order to identify the micro attributes and identities, the code-switching points in the data were closely studied from the perspective of the question what they want to project through CS in that specific context or how they index their perceptions of self and others through their language choices. The interactional stances of the participants and the local contextual meanings and projections of their CS behaviours and practices resulted in certain micro attributes and identities, underlying their social, ethnic and hybrid identities, which in the broader context are shaped and guided by their socio-cultural, socio-psychological and socio-historical considerations. In a way, the participants have used CS to index their micro identities, which lead to their macro ethnic, social and hybrid identities' orientations.

For instance, in extract 3.2, L4 (lecturer) discusses with his other colleagues, the responsibilities of parents in upbringing and education of their children. Initially he begins in English and talks about parents in general. He explains that they should take care of their children. They should give them proper attention and time. But then when he turns to his home/children, he switches from English to Pashto. He elaborates in Pashto that he spends most of his free time with children. Here the specific context and switching point indicate that he uses English when acts as an expert but then when turn to her personal affairs (acting as father), changes language from English to Pashto accordingly. So, the speaker change of language is accompanied by change of position from expert/formal to father/informal. Consequently, it was labelled as to appear informal (acting as father). This is a recurrent practice observed in the interactive data which is implicitly indicative of their attachment with their culture and community. In other words, the speaker's use of Pashto for personal issues shows his orientations towards their ethnic identity. The same is endorsed by the participants in their interviews. In view of the point raised in this section, it is coded as ethnic orientations

and placed in the socio-cultural category. In addition, in the codification and categorization process, due insight is also taken from Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008).

Extract 3.2: Lecturers' discussion about the role of parents in children upbringing

L4	One should take care of children and should give them time **za khu chi laar shum tool wakht me hapalu bacho sara ve** (When i return home, i spend most of the time with my children) **kala yaw sara masroof yum kala bul sara** (I remain busy either with one or the other) children have right over parents	Inter CS Discuss personal matter (Acting as father) Ethnic identity orientation (Socio-cultural)

In this way, based on observations of the switching point within that specific context, the social background of the speakers, their interviews and finally the theoretical frameworks, data were coded, categorized and thus analyzed. An outline of data analysis is shown in Figure 3.2.
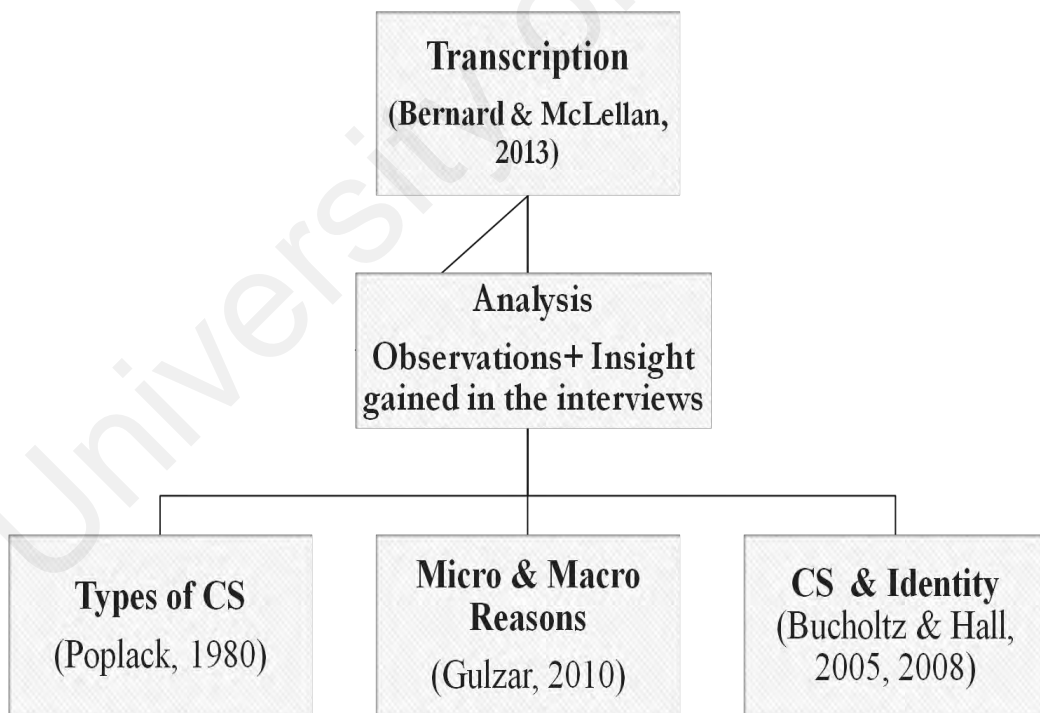
Figure 3.2: An outline of data analysis

3.6   Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability have different meanings and applications in qualitative and quantitative research. In qualitative research validity actually means accuracy of findings and reliability stands for consistency of findings (Flick & Gibbs, 2007). Creswell (2013) and Creswell and Miller (2000) explained that validity in qualitative research is used for accuracy in the sense how accurate the findings are from the perspective of the participants, researcher and readers. If the findings of the study satisfy all the three main stakeholders of the study, then the study is said to have strong validity. Moreover, validity and reliability in qualitative research can be seen both from the standpoint of the procedure employed and content documentation. Creswell (2013) recommends that the best option for establishing the validity of findings is triangulation. Triangulation means the use of multiple data sources checking against each other for consistency. If the information and themes are established from different sources and check against each other, then the findings gain validity and weight. As in the current study, the findings of interactive practices get a kind of endorsement from the interviews of the same participants on the same practices and likewise, the views of the participants in their interviews are substantiated by their actual interactive practices.

Moreover, the final findings of the study were also shared with the participants of the study, which were confirmed and endorsed by them. Certain points such as CS uses for quotation and topic change, which were not highlighted by the participants during their interviews, got confirmation in their feedbacks. In addition, the findings were also shared with two of the fellow researchers/colleagues working in the same area. Both of them are on the faculty of Air University, Islamabad. They recently completed their PhD in sociolinguistics. Firstly, for the validity and realibility of the codification process, a sample of the transcription of the data was shared with them. They were requested to codify and categorise the data in the light of the research questions of the

current research. They codified it for CS type, reasons and identity orientations. Interestingly, in the codification of data for the reasons of CS, they mainly focused on the immediate and social context of the interactive event. For instance, in one of the cases, the fluid and free movement of the speaker from one language into another was labelled as habitual, which at broader level was connected to the social environment and background of the speakers. In the codification of the CS types, they codified CS into four types (CS within sentence, within word, tagging and CS between sentences). The same procedure was adopted in the current study. However, in the current research, the classification of CS was restricted to Intra, Inter and Tag CS. Thereafter, the findings of the study were shared with them. They agreed with the overall findings and appreciated specially the discussion section. They also suggested some minor additions. They advised that CS for social status and solidarity need to be elaborated a bit. They further suggested that the analysis section is too long and there exist a bit repetition in the discussion section on different questions, which are important to be addressed. All these suggestions were incorporated.

Summary to the chapter

This chapter formally began with a short introduction wherein different sections of the chapter were introduced. First, the epistemological position of the current study was discussed. As the current research dealt with exploration of the interactive behaviours and practices of the lecturers and students in a specific socio-cultural setting from their perspective, therefore, it was placed in social constructivists paradigm. Then the epistemological position, the nature of the study and the nature of research questions, (open) guided the research towards a qualitative research design and was accordingly opted. Thereafter, in qualitative approach, as the study was exploring the interactive practices and behaviours of a specific group of people (lecturers and students) in a particular community (Pashtun community) from their perspective, consequently,

ethnography as research method was selected. The nature of study and method of research also helped and guided us in the selection of data collection tools, such as observations/note taking, recording interactions of the lectures and students and semi-structured interviews. A total of 26 participants including four lecturers and 22 students were purposely selected from the department of English, AWKUM in KP, Pakistan. Before data collection, all ethical formalities, such as consent of the participants, their reservations and anonymity were fufilled and then the process of data collection was started. In this way, data were gathered by observations/notetaking, recording 9 hours and 24 minutes interactions of the lecturers and students and conducting semi-structured interviews. Thereafter, data were transcribed and then questionwise analysed. For research question one, two and three, an observational analysis informed by the insight gained in the interviews and guided by Poplack (1980), Gulzar (2010), and Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) respectively, were carried out. Finally, the validity and realibility of the research were discussed at the end.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: CS TYPES

This chapter is divided into two main sections: findings and discussion. In the findings section, CS types with the help of extracts taken from interactive data are illustrated and explained. Likewise, in the discussion section, the findings of the current study in relation to other studies are discussed.

4.1   Findings

In order to answer research question one (What types of CS emerge in the interactive practices of lecturers and students at a university in Pakistan?), an observational analysis informed by Poplack (1980) was conducted (see 3.5 for further details). The analysis showed that there emerged three main types of CS: Intra CS, Inter CS, and Tag CS. Intra CS emerged as the most dominant type of CS used 219 times in the study and endorsed by 24 partcipants in their interviews.   Intra CS is followed by Tag CS with 80 switches but endorsed by only ten speakers in their interviews. Though the partcipants did not switch much at Intersentential level and the data contained only 63 Inter switches but confirmed by 24 participants in their interviews. A summary of the findings on CS types are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Summary of CS types

No.	Types of CS	Number of interactive switches	Interview confirmation
1	Intra CS	219	24
2	Inter CS	63	24
3	Tag CS	80	10

In the following section, findings of the studies are presented. Due to limitation of space and time only five examples in each case are quoted and analysed. The interactive data is marked as (a) while the interview is marked as (b). It is also to be noted that as most

of the participants in their interviews mentioned the types of CS in a brief and combined manner, therefore instead of giving extracts of the interviews for each of the CS types (Intra, Inter and Tag) separately, five extracts are presented where reference is made to all CS types. These are placed at the end of the interactional section.

4.1.1 Intra-sentential CS

Intra CS refers to CS within a clause or within a sentence level. Generally, Intra CS is considered to be the most difficult of all CS types. Poplack (1980, p. 589) explained the same as "we refer to this as the most complex and intimate type since a codeswitched segment and those around it must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which bridge constituents and link them together grammatically. Kebeya (2013) also argues that Intra CS is a complex type of CS, which is generally avoided by most of the bilinguals except those who are the most competent ones. The complexity lies in the fact that this type of CS mostly runs the risk of mixing and fusing the syntactic and morphological rules belonging to two different languages. Therefore, it is generally assumed that only the most competent bilinguals, who have strong grip on both the languages, can engage in Intra CS. This type of CS can be found within a sentence, clause and even within a word level. In the following section Intra CS is illustrated with the help of extracts taken from the data.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 4.1 (a), one can clearly notice that the matrix language of the entire extract is Pashto wherein English switches are embedded. The student SM10 begins the sentence in Pashto *hagha ba da sara dir* and then switches to English *bad behave* and afterward to Pashto *kae aow di ba* (He will behave badly) and the process continues till the end of the extract. This is an example of CS within a clause or within a sentence level.

Extract 4.1 (a)

SM10. **hagha ba da sara dir** bad behave **kae** (The security guards will misbehave with them) **aow di ba** kill **ki ya ba di** injured **ke** (They will injure or kill him)

In extract 4.2 (a), lecturer 1 while explaining the meaning of 'witches began in Pashto and stated *hagha haperay ta waye ya* (It refers to supernatural being). Thereafter, lecturer 1 codeswitches to English *miracles* and then turns to Pashto again with the process of switching continue till the end. Thus, this is another illustration of CS at Intra level.

Extract 4.2 (a)

L1. the witches **hagha haperay ta waye ya** miracles **sok kae ya** perform **kae ya** conjuring **kae** (witches refer to those creations which involve in conjuring) **ya** necromancy **kae** do you know necromancy (Or those doing necromancy)

The same back and forth movement between English and Pashto can be observed in extract 4.3 (a), where lecturer 3 starts in Pashto *taso khu ba hpul zaan hum* (You have to maintain yourself) and then turns to English *maintain* and thus the interplay between Pashto and English continues till the end of the extract. Interestingly, lecturer 3 utters the subject part of the sentence in Pashto taso *khu ba hpul zaan hum* (You will take care of yourself), and then for the verb part codeswitches to English *maintain*. The same sequence, with minor change in the subject part is repeated in the subsequent sentence *aow taso b behaviour hum bardasht kavay* (You will have to bear the bad behaviours). In the next sentence, the pattern changes and instead of English, a Pashto verb can be observed *warkave* (to give) and so, the practice goes till the end. The whole extract is loaded with Intra CS, which is not an easy task to manage as here, the speaker has to

coordinate and manage two different grammatical systems. However, all this is done quite effortlessly.

Extract 4.3 (a)

L3. **Taso khu ba hpul zaan hum** maintain **satay** (You have to maintain yourself) **aow taso b** behaviour **hum** face **kavay haghvi ta b** time **hum warkave** (And you have to bear them and give them time too) **haghvi b** face **kave hum (.)** (You have to face them) at least **kor k da** tension **na v**

Extract 4.4 (a) is slightly different compared to extract 3. Here lecturer 3 starts with an English phrase *we expect* and then for completion of meaning/idea switches to Pashto *chi hagha ba sta corridor ke walar ye* (He will be standing in your corridor). Though the matrix of the subsequent sentence is Pashto but there does exist English switches such as *corridor* and *like*. Then finally in the last sentence, there appears a kind of repair work begins with an English connector *but* and then the entire sentence is delivered in Pashto, *dagha bandy dasy na da chi dvi dagha se walar ve aow gupshup kavi* (It's not like that they will be only standing and gossiping). The extract shows a variety of Intra CS embedded equally in diverse structure.

Extract 4.4 (a)

L3. we expect **chi hagha ba sta** corridor **ke walar ye aow** corridor **k b (.)** like **hagha kae gupshup kavi** (That they will be standing in the corridor and will be gossiping) but obviously but **dagha bandy dasy na da chi dvi dagha se walar ve aow gupshup kavi** (It's not like that they will be only standing and gossiping)

Extract 4.5 (a) outlines very interesting features of Intra CS. L2 starts the sentence in Pashto *haghvi k hpala yaw* (They themselves) and then part of verb phrase is uttered in

English *develop* and for auxiliary turns to Pashto *kegi* (continuity/ progressive "going on"). The subsequent line begins with a Pashto determiner *da* followed by an English noun *education* and then comes Pashto verb **na razi**. Though, the extract is short, it shows examples of Intra CS.

Extract 4.5 (a)

L2. **haghvi k hpala yaw** sense develop **kegi (**This sense develop naturally)

aow **da** sense>**da** education **na razi** teachers **na razi<** (Neither education

nor teachers could develop this sense in students)

The analysis outlines that the lecturers and students have demonstrated a high level of diversity and creativity in the use of Intra CS, which could not be restricted to some specific sequence, structure or grammatical category. This is indicative of the high bilingual proficiencies of the speakers endorsed by a number of other studies (Casas 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Mabule, 2016; Poplack, 1980)

4.1.2   Inter-sentential CS

Inter-sentential is self-explanatory. It refers to CS beyond sentence or clause level. If one sentence or clause is in one language and the subsequent one is in another language, this phenomenon is known as Inter-sentential CS. Tajolosa (2013, p. 55) explains Inter-sentential CS as "Inter-sentential code-switching, on other hand, involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where a clause or sentence is in one language or another".

Kebeya (2013) argues that Inter-sentential CS is easy and straightforward, having no complications. Poplack (1980) explained that Inter-sentential CS is the easiest among CS types and an average bilingual can easily manage it. It does not require grammatical negotiation of two different languages within the sentence. The following extracts clarify Inter CS.

In extract 4.6 (a), L1 begins with an English sentence *we are safe* and then followed by a sentence in Pashto, **asy waye gup ma lagawa bus da habara dir** light **wahla** (Do not gossip take this lightly). Here it can be observed that the teacher codeswitches to Pashto after delivering a complete sentence in English, which is an example of Inter-sentential CS.

Extract 4.6 (a)

L1. we are safe **asy waye gup ma lagawa bus da habara dir** light **wahla** (Do not gossip take this lightly) **Geni kharbege** (You will be in loss) you will be in danger

Contrary to extract 4.6 (a), in extract 4.7 (a) the order of Inter-sentential CS changes. L1 begins with a Pashto clause *na chi da mashum da* and then in the successive clause turns to English *but it is in the sixth that man is to be supported by angela*. In other words, here the speaker engages in Inter-sentential CS at clause level. In the first clause, the speaker states that its not a child and then in the next dependent clause, the speaker completes the sentence with an English clause *it is in the sixth stanza that man is to be supported by Angela*.

Extract 4.7 (a)

L1. **na chi da mashum da** (It is not a child) **but** it is in the sixth that man is to be supported by angela

Again, in extract 5.8 (a) SF10 begins with an English clause the *man was going*, which is completed by the subsequent clause in Pashto, ***hagha zaka ta chi hagha pa his qimat hpul*** *beloved* **na prehuda** (Because he wanted to meet his beloved by all means). Thus, this is another example of Inter-sentential CS at the clause level.

Extract 4.8 (a)

SF10. he was going sir **hagha zaka ta chi hagha pa his qimat hpul** beloved

na prehuda (He wanted to reach his beloved by all means) (laughing)

In extract 4.9 (a) in comparison to extract 5.8 (a), the direction of the Inter-sentential CS changes from English-Pashto to Pashto-English. In this extract, the first sentence is in Pashto *qilla ba sa dapara juredy* (The purpose of building the castle was) and then in order to complete the argument, the subsequent section is delivered in English *to keep yourself guarded.*

Extract 4.9 (a)

L1.   **qilla ba sa dapara juredy** (The purpose of building castle was) to keep

yourself guarded

Another example of Inter-sentential CS can be observed in extract 4.10 (a). The first clause is in English *we feel confident* and then the successive clause is in Pashto ***chi aow mung hum*** *english* ***k habary koly shu*** (We can also communicate in English). So, this is another example of Inter-sentential CS.

Extract 4.10 (a)

L.4   they will feel confident chi **aow mung hum** english **k habary koly shu**

(That we can also communicate in English language)

In short, the speakers also frequently codeswitched at Inter CS level and have shown a high level of diversity as well. The diversity in Intra and Inter CS speak about the nature of the prevalence of Pashto and English in the environment around the speakers, which are reflected in their interactions.

4.1.3   Tag CS

Tag CS refers to that type of CS, where a phrase or a switch is inserted or attached to a sentence which is entirely in another language. It means that the main sentence is in one language and the tag part is inserted from another language. According to Poplack (1980, p. 589) "tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule". Tajolosa (2013) also confirms the existence of Tag CS and highlights its nature. He defined Tag CS as" Tag switching involves the insertion of the tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in another language" (Tajolosa, 2013, p. 55). Tag CS does not require high bilingual proficiency of the speaker in both languages. Even an average bilingual can engage in Tag CS. Saraswati and Octavita (2016) explains that Tag CS can easily be managed, and it has nothing to do with high bilingual competency.

In extract 4.11 (a), lecturer 1, attaches a cliché phrase of Pashto *teek da kana* (Ok) to an otherwise English sentence, which can be rightly labelled as Tag CS. The phrase *teek da kana* (Ok) is habitually used by native Pashto speakers for getting consent or agreement from the audience/listener. So, generally it is used as comprehension check and so did the writer use it in the current context as well.

Extract 4.11 (a)

L1.   **teek da kana (Ok now)** he describe these people with what with villainous characters as like some characters in the dramas or in the novels

In extract 4.12 (a), the lecturer uses the same phrase *teek da kana* (Ok for now) again but here in a different position, at the very end of the sentence. In this extract, the phrase *teek da kana (Ok now)* serves as comprehension check. First the speaker explains the

meaning of *fever* in English and then to get the consent of the students, the lecturer turns to Pashto cliché ***teek da kana (Ok now).***

Extract 4.12 (a)

L1.   fever in other terms in literature use for exasperation **teek da**

kana (Ok now)

In extract 4.13 (a), the sequence of Tag CS changes. Contrary to extract 5.12 (a), here the tag word is taken from English *you know* which appears at the very beginning of a sentence in Pashto. Lecturer 3, in a habitual manner starts the sentence with an English phrase *you know* and then the rest of the sentence is in Pashto matrix ***da aksar kegi zma sara khu da dir ziat kegi*** (This happened with me quite often).

Extract 4.13 (a)

L3.   you know **da aksar kegi zama sara khu da dir ziat kegi** (This

happened with me quite often)

In extract 4.14 (a), an English phrase *I wish* is inserted as tag in an otherwise a completely Pashto matrix, ***chi taso charta mug sara khwaky osedy*** (I wish you were living in my neighbourhood). In the first two extracts the tags words are taken from Pashto, inserted in English sentences but in the last two extracts the order gets reversed, the tags are in English attached to Pashto sentences.

Extract 4.14 (a)

L4.   I wish **chi taso charta mug sara khwaky osedy** (I wish you were living

in my neighbourhood) (laughing)

In extract 4.15 (a), lecturer1 yet again attaches a Pashto tag ***teek da*** (ok/right?) to an otherwise English sentence, *and now keats based up the lines just to another suspense*

that he has created and this to readers to think for further. The nature of the tag is yet again the cliché comprehension check ***teek da*** commonly used in Pashto. The recurrence of the phrase ***teek da*** is an indicative of the habitual exercise of the speaker.

Extract 4.15 (a)

L1.   and now keats based up the lines just to another suspense that he has created and this to readers to think for further **teek da** (ok/right?)

The analysis revealed that in comparison to Intra and Inter CS, Tag CS appears to be limited in use and meaning. It is mostly used either at the very beginning of the sentence/clause or at the very end. Likewise, it is used for very limited purposes such as serving as comprehension check and at times for emphasis too. Moreover, it is generally considered to be the easiest form of CS, which does not require high bilingual proficiency and grammatical knowledge in both the languages.

On the whole, both the lecturers and students have made a frequent use of all three types of CS. But Intra CS has come up as the most dominant one, which could be attributed to the high bilingual proficiency of the speakers. It is to be noted that CS of the lecturers and students remained bi-directional; from English to Pashto and Pashto to English.

Interview data (b)

In the interviews, the majority of the lecturers and students referred to two types of CS: Inter and Intra CS. However, some of them in addition to Inter and Intra CS also referred to Tag CS. It is to be noted that later when the findings were shared with the participants, all of them confirmed it for three types. In extract 4.1 (b), SF2 while commenting on the nature and types of CS clearly refers to all three types of CS. She explained that they codeswitch in three ways: Inter-sentential, ***pa sentence*** (At sentence level), Intra-sentential ***pa words*** (At word level) and finally Tag CS ***ka ya mung sa seez***

bul sentence ya *phrase* ***sara olagao*** (When, we attach a word or phrase with a sentence or phrase).

> **Extract 4.1 (b)**
>
> **SF2.**   In three ways**. pa** sentence **pa** words **ka ya mung sa seez bul sentence ya** phrase **sara olagao** (Three levels, word, sentence or we attached something to sentence or phrase)**.**

Similarly, in extract 4.2 (b) L4 also refers to Inter, Intra and Tag CS. He explains that they mostly codeswitch at two levels: words and sentence. Initially, he talks about Inter and Intra CS but later indirectly turns to Tag CS as well.

> **Extract 4.2 (b)**
>
> **L4**.   Most of the times there at two places or two types of codeswitching we do. We codeswitch words and sentences. Intra-sentential and inter-sentential codeswitching. There is another kind also related to word and phrases that we attach.

Extract 4.3(b) is self-explanatory. Here L2 directly states that she codeswitches at all three levels: Inter, Intra and Tag CS.

> **Extract 4.3 (b)**
>
> **L2**. well I codeswitch three types that is inter and intra and tag codeswitching

Another endorsement regarding the types of CS comes from SM6. In extract 4.4 (b), SM6 explains that they codeswitch in three ways. She states that they codeswitch *at word* means Intra-sentential level, *sentence by sentence* means Inter-sentential level and then finally refers to *when we attach a part to another part* Tag CS.

Extract 4.4 (b)

SM6. yes definitely there are so many ways. We do three types codeswitching at word, codeswitching sentence by sentence and codeswitching when we attach a part to another part.

Then in extract 4.5 (b) SF3 elaborates that CS takes place at word and sentence level**.** She states *codeswitching sentence **ke um kegi** words **ke hum kegi*** (Code switching takes place at word and sentence levels)**.** This is followed by her explicit confirmation of all three types of CS, Inter, Intra and Tag.

Extract 4.5 (b)

SF3. codeswitching sentence **ke um kegi** words **ke hum kegi** (Code switching takes place at word and sentence levels), Inter, Intra and Tag

In this way, both the interactive and the interview data categorically confirmed that the lecturers and students codeswitched at all three levels: Inter, Intra and Tag CS.

4.2   Discussion

The analysis showed that the lecturers and students codeswitched in a diverse manner at all three levels (Inter, Intra and Tag). The diverse uses of CS particularly at Inter and Intra-sentential level show the level of permeation that CS has made into the lives of the participants, which feature prominently in their interactive practices. This directly takes us to the social background of the speakers where these languages are frequently used for different purposes. Despite the fact that Intra CS is considered to be one of the most difficult types of CS which requires a high level of bilingual proficiency on the part of the speaker but in the current study, the speakers have made a free and frequent use of Intra CS in their interactive practices. The reason for difficulty may be that it mostly involves the risk of violating grammatical rules which can lead to the production of ill-

formed and meaningless utterances. As a result, only the competent balanced bilinguals are able to control and practice Intra CS (Poplack, 1980). Keeping in mind the complexity and vulnerability of Intra CS, some of the researchers have even called Intra CS, particularly at word level, as mixing (Bokamba, 1989). Unlike Poplack (1980) where Intra CS was the less reported among the CS types but in the current study, Intra CS has come up as the most dominant of all CS types. The reason may be that the participants in Poplack (1980) might lacked in bilingual proficiency which would have prevented them to practice CS at Intra level. While in the current study, the speakers are quite fluent in both languages which resulted into the frequent occurrence of Intra CS. Therefore, the frequent use of Intra CS in the current data is indicative of the speakers' command on both the languages which may be attributed to their dynamic and rich multilingual background.

Besides, the findings showed that Intra CS is not only the most dominant of CS types but also containing a high level of diversity. In simple terms, Intra CS cannot be limited to some specific parts of speech, grammatical category, open or close clause items or even syntactical order. In addition to Intra CS, CS within a word has also been observed. The diversity is also evident at word level too. This diversity yet again distinguishes the current study from Casas (2008), Koban, 2013, Mabule (2016), Poplack (1980) and Saraswati and Octavita (2016). None of these studies have shown and reported the kind of diversity which has been observed in the current study.

In addition, the findings also revealed that Intra CS is not one directional. In case of unidirectional CS, the matrix and embedded languages consistently remained the same, while in bidirectional CS, it varies and changes from place to place and time to time. In the current study, the sequence of matrix and embedded language keep on changing in a continuous fashion. Sometimes, English remained the matrix and Pashto is embedded

in and at times Pashto remained the matrix and English is embedded. Poplack (1980) also came up with bidirectional CS "Spanish to English" and English to Spanish" but she did not report the diversity at each level. Likewise, numerous studies have also reported different CS types but they did not further explore these CS types (Casas, 2008; Koban, 2013; Mabule, 2015; Romaine, 1995; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016). For example, Koban (2013) also explored CS types in USA, but his focus was on Intra CS and the level of proficiency of the speakers. He classified CS into two types Intra and Inter CS and then concentrated on the relation between proficiency and Intra CS. In the same vein, Kebeya (2013) focused on the comparison of Intra versus Inter CS in Swahili- English context in Kenya. The study reported that Intra is complex and while Inter CS is comparatively easy and straightforward, therefore, both could not be compared on the same functions and levels with the same parameter. Mabule (2015) also explored CS types in South Africa and came up with the same three-pronged structural classification of CS: Inter, Intra and Tag. However, he did not explore the CS types in-depth. Likewise, Saraswati and Octavita (2016) also investigated the types of CS but they focused on the connection between Intra CS and the proficiencies of the participants. It means that most the studies have just highlighted the types of CS and then investigated a particular type of CS in relation to some functional or structural issue. But in the current study, each CS type has been explored in-depth.

This high diversity may be attributed to the speakers' socialisation and brought up in a bi-multilingual society. The lecturers and students are brought up in a multilingual Pakistani society, where they are exposed to different languages. Consequently, in such situations the emergence of multilingual practices, such as CS, is a natural and unavoidable phenomenon. The findings are important in the sense that it answer all those who considered CS to be a negative practice and should be avoided (Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1984; Gulzar, 2010; Khan, 2014). Because in the current study, the diverse

and frequent use of CS at Intra level showed that CS is not a linguistic deficit but rather a positive resource, which enhances the communicative potential of the speakers. Besides, all the participants perceived CS as positive and a useful practice and recommended that it should be used in academic settings. In this context, the current study is keeping up with other studies conducted in different parts of the world, who also reported CS positively (Balam & Perez, 2017; Jingxia, 2010; Kim, 2015; Lee, 2010). Balam and Perez (2017) examined the attitudes of the teachers and students towards CS in Spanish-English context in Central America. They found that the teachers and students perceived CS positively. They even further recommend that it should be used as a communicative resource for learning and teaching purposes. Likewise, Kim (2015) reported students' positive perceptions of CS at university level in Korea. Similarly, Jingxia (2010) explored the attitudes of the students and teachers towards the functions, patterns, factors and influence of CS in Chinese and English in China. The study showed that both the teachers and students perceived CS positively. The positive perception of CS and the diverse uses of CS in the current study also take us to TL and support their stance that multilingual interactive practices are positive activities which instead of affecting the proficiencies of the speakers in target language, enrich their linguistic repertoires (Garcia & Lin, 2016; MacSwan, 2017; Otheguy et al., 2015).

In short, the currents study showed that the lecturers and students have made a free, fluent and diverse use of CS, which have been classified into three categories: Intra, Inter and Tag CS. The dominance of Intra CS and the diversity in CS practices in general take us to the rich multilingual background of the speakers. In other words, the lecturers' and students' CS practices are rooted in their socio-cultural and socio-psychological backgrounds.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: REASONS FOR CODE SWITCHING

This chapter is divided into two main sections: findings and discussion. In the findings section, a summary of micro and macro reasons is provided. Each reason is explained and illustrated with the help of extracts taken from both interactive and interview data. In the discussion section, the findings in relation to other studies, are discussed in detail and the link between the micro and macro is further highlighted.

5.1 Findings

One of the important dimensions of the current study was to find out the motivations behind CS. For this purpose, data was first orthographically transcribed guided by Barnard and MacLellan (2013). Then in order to answer question 2 (What are the micro and macro reasons for the emergence of CS in the interactions of lecturers and students in a university in Pakistan?), an observational analysis of the data informed by the insight gained in the interviews and guided by Gulzar (2010) were conducted. The analysis helped in finding micro and macro reasons for CS (For further detail see 3.5: Data analysis). The micro reasons such as unconscious CS, CS for emphasis and clarity, social status, solidarity, explanation, conclusive remarks, translation, expression of emotions, quotation and topic change, led to the macro socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative factors, which implicitly guided the participants in their language choices. In a way, the macro social factors and forces are embedded in the interactive practices of the participants moving them in various directions. All these reasons and factors have been discussed in detail with examples and explanations taken from both interactive data and interviews of the partcipants. A summary of the findings is shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Summary of reasons for CS

No	Interactive switches	Interview confirmation	Micro reasons	Macro factors
1.	161	13 out of 26	Unconscious & habitual	Socio-psychological Socio-cultural
2.	149	14 out of 26	Emphasis & clarity	Communicative
3.	98	13 out of 26	Social status	Socio cultural
4.	98	8 out of 26	Solidarity	Socio cultural
5.	79	2 out of 26	Conclusive remarks	Communicative
6.	78	10 out of 26	CS for Explanation	Communicative
7.	34	7 out of 26	Translation	Communicative
8.	10	8 out of 26	Expression of feelings & emotions	Socio-psychological
9.	9	Nil	CS for Quotation	Communicative
10.	6	Nil	Topic change	Communicative

The table comprises five columns. The second column presents the number of switches found in the data, third with confirmation of the reasons by the participants, while the fourth and fifth deal with micro and macro reasons respectively. The reasons are listed in the table on the basis of frequency/number of switches found in the data. For elucidation of each reason, three extracts each from the interactive and interview data are discussed in detail. The interactive extracts are marked as (a) while the interview as (b) respectively.

5.1.1   Unconscious or habitual CS

The analysis shows that mostly the speakers codeswitch in a habitual or unconscious manner with no deliberate or conscious efforts. The interactants move from one language to another in a fluent, free and running fashion. Keeping in view the background of the speakers and their views in the interviews, the unconscious CS could be attributed to their multilingual background or socialisation in a multilingual environment. The emergence of unconscious CS in the interactive practices of the

speakers, is not something new but reported by a number of other studies as well (Casas, 2008; Henry & Goddard, 2015; Kharkhurin & Wei, 2014). However, these studies just acknowledged the existence of unconscious CS and did not go beyond that. However, in the current study not only unconscious CS is explained but its motivations have also been explored in-depth and discussed at length. The following extracts illustrate unconscious CS clearly.

Interactional data (a)

The interactive data showed that the lecturers and students quite frequently engaged in unconscious CS, which could be attributed to their socialisation in a bi-multilingual environment. The lecturers and students are exposed to Pashto and English on routine basis which might have led to the development of unconscious CS in their interactive practices. The same is endorsed by the participants in their interviews as shown in section Interview data (b).

In extract 5.1 (a), L3 discusses the luxuries of home in comparison to living in hostel and explains that one remains highly comfortable and relaxed at home. She elaborates that in hostel you have to do a lot of work including cooking, washing and ironing and at the same time, giving time to students and colleagues. The analysis of the extract reveals that here the matrix language remains Pashto, while switches from English such as *time, lecture, explain, questions, explain* and *cooking* are embedded therein. It can be clearly observed that L3, uttered these sentences in a fluent and natural manner with no pause and hesitation. There seems to be no specific apparent micro reason for CS here, other than to call it a habitual bilingual practice, which in itself is an important reason. However, at the macro level, it could be attributed to their socialisation in a multilingual environment. The same is endorsed by the participants in their interviews.

Extract 5.1 (a)

L3.   so **mung haghu ta hum** time **warkao** lecture **waghaira** (We also give them time to discuss their academic issues) explain **kao** questions **v hagha warta** explain **kao haghay na pus (**We discuss their questions) **zan ta kana jurol rotay juro** cooking **kao kapry wenzu kapry istri kao** (We also cook, iron and wash our clothes)

The same fluent and effortless switching from one language to another can be observed in extract 5.2 (a). Here, lecturer 2 suggests that the university management should allocate a separate place for the discussion of students after the classes. She says that now mostly the students stay in front of the classrooms in the corridors and disturb the teaching and learning practices inside the classrooms. Extract 5.2 (a) shows that the lecturer once again codeswitches from one language to another in a free and effortless manner. She begins the sentence in English, *then we expect* code switches to Pashto *chi hagha ba sta* using an English word *corridor*, falling back on Pashto *ke ba* and the practice goes on till the end. The analysis reveals that the lecturer moves between these two languages in a natural and dynamic manner. Yet again the dynamic and fluent switching of the speaker between the two languages make it difficult to determine its context specific function or reason, except the fact that the speaker does so in a habitual manner, giving vent to her linguistic repertoire.

Extract 5.**2** (a)

L2.   then we expect **chi hagha ba sta** corridor **ke walar ye aow** corridor **ke be** like **hagha kae gupshup kavi** (We expect that they will be standing in the corridor and gossiping) but obviously but **dagha bandy dasy na da chi dvi dagha se walar ve aow gupshup kavi** (Its not like that they will be only standing and gossiping)

In extract 5.3 (a) L4 talks about eating and drinking habits in Ramadan and suggests that one should prepare a proper schedule for taking balance food in Ramadan. He recommends that instead of opting for meat and other heavy and lavish dishes one should take simple light food with water. Here one can clearly observe the same free flow and unconscious interplay between Pashto and English which continues till the end of the extract. L4 begins with Pashto phrase *Zama khayal da (I think)* then switches to English *if you start your sehri* and thereafter turning back to Pashto and so forth the switching goes on. All these alternations happen in a fluent and direct manner with no break and hesitation, which is indicative of habitual or unconscious CS.

Extract 5.3 (a)

L4.   **zama khayal da (I think)** if you start your sehri **nu laka ta k chawal khuri nu pa di** start **k aow p di mainz k yaw** glass **oba ta ske nu hagha seezona sta** simple water (If you take rice and drink water in the beginning and middle, it turn everything into water) **shi aow k da ta masta na di masta** (You know yogurt) its very important **khaas kar pa di wrazu k nu bilkul ta b biya** relax **ye** (If you take yogurt in these days you will be relaxed)

Interview data (b)

The lecturers and students in their interviews have also confirmed that at times they codeswitch unconsciously. They directly link the unconscious CS with their socio-cultural background.   In extract 5.1 (b), L4 while discussing the reason for CS gives a comprehensive and an in-depth reply. He goes to the very heart of the matter and explains that they are socialised and live in an environment where both Pashto and English are used on routine basis. In such a situation, the emergence of unconscious CS is a natural phenomenon, which could be linked to their socio- cultural setting.

Extract 5.1 (b)

L4.   So this is sometime it happens not using it intentionally but it happens naturally and it should be done. I think it's useful for the teachers as well as for the students. We are used to this practice. As we use Pashto and English on daily basis and now this has made a place in our lives and sometime we unconsciously change from one language to another without knowing it.

SF4 in extract 5.2 (b) while commenting on CS, explains in detail that they live in a multilingual society where they use different languages for different purposes. As a result, this situation leads to the development of CS in their interactive practices, which at times happen unconsciously. In other words, the multilingual environment leads to the creation of multilingual spaces for multilingual practices. Yet again the speakers' socio-cultural backgrounds emerge as the sole reason for the emergence of unconscious CS.

Extract 5.2 (b)

SF4.   **Mung chi kom da pa yaw** multilingual society **k osegu aow alta munga mukhtalif** languages use **kao** (We live in multilingual society where we use different languages). So we codeswitch habitually and unconsciously at times we cannot help it.

Finally, SF7 in extract 5.3 (b) yet again attributes unconscious CS to the socio-cultural background of the speakers. She further adds, that unconscious CS is a state of mind which means that it has become too much common and now it is difficult for them to avoid. Here, the speaker talks not only about unconscious CS but highlights its main reason, their multilingual background.

Extract 5.3 (b)

SF7. The first and important reason is that in our society almost everybody speak two to three languages. It makes the people confuse which to use and which to drop. You will see quite open codeswitching. It becomes a habit and state of mind. We are helpless before CS. Even if we want sometime we cannot stop as it is not in our control but unconscious.

Thus, the interactions as well as interviews of the participants categorically confirm that at times the speakers codeswitch unconsciously. In view of the social context and background of the speakers, unconscious CS could be directly linked to their socio-cultural background.

5.1.2 CS for clarity and emphasis

The analysis shows that sometime the speakers codeswitch at a point when they try to emphasis or clarify a particular point of an argument. This is mostly done by repeating the same point in both languages for clarity or emphasis. Gulzar (2010) also referred to clarification as one among the important function and reason for CS in the classroom. Nukuto (2017) also reported CS uses for clarity and inculcation of information under information transmission. Likewise, Ma (2016) also referred to CS uses for pedagogic purposes including clarity of concepts.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.4 (a) lecturer 3 discusses the disadvantages of hostel life and elaborates that when you decide to live in hostel you have to set aside your likes and dislikes. You have to be patient with your colleagues, mentally ready for students' frequent visits and at times go against your mind and heart. She repeats the same message in both languages; first in English and then in Pashto. The analysis reveals that the teacher does so for emphasis.

Extract 5.4 (a)

L3.   like hostel you conform different people of different behaviour and of different mind so you have to face them along with like you have to maintain yourself taso **khu ba hpul zaan hum** maintain **satay** (You have to maintain yourself) **aow taso b** behaviour **hum** face **kavay haghvi ta b** time **hum warkve haghvi b** face **kave hum** (You have to bear their behaviour and give them time)

Again, in extract 5.5 (a) lecturer 2 uses the same strategy (repetition in both languages) to highlight the importance of her argument. The lecturer argues that the sense of right and wrong develops automatically. It is not something that the lecturer has to instil through teaching or the parents have to force their children to develop but it is a natural phenomenon which develops automatically. In the beginning, the lecturer makes this point in English and then repeats the same in Pashto. The analysis shows that the lecturer does so, both for emphasis and clarity. CS for clarity and emphasis are generally done for communication of information and idea, consequently in the broader categorisation it is included in the communicative category.

Extract 5.5 (a)

L2.   they should have sense should be developed gradually in their mind **haghvi ta hpala pakar di da** sense **hpala** develop **kegi** (They should develop this sense) **chi munga kom zay k a: walara pakar da kom za k mung ta walara na da pakar da** (They should know the manner of place and   time) **haghvi k hpala yaw** sense develop **kegi (**Automatically, they will develop this sense)

In extract 5.6 (a) the student while explaining post structuralism elaborates that they believe, nothing is permanent but everything is in a state of flux and subject to continuous change. First, she explains the same point in English and then reiterates in Pashto. Here, reiteration is used to clarify and highlights the importance of the argument.

Extract 5.6 (a)

SF9. yes sir they take literature as text means to say that nothing is constant everything is in move nothing constant everything move **matlub hagha da waye chi na centre shta aow na sa final dagha shta har yaw seez badlegi aow rawan da =** (There is no centre and nothing is final. Everything is subject to change)

Interview data (b)

The students and lecturers in their semi-structured interviews have also confirmed that at times they codeswitch for clarity of a concept or to emphasis a particular point in an argument. In extract 5.4 (b) L2 explicitly states that sometimes they codeswitch to their native language for clarity of certain concepts. They find it easy and feel more comfortable when difficult concepts are explained in their native language. In addition, he also talks about the background and mental level of the students and highlights that sometime the teacher codeswitches to native language in order to accommodate academically poor and less sharp students.

Extract 5.4 (b)

L2. some time we come across difficult topics /concepts so in order to make them easy we switch our language to native language or to national language so it make their concepts clear as well as the number of

students they do not belong to one culture they do not have the same mental level so that is why we switch language.

CS for clarification is also endorsed by L4 in extract 5.5 (b). L4 very directly states that sometimes they codeswitch to facilitate understanding of certain ideas or to highlight a particular point/part of an argument.

Extract 5.5 (b)

L4.   this should clarify things and this should make the students understand and that sometime you want to emphasise upon something so there codeswitching becomes mandatory and it happens naturally as I said earlier.

SM5 in extract 5.6 (b) argues that at times they repeat the same point in both the languages to realize their counterparts that the idea is important. In this context, he calls CS as wakeup call for others, which means inviting the attention of others to a particular point.

Extract 5.6 (b)

SM5. I have noted that sometime we say the same thing in both languages. At this point our aim is to realise the other person that this is important. It's a wakeup call

In this way, the interactive context as well as the participants in their interviews showed that clarity and emphasis are the other important reasons which made the speakers to codeswitch from one language to another (in the current context from Pashto to English or English to Pashto). As clarity and emphasis are done for communicative purposes, it is broadly labelled as 'communicative factor'.

5.2.3 CS for social status

The analysis has also shown that the lecturers and students codeswitched to English for social status. They tried to give an impression that they belong to an Elite English-speaking class and so are different from other people. In this context, the lecturers and students have used, English as "we" code and Pashto as "they" code (Gumperz, 1982). Most of the participants have endorsed and confirmed in their semi-structured interviews that they also codeswitch to English for social status which is consistent with a number of other studies conducted in different parts of the world (Bruce, 2014; Gulzar, 2010; Lamb, 2009; Mahboob, 2017; Probyn, 2009; Redinger, 2010; Song, 2016). Therefore, the aspirations and inclinations of the lecturers and students towards English for social status are justified and natural.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.7 (a) SF2 starts the discussion in Pashto and states that we did not achieve good grade in exam due to shortage of time. As soon as she finishes, SM6 intervenes and diverges by turning to English. He tries to conclude the topic by saying that the time was short and they did their best to achieve good grades but unfortunately, they failed in their endeavours. SF2 further explains in Pashto that the lecturers neither favoured nor considered their hard work. In the subsequent turn, SM6 strongly opposes SF2 and blames the students that they are not competent enough and so failed. SF2 feels offended and asks SM6 if he consider them as kids and as being dull. Whereupon SM6 reacts in an ironic manner and states that he does not want to argue with her as she lacks maturity. A close look at the discussion shows that SF2 deliberately sticks to Pashto, while SM6 on the contrary deliberately opts and continues with English. SM6 blames the students, whereas SF2 supports them. The matter does not end here. Keeping in view the social context and the views of the participants in their interviews, SF2 and SM6 represent two different classes. SM6 ironic comments, choice of language, the way

he talks and reaction to SF2, show that he considers himself to be different from his counterparts. He assumes an air of pride and gives an impression that he belongs to a higher class which is more vividly shown by his deliberate preference for English. On the other hand, SF2 preference for Pashto shows her inclination towards her ethnic Pashtuns heritage. The orientations of the speakers towards English for social status implicitly highlight the status of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. In this context, the speakers' language choices are guided by socio-cultural and global considerations. In a way, the micro interactive practices of the lecturers and students reflect the broader social and global ideologies.

Extract 5.7 (a)

SF2. **nu zamung** time **lug wo aow zamung** course **hum kha kafi wo haghay wajy zamung** results suffer **shavay da** (Due to shortage of time we suffered)

SM6. **bus (**stop**)** we give to the conclusion that our semester was too short we did well we did well accord - what was taught to us we expressed

SF2. **matlub** teachers **rasra duna kha o na krul zamung mehnat ta ye o na katul** (The teachers did not favour us and did not consider our hard work)

SM6. no the level of student was not up to the standard

SF2. **sa matlub mung mashuman yu ya naliaq you** (What do you mean that we are dull and like kids?)

SM6. level is something else you don't understand I don't want to argue with you **Pohe shve** (Got it?)

Extract 5.8 (a) shows a very interesting situation. Lecturer 1 asks a question from lecturer 4 in English, which is answered by him in Pashto. Again lecturer 1 asks him a

question in English and he responds him in Pashto again. The same practice continues three times. Now, here it can be observed that the persistence of both the lecturers with English and Pashto are deliberate and serve different purposes. At the micro level, lecturer 1 tries to be formal while lecturer 4 reminding him that your native language is Pashto so we should turn to Pashto to discuss things in a free and open manner. Keeping in view the social context and the views of the speakers in the interviews, it shows that the lecturers are oriented towards two different macro realities/identities. Lecturer 1 is oriented towards English on account of its social and global status, while lecturer 4 would like to stick to his Pashtun heritage and culture.

Extract 5.8 (a)

L1. otherwise they are not sir your category personal (laughing)

L4. alaka zama na qalar shay (Guys don't get me involved in the issue)

L1. sir you are the only married among us any guideline for us

L4. **yaw kaar bul da** (There is another thing) farooq shah **ka ta warla suit rawory** hagha **chi raowry khula ye wrana v** (When you bring a suit for your wife she will not be happy with that)

L1. I will try to follow you

L4. **dir sa ba learn kri wakht sara** (You will learn a lot with time)

Extract 5.9 (a) though long but quite comprehensive in outlining the mind and heart of the speakers. SM6 begins in English and argues that like in England, accountability should be there for everyone. SF8 responds in Pashto that here accountability for all is not possible as this is Pakistan and not England. Then SM6 reiterates that accountability should start from the head of the state and then comes down to others. SF8 very directly states that there are certain professions like teaching which has nothing to do with financial matters and therefore, they need to be excluded from the process of

accountability. Whereupon SM6 argues that teachers and religious clerks are the two important pillars of a nation and we should improve and reform them first. SF20 thinks differently and explains that their business is teaching and serving humanity and not financial management, therefore corruption has nothing to do with them. SM6 responds that corruption cannot be limited to financial matters. The misuse of anything comes under the umbrella of corruption. Apparently, the analysis of the interaction shows disagreement of opinions and thinkings but in fact SM6 and SF8 represent two different mindsets. SM6 preference for English, tendency towards English system and critical approach to religious practices, explicitly outlines his aspirations for identifying himself with an English-speaking elite class. On the other hand, SF8 preference for Pashto, blind respect for teachers and finally the nature and style of argument, determine her social class and orientations. Furthermore, this shows her inclination towards her common traditional Pashtun heritage and ethnic identity. These orientations towards both these classes have been shown by the participants in their interviews discussed later in the interview section.

Extract 5.9 (a)

SM6. ok let me give a small answer we should not go into that these are the authorities accountability should be there for every one like in england

SF8. **di habary sara itefaq na kom** accountability **da tolu mumkin na da** (I don't agree with you accountability for all is not possible) da **Pakistan da hagha khu angreezan di** (This is Pakistan and these are not Britishers)

SM6. No it should include every one taking start from the head of the state

SF8. **Yaw ustad ghareeb ba SA corruption oke k nur mukhkamu wala ve nu teek da** (Other government departments do have chances for corruption but how do the teacher can do corruption?)

SM6. Teacher and religious clerks should not be spared they are the most important duties

SF8. **Zama khudaya za habara da** corruption **kom DVI ba SA** corruption oki (I am talking about corruption they don't do any corruption)

SM6. Corruption is not financial only it can be corruption in duty and teacher has the most important duty

SF8. **Dasy** accountability **biya mumkana Na da** (this kind of accountability is not possible)

Interview data (b)

The participants in the interviews have also endorsed the use of CS for social status. They confirmed that at times they codeswitch to English to give vent to their aspirations for attaining membership in the high prestigious elite class of the community. For instance, SM1, in extract 5.7 (b) refers to the same aspirations. He explains that English is a symbol of prestige and social status. Consequently, they turn to English to show that they belong to a prestigious social class. This is something natural because all human beings desire to be respected socially and recognised as important persons in their social communities. These aspirations and thinking are reflected in extract 5.7 (b).

Extract 5.7(b)

SM1. I codeswitch to English to show myself influence other. Because being English is being prestigious. We feel proud in speaking English and to impress others

In extract 5.8 (b) SF7 sounds logical and systematic in her comment on the reasons for CS. She expounds that in order to talk about the reasons for CS, first, we have to determine the direction of CS, only then we can talk about its reasons. She explains that

they codeswitch from Pashto to English to enhance their social value and social status. So, here the speaker clearly highlights that they codeswitch to English for social status.

Extract 5.8 (b)

SF7.   When we talk about the reason of codeswitching first we specify the direction of codeswitching. For example, we codeswitch from Pashto to English because we want to increase our value that we are educated and social.

SF3, in extract 5.9 (b), highlights very interesting and important point for codeswitching from Pashto to English. She explains that they codeswitch to English to show that they are liberal and open minded. They think that the English-speaking class is highly social and liberal. Their parameter for enlightenment is English and so do they use it. This again takes to the socio-cultural background of the speakers. In Pakistani society, there exists a common perception that the westerns are highly social and liberal people. So, here English is taken as symbol of those socio-cultural values which make the speakers codeswitch from Pashto to English.

Extract 5.9 (b)

SF3.   Sometime we codeswitch to tell other that we are open minded and liberal and we are not narrow minded.

In sum, the local and social context of the interactive practices of the speakers and their views in the interviews clearly reveal that CS from Pashto to English is not just a linguistic matter but has important social and global implications. In Pakistani society, English is considered to be a symbol of social and economic prosperity. It is assumed to be the language of the upper class and educated community. Besides, the speakers are aware of the global significance of English and its social and economic values. These

local, social and global aspirations and ideologies motivate the participants to codeswitch from Pashto to English. Thus, it can be stated that the local, social and global forces working within the interactive practices of the speakers and guided them in specific directions.

5.1.4 CS for solidarity

The findings revealed that whenever the interactants refer to something informal, personal, related to their families and culture, they codeswitch to Pashto. This is also one among the most recurrent practices commonly found in the data. The findings showed that lecturers and students codeswitched to Pashto because of their emotional and social attachment with their culture and community, which get reflected in their interactive practices. In other words, codeswitching is indexical in reflection of the ethnic and cultural background of the speakers. Gulzar (2010) also reported solidarity as one of the major reasons for participants' CS to native language. Besides, there exists numerous studies which showed that the speakers codeswitched towards native language, on account of attachment with their communities and cultures (Amorim, 2012; Ashabai & Dumanig, 2012; Bashir & Naveed, 2015; Bosch & Mullins, 2012; Gumperz, 1982; Harris et al., 2006; Nguyen et al., 2016; Probyn, 2009; Sophocleous & Themistocleous, 2014).

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.10 (a) lecturer 3 discusses her relationship with her nephew. She begins in English but then when refers to the discussion at home with her nephew about playing a game, she switches to Pashto *raza chi mung yaw barricade jur kru teek da* (Ok, let us make a barricade). Thereafter, when she turns to make general comment, she code switches to English and afterwards yet again falls back on Pashto for discussing something personal *raza chi da hagha chi choki* i think *chowki Warta waye* sir *jur kru*

(Let us make something which is named as check point/post sir?). The analysis shows that the speaker codeswitches to Pashto at points when she discusses something related to her personal life. The same practice of using native language for personal and domestic issues has been observed a number of times in the interactive data. This is natural because the speakers have attachment with their culture and community, which make them to codeswitch to their native language for discussion of private and personal affairs and issues.

Extract 5.10 (a)

L3.   When I went to my home I asked my nephew to let you can say **raza chi mung yaw** barricade **jur kru teek da** (Ok, let us make a barricade) like he was confused I could tell him **raza chi da hagha chi choki** I think **chowki warta waye** sir **jur kru** (Let us make, which is named as check point/post) **kom chi** police **wala v nu** (That is of police)

In extract 5.11 (a) lecturer 4 while talking about the role of practice in learning, he uses English but then when he turns to something informal and personal, he suddenly switches to Pashto and asks *staso kur k ba hum mashuman v kana* (You will have also got kids in your family) *Farooq shah saib staso mashuman shta da* (Farooq shah do you have any kid?). Lecturer 1 replies in English and says that yes, he has got a little cousin and but then when he moves to his personal daily routine, he turns to Pashto. This means that the speaker's codeswitch to Pashto when they want to discuss something informal related to their families, personal lives or cultural issues/affairs. This is a recurrent practice prevalent in the interactive data. The speakers being native speakers of Pashto have natural attachment with their language and culture, which are in turn reflected in their interactive practices.

Extract 5.11 (a)

L4.   yes practice is the basic thing and one should try to practically do thing even if that is language **Farooq shah saib staso mashuman shta** (Farooq shah do you have any children?) ok da **pregday** come to your own home **staso kur k ba hum mashuman v kana** (You will also have children in your family). **Farooq shah saib staso mashuman shta da** (Farooq shah do you have any child?)

L1.   yes I have little cousin when I go home he is waiting passionately **hagha za zaan sara bozum hagha** (I take him with myself) closely **mata gori** (observing and looking at me all times) according to behaviourist skinner **waghaira chi hagha** task based learning **dir ziat kaavi hagha** (The children mostly learn through task based activities) **seezonu ta gori nu chi za sa kom hagha mata gori bul da chi a** (Whatever I do he observes that closely) message for all of you that dont discourage the children or the child anytime if he speaks the (.) Sublime if you also criticize him he will lose confidence.

Extract 5.12 (a) illustrates the speaker use of Pashto for traditional and cultural matters. L3, begins in English and states that whenever she visits her village, she finds her aunt and cousins taking traditional foods. Thereafter, when she tries to describe the actual traditional food, she switches to Pashto, di *sa karee ya shumli aghay k agha kari matlub rotay wacha ve nu ve khuri ya* (They mix bread with yogurt and take it) *sir di dasy karee kana chi hagha shurba jura kri haghy ke roty wacha ve haghay bandy pass desi gee wacha ve nu desi ghee sara khuri nu* (They first make soup then put slices of bread in and finally put butter on and take it). Apparently, the speaker switches to Pashto because she discusses something related to her Pashtuns' culture and traditions, which could be better explained in Pashto. Indirectly, the speaker switching

to Pashto indicates her attachment with her community and culture. So, in a way CS to Pashto takes us to the socio-cultural background of the speaker.

Extract 5.12 (a)

L3 .this is the belief whenever i go to my village nu hagha my aunt and cousins are having something i ask them what you are taking what you are eating so sir they mostly **di sa karee ya shumli aghay k agha kari matlub rotay wacha ve nu ve khuri ya** (They mix bread with yogurt and eat it) sir **di dasy karee kana chi hagha shurba jura kri haghy ke roty wacha ve haghay bandy pass desi gee wacha ve nu desi ghee sara khuri nu** (They first make soup then put slices of bread in and finally put butter on and take it)

Interview data (b)

The lecturers and students in their interviews have endorsed that they codeswitched from English to Pashto for solidarity purposes. They further explained that everybody has a natural attachment with their language and culture and it gets reflection in their interactive practices in one way or the others. This takes us to the socio-cultural background of the speakers.

L2 talks in detail about CS and solidarity in extract 5.10 (b). She highlights that CS emerges in bilingual societies where the speakers use two languages in their routine business, which are likely to be mixed and codeswitched at times. Then while discussing CS from English to Pashto, she elaborates that they have great love and attachment with their native language and culture which make them to codeswitch from English to Pashto.

Extract 5.10 (b)

L2.   Codeswitching is common practice in bilingual societies. The people speak two languages in their daily lives. It is natural that it will be mixed and codeswitched in their conversations and speeches. As far as codeswitching from English to Pashto is concerned everybody in the world has great regards and love for their mother tongue. It represents their identity in the world. Therefore, we codeswitch to Pashto to indicate community membership and solidarity with our community.

In extract 5.11 (b), L3 goes into details and unpack the ethnic and nationalist fervour of Pashtuns. She asserts that Pashtuns are nationalists and they love their culture and language. They feel proud to talk in Pashto. Therefore, code switching from English to Pashto in this context can be termed as expression and manifestation of their socio-cultural attachment with their culture and community.

Extract 5.11 (b)

L3.   CS has cultural effects and i just mentioned the person living in culture feel proud and he feels easy and proud of his culture. As far as our own society is concerned they are far very nationalist in their behaviours and they are asked to talk in English or Urdu they do not feel comfortable and they proudly like to speak in Pashto they don't care what impression the other get obviously it is the cultural impact they feel proud to speak Pashto.

Finally, SF11 in extract 5.12 (b) endorses that one of the main reasons for the speakers' codeswitching from English to Pashto is to show solidarity and unity with their

community. The findings showed that CS from English to Pashto is mainly motivated by socio-cultural considerations.

Extract 5.12 (b)

SF11. We codeswitch to Pashto for solidarity to show unity with the person and give message that we belong to that particular language and community.

The analysis shows that the lecturers and students codeswitch from English to Pashto on account of their attachment to their language and community. Here, yet again the micro interactive world of the participants is impacted by the macro social and global forces and factors. The participants' attachment with their culture and community demonstrated in their interactive practices are to be expected. Speaking generally, everybody has attachments to their culture and community, which are implicitly or explicitly reflected in their interactive behaviours and practices in one way or the other. In other words, the micro interactive practices of the speakers are guided by social and global forces.

5.1.5 CS for conclusive remarks

It has also been observed that the students and lecturers codeswitched at points when they tried to conclude an argument or mark an important point. Here, the speaker codeswitched mainly for discourse-oriented purposes, which can be linked to communicative dimension. Although only two lecturers referred to CS for important/conclusive remarks in their interviews, while the rest of the participants did not refer to it categorically. However, later when the findings were shared with the participants almost all of them agreed and validated CS for conclusive remarks. They endorsed that sometime they also codeswitch for concluding an argument.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.13(a), L4 discusses the importance of self-confidence. He first talks about all those things which are deemed essential for achieving success in academic world. But when he comes to the most important point, in other words, the concluding section, he just switches to Pashto and states da ***tool*** *depend* ***kavi pa sa bandy pa*** *self-confidence* ***bandy*** (All these things depend on self-confidence).

> **Extract 5.13 (a)**
>
> **L4.** They will having them in abundance all these a: observational skills thinking and critical skills all these things are needed for development **da tool** da **seezona** depend **kavi pa sa bandy pa yaw seez bandy** self-confidence **bandy** (All these depend on what? Self-confidence)

L1 in extract 5.14 (a) starts discussion in English about children, their education and upbringing. He argues that we should be very careful and watchful in our dealing with children because the children very readily pick up things from the environment around. He talks about the negative impact of harsh treatment and criticism on the mental growth and overall development of children. But then when he comes to the bottom line of the argument, he switches to Pashto and says *nu hagha da chi mashum ta encouragement pakar v* (So, the child needs encouragement) *dir kha tareeqy chi hagha mung pa haghy bandy pohe ku* (We should make him learn in the best possible way).

> **Extract 5.14 (a)**
>
> **L1.** if you also criticize him he will lose confidence and will do nothing at all being having that thing he will not be able to do something etc. as **nu hagha da chi mashum ta** encouragement **pakar v** (It means that children need encouragement) **dir kha tareeqy chi hagha mung pa**

haghy bandy pohe ku (We should try to make him learn in the best possible way)

Extract 5.15 (a) indicates to something important and interesting. Here, L2 narrates the story of her mother's departure and highlights that her departure has changed the life of her father. She says that when she was alive her father was happy and satisfied but as soon as her mother passed away, it has completely changed his life and created numerous problems for him. It can be observed that she begins the story in English and goes on but when comes to the focal point of the story, the departure of her mother, she switches to Pashto and states *ma da habara note kra chi senga ma ammi death oshu ma abu ta tool tension yawzay shwal* (I noted that when my mother passed away, it has created numerous problems for my father). Then, for further explanation she switches to English. Here the speaker uses CS for making important and conclusive remarks.

Extract 5.15 (a)

L2.   I have experience this thing in my own life when my mom was alive **tu** my mother was very satisfied like he had no issue regarding home and he was carefree about he was just focused on his job and he was like tension free but sir noted that **chi senga ma ammi** death **oshu ma abu ta** tool tension **yawzay shwal aow tolu masalu sar rawochat kru** (I noted that when my mother passed away, it has created numerous problems for my father)

Interview data (b)

Though the data bear a number of instances of CS for conclusive remarks but interestingly only two of the participants referred to CS for conclusive remarks in their

interviews. However, later on during their feedback on the findings draft almost all of them agreed to CS uses for conclusive remarks.

In extract 5.13 (b), L4 directly states that sometimes they codeswitch for concluding an argument. He further explains that this is done for the purpose of comprehension. This makes the students' concept clear and facilitates understanding.

> **Extract 5.13 (b)**
>
> **L4**. Sometime I have noticed that we codeswitch for concluding an argument or something long. The reason is that the students understand that thing well

In extract 5.14 (b)**,** L3 also confirms that at times they codeswitch to conclude a discussion. She elaborates that they do so to summarize a long argument. The purpose of this practice is to make the participants understand the concept well.

> **Extract 5.14 (b)**
>
> **L3**. Normally, I have also observed that we codeswitch when we try to end or conclude something which give indication to other people that we have ended but at the same it also help in clarifying things.

5.1.6   CS for explanation

The analysis shows that the lecturers and students have also made a frequent use of CS for explanation of certain ideas and important points. It has been observed that at times a particular point, issue or question is raised in one language, while for explanation the speaker moves to another language. Gulzar (2010) referred to this reason as clarification. Canangarajah (1995) also referred to CS for explanation and clarification of difficult concepts and ideas.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.16 (a) L3 states that one should maintain a balance in his/her life and then in order to explain what she meant by balance, she switches to Pashto and gives details that the students should neither study nor play all the time but balance between the two of them. Thereafter, the speaker again switches to English to conclude the argument. So, it can be stated that here the speaker codeswitches for explanation of a particular concept.

Extract 5.16 (a)

L3. every person has to keep a balance in his different activities like suppose za **da na waaim k yaw** student **da nu hagha di** just study **kavi da** (i don't say that one should study all the times) **na waim** suppose **k yaw aam kus da nu lobi di hagha kavi nu** (I don't say that one should play all the times) there should be a proper time table for each and every activities.

In extract 5.17 (a) lecturer 4 argues that if someone sends their children to a mechanical workshop, we should think about the background that there must be some important reasons which compel them to do so. Now this part is articulated in Pashto but when he turns to mention the reason, he switches to English and argues that these people lack financial resources and could not afford to send their children to school. In extract 5.16 (a), first the issue was raised in English and then followed by solution/ explanation in Pashto but here the sequence is reversed. First, the issue is raised in Pashto and then followed explanation in English. It means that the speakers have code switched for explanation in both directions.

Extract 5.17 (a)

L4.   **K sok** suppose **hpul bachay mashum kaar ta legi hum kana nu da haghy b sa** reasons **v** (If somebody is sending his children to workshops there might be certain reasons for that) there are some reasons and that is the money the government should (.) a: some strategies such strategies where they can offers some financial support to such families

In extract 5.18 (a) the speaker first states in English that we should provide children a learning environment. Thereafter in order to explain what she meant by learning environment and its effects on children, she switches to Pashto. She expands that learning environment means providing such an environment to the child which could encourage and boost his mental and physical growth enabling him to cover his mistakes and achieve his desired goals. In this way, they can contribute to their societies and families. One should not forget the fact that this is actual learning. It is the environment which plays a critical and important role in the mental growth and development of children.

Extract 5.18 (a)

L3.   this is what I talked to sir L1 that we should provide an environment rather we should provide them a learning environment dvi **ta chi mahool k da** learning activities **ve,** educated **halqu ta gori haghvi sara ye wasita ve di b chi biya** gradually **da hpul** mistake **da hagha** cover **k** (If they are provided a suitable environment, they will slowly and gradually cover their mistakes) as you that man learns from their mistakes and experiences which i think is better

Interview data (b)

The lecturers and students in their semi-structured interviews have also endorsed CS for explanation of certain concepts. They explain that sometimes they codeswitch in the class for explanation of difficult concepts.

In extract 5.16 (b), L2 argues that sometimes they codeswitch to another language for explanation of certain ideas and concepts. She further adds that at times they get stuck at a point in a language and could not find suitable words for explanation of a concept or idea, in such cases they codeswitch to another language. The speaker elaborates that it can be any language/direction, from Pashto to English or English to Pashto but most that it is more common from English to Pashto.

Extract 5.16 (b)

L2. I try to explain that concept by switching to another language like Pashto or Urdu and even sometime in English. Sometime you get stuck in one language, therefore for explanation you turn to another language. Like many times i say something in English which i feel could not be explained well in English and this may be due to cultural orientation. Therefore, i switch to Pashto.

SM3 in extract 5.17 (b) not only confirms CS for explanation but also comments at length on its main objective and purpose. He argues that they CS to explain certain concepts and to facilitate understanding between students and teachers. He further adds that sometimes they codeswitch to another language because they feel more comfortable to explain a specific idea in that language. Here, SM3 refers to the fact that they have a natural attachment with their native language which make them to use it at times.

Extract 5.17 (b)

SM3. We also codeswitch for explanation. It can also be noticed that we quite often say something in English and then we explain it in Pashto. Our purpose is to explain ideas well, to understand clarify things to students and sometime we feel better to use Pashto for explanation

SF7 in extract 5.18 (b), echoes SM3 by stating that they codeswitch to Pashto for explanation of difficult ideas and concepts, which facilitates understanding and communication between the speaker and the audience.

Extract 5.18 (b)

SF7. Codeswitch is a good thing. When we have difficult concepts in English we codeswitch to Pashto to make it easy for us and other.

CS for explanation have also been reported by a number of other studies conducted in different parts of the world (Cahyani et al., 2016; Canangarajah, 1995; Chughtai et al., 2016; Msimanga et al., 2017; Nukuto, 2017). However, it is to be noted that in most of the studies, the direction of CS for explanation purposes happened to be from English to native languages but in the current study, the speakers use CS for explanation purpose in either direction: English to Pashto and Pashto to English.

5.1.7 CS for translation

It has also been observed that the participants change language for the purpose to translate certain ideas into their native language. This is a recurrent practice in the classroom that the students and teachers often do for clarity of concepts and ideas. Gulzar (2010) also endorsed CS uses for translation purposes.

Interactive data (a)

In extract 5.19 (a) L1 tries to explain the content of an English poem by translating it from English to Pashto. The translation is made mostly at word and sentence levels. The lecturer translates the poem line by line and in-between explains the meaning of difficult words. He begins as *(.) something else as started up not yet* and then translates it into Pashto **dalta ta teek Na ye dalta saftey nishta** *(You are not safe here)*. Then, he translates the meaning of a phrase *follow me* into Pashto **ma pasy raza** *(Follow me)*. In this way, the process goes on till the end. The purpose of translation in this context is to develop the vocabulary of the students and facilitate content transmission.

Extract 5.19 (a)

L1. (.) Something else as started up not yet **dalta ta teek Na ye dalta saftey nishta** (You are not safe here) follow me **ma Pasay raza** (follow me) child is used for those people whom we are loyal metaphoric and symbolic child **ye Warta waly use karay da Na chi da mashum da** (Here child is used symbolically)

The analysis of extract 5.20 (a) indicates that L1 codeswitches for the purpose to translate the content from English to Pashto at word and phrase levels. First, he explains the meaning of English words *unfrequented* and then turns to *silent ways* in Pashto. Here, the purpose of translation is to make the students' concepts clear as well as to increase their vocabulary.

Extract 5.20 (a)

L1. **pohe shve os kana** (not frequented means deserted) infrequented **chi sok pe na di raghaly laka dir pa halq tug ratug pa haghay zay na ye da paky pa yaw** (Since a long time ago nobody has used

this track) silent **laar bandy zee** main **k khu na alta hagha halq da** (As there were people on the main path so they took a side track) **(.)**

In extract 5.21 (a), L1 translates the English verses into Pashto at sentence level. First, he recites the sentence in English and then translates it into Pashto and in the process also explains the meaning of words such as *landlord, castle* and *fortress*. It can be noted here that L1 translates here not only for comprehension purposes but for vocabulary development as well.

Extract 5.21 (a)

L1. **kha (ok)** in which can be leash be leash **matlub da (means)** that be thy lord protected from all these signs **ka ta** landlord **shvey matlub da chi ta maaldar shve** (If you are a landlord, you are a rich man) energy **takay raghala** (You become energetic) you are become a castle in yourself ta castle **shve ta sa shve ta** fortress **shve** fortress **pejany** (You become fortress .You know fortress?)

Interview data (b)

In the interviews both the lecturers and students endorse codeswitching for translation purposes as well. SM1 in extract 5.19 (b) not only confirms CS for translation but also talks about its purpose that they do translation for clarity of concepts.

Extract 5.19 (b)

SM1. Lastly, sometime we codeswitch for translation. We try to translation ideas from English to our mother language.Because we feel there are culture differences

SF9 in extract 5.20 (a) first endorses CS for translation and then focuses the cultural aspect. She elaborates that certain concepts are culturally specific and it needs to be acculturated in the native culture of the students. In other words, you have to compare and contrast it with similar concepts in the native culture for which you have to translate not only the outer fabric but the spirit of the content too.

Extract 5.20 (a)

SF9. sometime we codeswitch for translation various cultural concepts are not common and we need to acculturate and for this purpose we do translation.

In extract 5.21 (a**)** SM5 refers to a very interesting reason for translation from English to Pashto. He argues that sometimes the speaker translates a particular concept from one language to another to help the less-sharp students for getting the idea explained to them in both the languages. Here, the purpose of translation is to make the concept clear to the student.

Extract 5.21 (a)

SM5. we also codeswitch for translation with the objective that the slow students may get an opportunity to listen to explanation of some concepts in both the languages.

In short, the use of CS for translation purposes is supported by both the interactive practices and interviews of the participants. The analysis shows that at micro level, the students and lecturers do translation for vocabulary development, concept clarity, accommodation of less-sharp students and finally giving additional knowledge, which at the macro level could be linked to communicative purposes.

5.1.8 CS for expression of emotions/feelings

The analysis of the data reveals that at times the interactants have also used CS for expression of emotions like, excitement, anger and personal attachment. This is done mostly by codeswitching from English to Pashto/native language. The reason is that they have emotional, ethnic and cultural attachment with their language and so they feel a kind of comfort and sense of owness to turn to their native language for expression of emotions. This clearly takes us to the socio-psychological aspect of the speakers.

Interactional data (a)

Lecturer 4 earlier snubbed lecturer 1 for always talking on serious issues and said that we should discuss something light and non-serious. This makes lecturer 1 angry and displeased. Consequently, when lecturer 4 in extract 5.22 (a) asks him *lets us continue*, he codeswitches to Pashto and as a protest in a very direct manner gives expression to his displeasure *sa continue* (What should be continued?). In the next line, when lecturer 3 interferes and states *lets turn to the discussion*, he responds again in a harsh way in Pashto *nu ma khu awal complete kray ka nu* (let me be finished first). It can be observed that lecturer1 throughout the interaction mostly stick to English and remained very formal but at certain points just as the one quoted below (when he got angry), he codeswitches to Pashto. So, it can be stated that here the speaker codeswitches to Pashto to give an outlet to his pent-up emotions.

Extract 5.22 (a)

L4.   lets us continue

L1.   **sa** continue (What should we continue?) **taso** topic **wahly mung   ba pe kao darta** (You should select a topic and we will discuss it)

T3.   **da** discussion **rawan da** (The discussion continues)

T1.   **nu ma khu awal** complete **kray ka nu** (let me finish first)

Subsequently, in extract 5.23 (a) lecturer 3, begins in English and discusses the role of mother in shaping the personality of child but then when she turns to her own mother as she was no more in this world, she gets a bit emotional and codeswitches to Pashto for the expression of her emotions and feelings *zaka chi ma ami mata khooli di laka* (My mother was a great she taught me a lot) *suppose chi za waim za zikar kom ebadat kom nu da mu haghy na zda karee di moor munta da tareeqa khudalay da* (Today, whatever I am all this is due to my mother). Here, the speaker codeswitches to Pashto for expression of her personal emotions.

Extract 5.23 (a)

L3.   I give credit to my mother **zaka chi ma ami mata khooli di laka** (My mother was a great she taught me a lot) suppose **chi za waim za zikar kom ebadat kom nu da mu haghy na zda karee di moor muntada tareeqa khudalay da** (Today if I am decent and doing worship all these things are due to my mother)

Yet another illustration of using native language for emotional expression can be observed in extract 5.24 (a). L3 appreciates her mother for teaching and training her to be a good and noble person. She elaborates that now she tries to inculcate the same moral values to her nieces and nephews. She feels very excited when she talks about her role in teaching them the concept of God, she suddenly switches to Pashto *i am very proud chi di ta da Allah pak concept hum ma warkary* (I feel proud to say that i have given them the concept of God) *da kur k chi suna mashuman di haghavi ta tolu na awal ma waili di chi Allah* (Its me who has told the kids in our home that God is the ultimate reality). It can be observed that here again the speaker codeswitches to Pashto for showing her excitement and feelings.

Extract 5.24 (a)

L3.   and slowly and gradually they are having and i am very proud **chi di ta da Allah pak** concept **hum ma warkary** (I feel proud to say that i have given them the concept of God) **da kur k chi suna mashuman di haghavi ta tolu na awal ma waili di chi Allah** (Its me who has told the kids in our home that God is the ultimate reality)

Interview data (b)

The lecturers and students in their interviews also refer to the use of CS (English to Pashto) for emotional expressions. They explain that in most of the cases when they get emotional they turn to Pashto. This is due to the fact that they find a kind of relief and consolation when they express their emotions in Pashto as they have emotional and cultural attachment with their native language.

L1 in extract 5.22(b) clarifies that he codeswitches to Pashto for expressions of emotions because he gets a kind of psychological relief and satisfaction when he expresses his feelings and emotions in Pashto.

Extract 5.22 (b)

L1. When I get emotional, I turn to my Pashto. Because i feel relief and receiving satisfaction when i speak in Pashto.

L2 in extract 5.23 (b) argues that we have developed the habit of giving an outlet to our feelings and emotions in Pashto. She elaborates that since childhood they have been accustomed to laughing and weeping in Pashto and now they cannot help it. They have both external and internal psychological attachment with their native language, which make them to use it for expression of their feelings and emotions.

Extract 5.23 (b)

L2.   One thing more, i feel that since childhood we weep and laugh in Pashto so now it become an internal part of our nature that we codeswitch to Pashto when we angry, or sad. English in this sense seem to me artificial. Though now we are also getting used to English as well.

In extract 5.24 (b), SF3 raises very interesting point. She expounds that every culture has a specific way for expression of feelings such as joy, anger and sorrow, which could not be properly expressed in any other language. It is for this reason; we turn to Pashto for expression of emotions and feelings.

Extract 5.24 (b)

SF3.   For expression of feelings we shift to Pashto. Because every culture has its own particular way of expressing feelings therefore feelings in Pashto society can be express in original in Pashto

The analysis of interactive data, interviews and the feedbacks of the participants endorse that the lecturers and students have made a frequent use of Pashto for expression of feelings and emotions which could be linked to their socio-psychological considerations.

5.1.9   CS for quotations

The analysis reveals that the lecturers and students have also codeswitched for quotation. Sometimes, the interactants in order to refer to a particular idea/statement, made on a particular occasion, repeat the exact words of the speaker for different purposes. In most of the cases, the speakers resort to quotation for adding an air of accuracy to their arguments and views. At times, a quotation is also used for creating a

particular communicative effect. However, in either case, the motivation behind using a quotation is communicative.

Interactional data (a)

L4, in extract 5.25 (a) talks about his friend who was too much enthusiastic to learn and talk in English everywhere. As he used to talk in English with everybody around, therefore, the people perceived him differently. They thought that he tried to outsmart them by talking to them in English irrespective of time and place. L4, while referring to the comments of one of his friend about him, switches from English to Pashto and exactly repeats his words *sa da zaan na ye mashroot jurkaray aow angreezi waye da zaan khaye* (He tried to be smart and that is why he speaks English everywhere). This is an illustration of a quotation, expressed by the speaker to support the accuracy of his narration.

> **Extract 5.25 (a)**
>
> **L4.**   He says **sa da zaan na ye mashroot jurkaray aow angreezi waye da zaan khaye** (He tried to be smart and that is why speaking English everywhere) all these things and even that they just a: (.) just sort mistakes in his language

Similarly, in extract 5.26 (a) lecturer 3 discusses her associations with her nephew. She refers to an interaction that took place between her and her nephew back in the past. She begins in English and then when she reaches to her own part in the interaction, she code switches to Pashto and quotes exactly what she said on that occasion *raza chi mung yaw* barricade *jur kru teek da (*Ok, let us make a barricade) *like he was confused I could tell him raza chi da hagha chi choki I think chowki warta waye sir jur kru* (Let us make something which is named as check point/post).

Extract 5.26 (a)

L3. so last time when I went to my home i asked my nephew to let you can say **raza chi mung yaw** barricade **jur kru teek da** (Ok, let us make a barricade) like he was confused i could tell him **raza chi da hagha chi choki** I think **chowki warta waye** sir **jur kru kom chi** (Let us make I think it is named as check point/post sir)

Yet another example of quoting the exact words of the speaker can be observed in extract 5.27 (a). SF5 talks about visionary and great people who can see things beyond its existence. She refers to her father and quotes his exact statement *zama khabara ba datayad shi khu za ba na* **yum** (One day, you will understand the logic behind what I am saying but then I would be no more here in this world) *so parents are more spiritual*. The analysis shows that she quotes her father to enhance the validity and weight of her stance that parents and elderly people have great wisdom.

Extract 5.27 (a)

SF5. **spiritually hagha great ve nu hagha kataly shi nu wu veeni ba aow na ve nu** there shall be no (Great people can see things beyond its existence) my father says "**zama khabara ba darta yad shi khu za ba na** yum" (You will remember my statement but then i would be no more in this world) so parents are more spiritual

The lectures and students did not refer to CS for quotation in their semi-structured interviews. However, later when the findings were shared with them for confirmation and feedback, all of them agreed and endorsed CS for quotation. They agreed that sometimes they also codeswitch to quote something.

CS for topic change

The analysis shows that CS has also been used as a discourse strategy for topic change. Both the lecturers and students have used CS for changing topic on certain occasions. Interestingly, this has been done in both the languages. If the discussion was in English, then Pashto was used for changing topic and if they were discussing something in Pashto then English was opted for the same purpose.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 5.28 (a) lecturer 1 begins in English and talks about the role of practice in language learning. Meanwhile, lecturer 4 intervenes and in order to change the topic codeswitches to Pashto, *L1 saib staso mashuman shta* (L1 do you have children?). L1 responds that yes, he has got a cousin who accompanies him most of the time wherever he goes. Thus, the topic changes from language leaning to children and their behaviours.

> **Extract 5.28 (a)**
>
> **L1**.   I exchanged ideas about greed about rewards then he came about what is rewards what is greed how he should express or develop his story successfully we should be given some practical a: examples and we should talk with them on daily basis so they will be fluent bilingual speakers=
>
> **L4.**   =L1 **saib staso mashuman shta** (L1 do you have kids?)
>
> **L1.**   yes i have little cousin when i go home he is waiting passionately **hagha za zaan sara bozum hagha** (He stays most of the time with me)

Similarly, in extract 5.29 (a) L3 comments that male uses handkerchief while female mostly uses tissue papers for cleaning purposes. She gives examples of her father and brother and continues her talk in Pashto. Meanwhile, L1 interrupts and starts talking in

English about the economy. So, CS is again used for changing topic but the sequence of languages is reversed here. The speaker instead of Pashto turns to English for changing topic.

Extract 5.29 (a)

L3. sir handkerchief female **na** use **kavi bus** males **ye use kavi kana** (Mostly males use handkerchiefs but female used tissue paper) **abu aow** brother me use **kavi ma charay hum**= (My father and brother use handkerchief but I never used it)

L1. =economy plays a backbone role in the progress of a country the economy of our country is going down mostly the people sent remittance that most of the people they are living abroad and they send much money which we have seen that the people are shaping the building in an innovative ways

In extract 5.30 (a) the lecturers discuss lassi (yogurt) and its utility particularly in summer. The discussion about lassi continues in Pashto. Meanwhile, L1 interferes and starts talking in English about dress. So, here once again CS is used for changing topic from *lassi* to dress.

Extract 5.30 (a)

L3. **sir zma hpala lassi khwakha na v sir mung kor k dir zabardasta juregi** (Although we make yogurt at home but I have not taken lassi so far) **khu sir mata na yadegi chi ma charta skali ve**= (I don't remember that I have ever taken lassi)

L4. **da awal na da ghalti shavay da** (You have taken it that's why you don't like it) (laughing)

L1. what about the dress that u usually wear this summer because usually dress is the change of passion change of time

Although the lecturers and students in their interviews did not talk about CS for topic change but they did confirm it when the findings were shared with them. Numerous other studies have also reported the use of CS for topic change (Auer, 1984; Gulzar, 2010; Martin-Jones, 2003).

In short, the findings revealed that the codeswitching practices of lecturers and students are motivated by particular micro functions and reasons. These include CS for emphasis and clarity, social status, solidarity, explanation, conclusive remarks, translation, expression of emotions, to quote and for topic change. In addition, most of the times, the speakers codeswitched unconsciously in a highly diverse manner, which at times made it quite difficult to determine its micro reasons in that specific context. In fact, unconscious or habitual CS is an important reason in itself. As a result, habitual CS is listed as a reason for CS in itself which at the macro level could be attributed to the speakers' socialisation in a bi-multilingual environment.

The local, social and even global context of the interactive practices showed that these micro reasons are linked with macro socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative considerations. In fact, these macro social and global factors are working within the interactions of the lecturers and students and to a greater extent govern their language choices. In this way, it can be stated that the micro interactive practices serve as window to the broader social world of the speakers.

5.2 Discussion

The findings show that CS in the interactive practices of the lecturers and students are triggered by socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative factors and forces.

Among them, the socio-cultural motivations remained the most dominant ones. Taking it broadly, CS in itself is a socio-cultural phenomenon which is commonly observed in bi-multilingual communities and Pakistan being a multilingual country is no exception to the fact. In the current study, the lecturers and students consciously and unconsciously have made a diverse use of CS in their interactive practices. One of the main reasons for their dominant and varied use of CS, more specifically unconscious CS, can be the fact that they are brought up in a multilingual setting where they exposed to two main languages (Pashto and English) in their daily business of life, which led to the development of habitual or unconscious CS in their interactive practices.

The current data is replete with examples of numerous unconscious CS. There seems to be no conscious effort on the part of the speakers rather they do so in a fluent and natural manner. The speakers freely back and forth in both directions: Pashto to English and English to Pashto. Kharkhurin and Wei (2014) endorse the same point that the habitual code switchers alternate between languages in a creative, free and dynamic manners. This dynamic and fluid alternation of languages takes us close to TL as well, because in TL the speakers use their linguistic repertoire in a dynamic and free manner. Otheguy et al. (2015) define TL as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (p.281). In the same vein, in the current context of habitual CS, the speakers did not care about the specific domain or status of a language, but whatever came to them in whatever language they just uttered it.

In the current study, in addition to Pashto and English, the data also contain occasional stretches/words from Urdu but these are very limited. Besides, the lecturers and students have also confirmed in their interviews that they are multilinguals, speaking three

languages. In other words, their linguistic repertoire comprises three languages and the speakers have given it a free expression, which is in line with TL. In the current study, CS has been approached from a multilingual perspective guided by MacSwan (2017). The study does support TL but with certain reservations regarding their absolute disregard for named languages and their underlying linguistic model "Unitary linguistic model". I agreed with TL proponents that languages are mostly named and created on political basis. But I do believe that in addition to the political component, in certain languages there do exist some structural and social differences which necessitate naming these languages separately. Moreover, their concept of unitary undifferentiated linguistic model is problematic as it leaves no space for linguistic/structural variations and as a result offers no sufficient empirical explanation for linguistic variations/differences exist between certain languages. Therefore, I believe that the multilingual perspective on multilingual practices seem to be more practical which could withstand empirical and critical investigations and can be justified. MacSwan (2017) has come up with an "Integrated linguistic model" which accounts for differences as well as similarities exist in the linguistic structures of various languages. Unlike the strong version of TL (Garcia & Lin, 2017), which out rightly rejects multilingualism, speech communities, codeswitching, native language and other social constructs, the current approach not only accommodates all these concepts and practices but brings CS and TL close to each other.

Moreover, the unconscious bi-directional CS also poses challenge to all those who take CS to be a negative practice resulted from the lack of proficiency on the part of the speakers (Abdolaziz & Shahla, 2015; Gulzar, 2010; Khan, 2014; Raja, 2014). Because here the speakers codeswitch not only in the direction from English to Pashto but mostly from Pashto to English. The question of lacking proficiency makes sense when CS is one directional, target to native language but what about CS from native to target

language. In addition, the lecturers and students showed high diversity at the Intra CS level, which is also indicative of their high level of bilingual proficiencies (Mabule, 2015; Poplack, 1980). So, in this way, in the current context CS instead of affecting the proficiencies of the speakers enhanced their communicative potential. Therefore, it can be stated that when the speakers are allowed to use their linguistic repertoires freely, it adds to their understanding and strengthen their grip on both the languages.

This means that there exists something else than language proficiency which make the speakers to codeswitch in a fluent and free manner. One of the possible reasons for habitual CS may be the participants' socialization in a multilingual environment. Because the speakers are brought up and live in a multilingual setting, where along with Urdu which is used off and on, Pashto and English are dominantly used in their routine business. Therefore, the multilingual background of the speakers could be one of the main and important reasons, which lead to the emergence of habitual CS in their interactive practices. In other words, the study very clearly reflects the broader socio-cultural background of the speakers. As English has been introduced into sub-continent three and half centuries back, since then it has strongly dented the local language, culture and ways of livings. This is true not only in the case of Pakistan and India, but English has impacted the local and social cultures of many other countries of the world. A number of studies conducted across the world have reported the same kind of situations and support the findings of the current study on the same point (Kharkhurin & Wei, 2014; Schieffelin & Oches, 1986; Song, 2016; Wang, 2017).

For instance, Schieffelin and Oches (1986) argued that the speakers' exposure and participation in multilingual practices enable them to develop the tacit knowledge of social order, beliefs and practices, which are then reflected implicitly or explicitly in their beliefs, behaviours and practices. Similarly, Song (2016) showed that the home

languages and ideologies that the child imbibed and developed through socialization are reflected in his interactive practices. Likewise, Wang (2017) reported that the child socialization in a bilingual environment led to the emergence of unconscious CS in his interactive practices. In the same way, Kharkhurin and Wei (2014) showed that the more a speaker is exposed to the interactive practices, the better, fluent and creative he will be in his/her communitive competence. In other words, if the speaker is socialized in an active multilingual environment, he is likely to develop CS habitually and unconsciously, which will make him capable to play with his linguistic repertoire in new and innovative ways. Therefore, the fluid and highly diverse codeswitching practices of the lecturers and students could be attributed to their socialization in a dynamic multilingual environment. So, it can be stated that the interactive practices of the speakers reflect the local, social and global ideologies.

In addition to unconscious CS, the participants have also made a deliberate use of CS for social status and socio-economic considerations. This again takes us to the bigger picture, the status of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. In Pakistan, English is the medium of instruction in most of the educational institutes and at the same time official language use in offices for official correspondence. Due to its high demand in job market and its association with the upper elite class, it is generally considered to be a language of elite class, symbol of prestige and economic prosperity. A number of other studies support the stand of the current study on the status of English in Pakistan (Ammar et al., 2015; Mahboob, 2017; Manan et al., 2015; Rahman, 2010; Raja, 2014). In fact, not only in Pakistan but in most of the countries of the world, English is considered to be a prestigious language, having high social status and economic value (Achugar, 2009; Henry & Goddard, 2015). So, in view of this, the lecturers and students codeswitching from Pashto to English for social status are motivated by macro social and global forces and ideologies.

Besides, it has also been noted that at times lecturers and students code switched for communicative and socio-psychological reasons. The communicative potential of CS can be fully exploited only if one has the ability to engage in both the languages. It gives him an additional resource to utilize whenever he likes. In this sense, the bi-multilingual speaker is better placed and at an advantageous position than a monolingual. As a result, CS is a positive communicative resource at the disposal of the teachers and students. A number of studies reported that the teachers and students codeswitched for pedagogic and communicative purposes (Cahyani et al., 2016; Chang, 2010; Gulzar, 2010; Ma, 2016; Nukuto, 2017). For instance, Chang (2010) examined the functions and reasons for teachers' codeswitching at school level in Korea and showed that the teachers code switched for pedagogic and communicative reasons. Similarly, Nukuto (2017) explored the functions of codeswitching in the interactive practices of teachers and students in Japan and showed that they codeswitched for pedagogic and communicative purposes. Likewise, Ma (2016) investigated the functions and purposes of teachers' and students' CS in the classroom at school level in Australia and reported that they codeswitched for pedagogical and communicative purposes. In the same way, Cahyani et al. (2016) reported in Indonesian context that the teachers codeswitched to achieve different pedagogic and communicative goals. So, in this way, the findings of the current study on CS for communicative purposes are in line with other studies conducted in various countries of the world.

Moreover, the findings also revealed that the lecturers and students codeswitched from English to Pashto for solidarity and community membership purposes, which could be linked to their socio-cultural and socio-psychological background. Speaking broadly, all the human beings have a natural attachment with their communities and cultures. They have been brought up in a culture and environment, which shaped their minds and moulded their behaviours, so it is natural that they will be oriented to their native

language and culture and all these aspects will be reflected in their interactive practices in one way or the other. One naturally feels a kind of satisfaction to use his native language which gives him a feeling of ease and comfort. This can also be gauged from the fact that whenever a person gets emotional, in most of the cases, he turns to his native language for unpacking his personal and intimate pent up feelings and emotions. Harris et al. (2006) endorse the same point that speakers have great attachment with their L1 which is shown by the fact that mostly the speakers resort to L1 for expression of their personal feelings and emotions. In other words, CS towards native language, on certain occasions consciously or unconsciously is used by the speakers for showing their attachments, love, ethnic bend, and solidarity with their communities. A growing number of studies have shown that the participants codeswitch to their native language on account of their attachment with their community (Amorim, 2012; Bashir & Naveed, 2015; Bosch & Mullins, 2012; Khokhar et al., 2016; Makalela, 2014; Probyn, 2009; Sophocleous & Themistocleous, 2014). For example, Amorim (2012) reported that the participants codeswitched to their native language for solidarity purposes, showing attachment with their culture and community. In the same way, Bashir and Naveed (2015) showed that the speakers codeswitched to their native language due to their attachment with their culture and community. Likewise, the same ethnic and community attachment is evident in both Bosch and Mullins (2012) and Probyn (2009). In short, the lecturers and students' orientations towards their native language, culture and community are natural and consistent with other studies conducted in different regions and settings. In short, CS practices of the lecturers and students are motivated by certain micro reasons, which are guided by socio-cultural, socio-psychological, communicative and global factors and forces.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: CS AND IDENTITY

This chapter is divided into two main sections: findings and discussion. In the findings section, the main findings are explained and illustrated with the help of extracts taken from both interactive and interviews data. While in the discussion section, the findings are discussed at length.

6.1   Findings

In order to answer question 3 (*How do the lecturers and students use CS to reflect their identities?*), first data was thoroughly studied and orthographically transcribed informed by Roger and McLellan (2013). Then an observational analysis informed by the insight gained in the interviews and Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2008) were carried out. It is to be noted here that instead of Bucholtz and Hall (2008) three-pronged identity (local, interactional and social) categorisations, in the current study the interactional and local categories have been merged into micro and the social as usual into macro ones. Thus, the study has two main categories of identities: micro and macro (see 3.5 for details). The micro identities actually mean identities resulting from the immediate context of interactions, while macro identities are the broader socio-cultural identities such as ethnicity, elite class and hybrid identities. In a way, the micro world of interaction takes us to the broader social world. Moreover, it is also worthy to mention that as in the current study, the number of participants were 26 which made it difficult to discuss them individually, therefore their identity orientations have been classified into three main macro categories: ethnic, elite class and bilingual hybrid identities, which were then elaborated accordingly. For illustration of each category, five extracts each from the interactive data marked as (a) and semi-structured interviews marked as (b) have been selected and discussed. The findings are summarised in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Summary of findings

Language	Micro attributes or identities	Interactive data	Macro identities
English to Pashto	Informal, light mode (friend, Joker/humorous)	29	Ethnic Identity /social-cultural identity
	Personal family matters (daughter, sister, father, elder, husband)	20	
	Past (narrator)	14	
	cultural matters, community membership (member of community)	35	
	to show, happiness, anger, grief (emotional)	11	
Pashto to English	Formal, to appear educated, to appear learned person (teacher, student, scholar, critic,)	47	Elite class identity / socio-cultural
	Assuming upper class membership (arrogant, indifferent, leader, open, unbiased)	54	
Bi-directional	Unconscious or habitual (mixed)	161	Hybrid bilingual identity/ socio-cultural/socio-psychological

6.1.1   Ethnic identity

In this category, instances of data where the lecturers and students codeswitch to Pashto for showing different identity related attributes, such as, to be informal, to discuss personal matters, narrating something from the past, saying something humorous, indicating community membership and discussing something cultural, are included. These attributes are indexed through various local identity positions such as acting as friend, narrator, father, sister, elder, daughter, younger, entertainer/joker and acting as member of the community concerned. All these attributes and identity positions are linked with ethnic and socio-cultural background of the lecturers and students, which are duly endorsed in their interviews and then later on further substantiated by them through their feedbacks on the findings of the study.

Interactional data (a)

Lecturer 3 in extract 6.1 (a) discusses the relation between environment and children's health. He begins his argument in English and states that physically the children are

used to the temperature and environment of their homes and communities. On account of this, when they are displaced and dislocated temporarily from their homes, it affects their health negatively. Thereafter, in order to elaborate and consolidate his argument, the lecturer switches to Pashto and gives examples of his little cousins. Acting as narrator and elder of his family, he expounds that some of his little cousins live in Peshawar and Australia and when they come to his village, they get colds and fevers. While his other cousins, who are brought up and live in the same village remain normal. This shows that the guests' cousins physically get dislocated, which affects their health negatively.

A close look at extract 6.1 (a) reveals that initially when L1 talks about the weather and children in general, he sticks to English but when he turns to his own family, he suddenly switches to Pashto. It can be stated that at micro level, when he assumes the role of health expert, he opts for English. But when he turns to his own family to discuss something personal acting as narrator and elder, he codeswitches from English to Pashto. Now the uses of English for formal issues and native language for informal personal matters have special social significance. The use of Pashto for personal matters shows the speaker's attachment with his culture and community. It is not just a simple matter of language change but an issue of socio-cultural implications, unfolding the socio-cultural background of the speaker. In a way, the macro social forces working within the interactive behaviours and practices of the speakers guiding them in specific directions. Thus, it can be stated that micro positions of the speakers are connected with their macro identity orientations. This is a recurrent practice in the data shown by other participants of the study as well. The same is endorsed by the speakers in their interviews and feedbacks as well.

Extract 6.1 (a)

L3. child get used to this environment and then it has no effect on them **habara sa dasy da kana chi zamunga hum sa** cousin **di sa pa kalee sa pa peshawar ke osegi aow sa austrailia ke di alta osegi** (I have cousins who are living in Peshawar and Australia**) nu chi dalta rashi bemar shi** (When they come here, they get colds or a fever) **khu chi kom mashuman pa di naalu ki lvi shi nu da di** immunity develop **shi aow pa haghvi asar na kavi** (But my local cousins are used to the village environment and this has no effect on them) so this is natural and happens everywhere

SF4 in extract 6.2 (a) while referring to the complaint of the students begins in English in a formal manner and states that in poetry they are very slow and would not be able to finish the course in time. Therefore, she suggests that they should take some extra classes to cover the deficiency. Here, it can be noted that the speaker uses pronoun "they" and did not identify herself with the group who registered complaint against the lecturer. But then in order to identify herself with the group (in slow speed) she switches to Pashto by using the word "mung" (we) *matlub* **chi mung poetry k ruto rawan you** *(All agreed that we are slow in poetry)* **nu mungta di dapara sa** extra classes **pakara di chi hagha** balance **shi da noru** subject **sara** (We need to take extra classes so that we may balance it). In addition, it can also be observed that when SF4 talks about the reason and cause of incompletion of course, she assumes an air of a critic and leader. But when she turns to the students who suffered, she switches to Pashto and expresses solidarity with them. SM2 responds her in the same language, indexing agreement that it depends on our CR to arrange extra classes for us. Here, it is clearly perceptible that the student in order to position herself as member of the same Pashtun community turns to Pashto, which is consolidated by SM2 who converges and responds her in the same

language. Thus, at micro level the students codeswitch to perform the temporary interactional roles of a critic, leader and a member of the same group. For the roles of critic and leader, the student continued with English but for in-group membership, she turned to Pashto. In the words of Bucholtz and Hall (2008) these "finer roles" are connected "to higher orders" at macro level. The students' use of English for the roles of critic and leader are indicative of the social status of English and the selection of Pashto for in-group solidarity, speaks about their social and ethnic background. In other words, the interactive practices of the speaker very clearly outline the socio-cultural factors steering their linguistic choices and identities.

Extract 6.2 (a)

SF4.   all the students complaint that in poetry they are slow and should have extra classes (.) **matlub chi mung poetry k ruto rawan you** (All agreed that we are slow in poetry) **nu mungta di dapara sa** extra classes **pakara di chi hagha** balance **shi da noru** subject **sara** (We need to take extra classes so that we may balance it)

SM2.   da **khu zamung pa cr aow gr bandy** defend **kavi zaka chi tur oosa pory gr aow cr sa** extra classes **aghashty shavi di** (It depends on our class representative & girls' representative to take this responsibility)

In extract 6.3 (a), SF9 talks about assignment writing and presentation. She begins in English and states that she has guided the less-talented students in assignment writing. It can be observed that she acts here as a talented student and considers other students less-talented. However, when she talks about her own group, she suddenly switches to Pashto and states that when Mr. L was taking presentation in the class, they had given him a tough time. Thus, English is used here to appear different, while switching to Pashto is made to position herself as a member of the same group. She further explains

that group study is more effective than self-study. In response to SF9 suggestion, SM10 replies in Pashto and in a light friendly mood states that you people run away from group-study, whereupon the other students laugh. SF9 feels offended and turned to English to disassociate herself from the people who run away from the classes and states she never ran away. Thereafter, in order to highlight her family and ethnic background, she switches to Pashto ***mung pakhtan u takhtedul zamung pa kitab k*** *nishta* (We are Pashtuns and it's not in our book to run away). In this way, it can be noted here that the speaker uses English to distinguish herself from other students and discuss serious business. On the contrary, Pashto is used for humorous mode, in-group membership and expressions of solidarity. Here again the ethnic component in the case of Pashto is very clearly perceptible. Thus, it can be stated that the micro dimension is linked with the macro social world.

Extract 6.3 (a)

SF9 I don't agree i did my assignment well i guided the other non- talented students and tell them the way of assignment **khu chi sir L chi zamung** presentation **waghishtu nu mung dir ziat** points **pa haghay k gheer karee wo laka dasy** (not clear) (When sir A was taking presentation there emerged a number of issues) main **habara da chi halq** group study **sumra zda koly shi** presentation **na dumra halq** self-study **na nashi koly (**The main point is that one learn a lot from group study than self-study)

S10. **nu haghy k khu taso takhty** (But you run away and avoid group study) (laughing) (noise)

SF9. other people run away **mung pakhtan u takhtedul zamung pa kitab k** nishta (We are Pashtuns and it's not in our book to run away)

In extract 6.4 (a) L1 begins in English by quoting a statement that when you want to become a genius you have to do a lot of hard work. He asks SF9 to comment on this statement from the perspective of structuralists. SF9 starts in Pashto and try to link Socrates with structuralists. The lecturer diverges to English and appreciates her response. This act of the lecturer makes the student bold and feels encouraged. In the next turn, she continues in Pashto and explains that we have the same level of knowledge that the structuralists had but it is in an abstract. She further elucidates that the structuralists talk about signify and signified. Then, the lecturer turns to the student and asks in English that this is the stance of structuralists. She further proceeds in Pashto and highlights that the structuralists deny everything including epistemology, existence and even linguistics. Here, it can be noticed that the lecturer sticking to English indirectly conveys a message to the student that they are discussing an academic and serious issue. On the other hand, the student tries to break the shackles of formality by her deliberate use of Pashto reminding him that all of them shared the same ethnic and social background. This is an interesting exchange between the lecturer and student moving in the opposite directions. The teacher tries to be formal dragging the student to the formal academic world, while the student bringing round the lecturer to the informal social world. These micro interactional stances take us to social and institutional structure, where English is used for formal academic business while Pashto being a native language is reserved for informal matters. The meaning of solidarity and distance between teacher and student can only be properly unpacked when one knows about the social background of the speakers. In a way the meanings of local interactive practices reside in the broader social context. Hence, the knowledge of the broader social context is essential for unpacking the true spirit of interactive practices. Otherwise it would be difficult to reach to the depth of the issue.

Extract 6.4 (a)

L1.   genius is ninety nine percent perspiration means hard work and only one percent inspiration can you justify with the post structuralist this view point

SF9.   **S**ocrates the formentile **habara kavi** (Socrates talks about formentile)

L1.   right good

SF9.   da structuralist khu **mung hum dalta habara kao kana** structuralist **laka chi kom** knowledge **hagha mung sara hum haghumra da hagha** abstract **da** (We and the structuralists have the same abstract knowledge) **nu alta habara kae da** signify **aow** signified **habara kae** (But they talk about signify and signified)

L1.   the structuralists say this thing

SF9.   structuralist **da habara kae khu haghi** deny **karee da kana haghvi** existence **na mani** epistemology **na mani** linguistics **na mani** (The structuralists deny everything including existence, epistemology and even linguistics)

L3 in extract 6.5(a) discusses the role of mother in child's upbringing and character development. L3 starts in English and argues that mother plays an important role in child's personality development and character building. She elaborates that her mother has played a key role to make her a good decent lady. Then in order to talk and discuss the role of her mother in details, she switches to Pashto and explains that her mother taught her how to be a good human being, particularly a good Muslim. She elaborates whatever today she is; all this is due to her mother who took great pains in inculcating all these values and qualities in her personality. The first part of this extract is in English, where she acts as an expert commenting on the role of mother in the personality development of a child in general. But later, when she turns to her personal

life, particularly the discussion of her mother, she switches to Pashto. This change of language simultaneously changes her position from an expert to a daughter. As a daughter, she elucidates how her mother taught her to be a good lady. The change of language at micro level changes her role but at macro level takes us to the broader societal structure, where English and Pashto have got separate roles and statuses. English, being an MI and official language, is assumed to be used by the speakers for impersonal and formal purposes, while Pashto being a native language is expected to be used for personal and informal purposes. The speaker's use of Pashto for personal purposes is a social phenomenon which has been observed in different places and localities. The reason is that the speakers have social and cultural attachment with their native languages and they feel a kind of comfort to discuss their personal issues in their native languages. In this context, the speaker codeswitching from English to Pashto underlies her ethnic and social identity orientations.

Extract 6.5 (a)

L3.   yes sir mother plays a very important role in his her children personality ibelieve if a person call me as good person and if a person perceive my personality as good one I give credit to my mother **zaka chi ma ami mata khooli di laka (**My mother taught me lots of thing) suppose **chi za waim za zikar kom ebadat kom nu da mu haghy na zda karee di moor munta da tareeqa khudalay da** (Today if I am noble and praying all these things are due to my mother)

The analysis of the codeswitching practices of lecturers and students showed that they have used CS (English to Pashto) to project particular micro identity positions/attributes which are directly linked with their social and ethnic background. In a way, the micro identities of the speakers are guided by their broader socio-cultural considerations. This

means that one cannot properly understand the micro social world of speaker without taking into consideration the macro social realities. For an in-depth exploration of the micro interactive practices of the speakers, the knowledge of the broader social context is essential. The lecturers and the students in their interviews endorsed the same fact and explained that they codeswitch from English to Pashto on account of their ethnic and social attachment with their community.

Interview data (b)

During the interview when the lecturers and students were asked about the reason for codeswitching and the link between codeswitching, culture and identity most of them in addition to other reasons also referred to solidarity as one of the major reasons which make them to codeswitch from English to Pashto. They explained that they turn to Pashto to project their ethnic and social identities.

In extract 6.1 (b), S1 explains in detail that CS and culture are inseparable. He elaborates that they codeswitch to native language to show their love and attachment with their culture. Here he gets emotional and asserts that he is going to use his native language across the globe and would never feel shy to turn to it. Here, the focus is on the broader social dimension and the speaker is clearly oriented toward his ethnic and social identity.

Extract 6.I (b)

SM1. well there is a deep relation codeswitching and culture because normally when we codeswitching from second language to our native language it shows the prestige of our culture being a pathan i codeswitch back to Pashto because i want to show my culture that yes i belong to pakhtune society i belong to pakhtune culture because i love pakhtune culture i

love second language for the sake of knowledge but it doesn't mean that i am deviating from my own culture i love culture from the core of my heart and i will codeswitch my culture at any platform or any part of the world whether it is America or British any other language whether it is english or any other language but i will codeswitch i will codeswitch to my native language because due to love of my culture i love my culture and you know i will not feel shy to codeswitch to my own language so there is a very deep relation between culture and codeswitching

In extract 6.2 (b) lecturer 4 confirms that they codeswitch to Pashto on account of their emotional and cultural attachment with Pashto. Yet again, the speaker highlights the involvement of macro broader societal factors in their codeswitching from English to Pashto. He generalises that CS to native language is a common phenomenon happening everywhere. At the end, he directly states that he uses Pashto to index his ethnic Pashtun identity.

Extract 6.2 (b)

L4.   what i think this is natural all over the world that that you a: being a teacher or being a speaker or being a learner you codeswitch to your own native language and that is what for your own cultural belonging to a certain cultural society or to the particular area. **Za pakhtun yum aow hpul** identity **dapara Pashto** use **kom** (I turn to Pashto to show my ethnic identity and heritage)

Extract 6.3 (b) highlights that lecturers and students codeswitch to Pashto for solidarity. L3 argues that everyone has a natural attachment with his culture and as language being a part of culture; therefore, the speakers are oriented to their native language. The same

is the case with Pashto language and Pashto speakers. They feel comfortable speaking in Pashto. She also talks about the nationalist fervour of the Pashtuns and elaborates that the Pashtuns are nationalists and proud of their culture and language. Consequently, they codeswitch from English to Pashto on account of their ethnic and social attachment with their culture and community.

Extract 6.3 (b)

L3. obviously CS has cultural effects and i just mentioned the person living in culture feel proud and he feels easy and proud of his culture. As far as our own society is concerned they are far very nationalist in their behaviours and they are asked to talk in English or Urdu they do not feel comfortable and they proudly like to speak in Pashto they do not care what impression the other get. They prefer to use Pashto for discussing personal matters, something related to their past, culture or humorous.

In extract 6.4 (b), SF22 expounds in-depth that they codeswitch to their native language on account of their attachment with their culture and community. She elaborates that they have been brought up in a multilingual setting, which naturally gets reflection in their interactive practices in the form of CS. She directly states that they codeswitch to Pashto for indexing their community membership and expression of solidarity.

Extract 6.4 (b)

SF22. there are many reasons and these reasons can be divided into three categories the broader reasons in which your brought up is included your family background is included and social structure, our society is multilingual and there are many languages so the change of languages occur, we also do it for solidarity to show unity.

Finally, in extract 6.5 (b), SF4 highlights some of the micro reasons, which makes the speakers codeswitch to their native language. These include CS for joke, humour and fun. The student explains that one enjoys funny episodes and jokes much when these are expressed in one's native language. Therefore, the speaker codeswitches to his/her native language for expression of jokes and funny matters.

Extract 6.5 (b)

SF4. **matlub chi kala yaw insan pa** mod **ke ye ya hagha laka matlub** pleasurable **dagha ke ye nu hagha** automatically **hpul** native language (When a person is in good mood then he switches to his native language) **ke agha matlub halq waye chi asy mazaq pa hpul dagha ke khwand kae khpul jaby ke** (As it is generally said that jokes and light comments are enjoyed much in one's own language) **laka ta chi pa mazaq ke** fun **dagha ke nu haghay bandy** codeswitching **pa zarya yaw**(So, we use native language for fun) **da hum shu chi kala ta pa** mode **ke ye nu** codeswitching **kave** (When you are in good mood you codeswitch to native language)

The analysis of the interactive data and the subsequent interviews confirm that the lecturers and students codeswitch from English to Pashto to project certain identity positions which are connected with their socio-cultural identities. In simple terms, codeswitching from English to Pashto very clearly established the identity orientations of the speakers towards their ethnic and socio-cultural background. In this sense, the micro identities' orientations of the participants are rooted in their socio-cultural considerations.

6.1.2 Elite class identity

In the second category, data extracts where the speakers codeswitch from Pashto to English to project their elite class identities are included and explained accordingly. The analysis shows that the lecturers and students codeswitching from Pashto to English reveal certain identity related attributes and micro identity positions. For instance, on numerous occasions, it has been noted that when they codeswitch from Pashto to English, they try to appear, formal, knowledgeable, educated, arrogant, different and member of a high social class. These micro positions take us to the socio-cultural background of the speakers. In Pakistan English is the official language and medium of instruction in educational institutes It is generally considered to be the language of elite class. Consequently, the speakers' orientations towards English symbolically represent their aspirations for upward social mobility and socio-economic prosperity. In this way, the micro interactive stances and attributes of the speakers are indexical of the macro social, political and cultural forces. Bucholtz and Hall (2008) endorse the same point that the micro interactive practices are in fact indexical of the macro political, social, cultural and historical forces. The same identity projections have also been confirmed by the lecturers and students in their semi-structured interviews.

Interactional data (a)

In extract 6.6 (a), SM17 begins in Pashto and discusses the importance of English language in Pakistan. However, as soon as he is about to finish, SM6 takes over the turn and diverges to English with an air of arrogance that he too is a student of English literature. When he finishes, SM17 realizing his air of arrogance, converges to English giving him an impression that he also belongs to the same group. Here, at micro level a sense of competitiveness establishes through the use of English. Both the participants switch to English to show their competencies in English with an air of arrogance. In a way, at macro level, the change of language in the current case is triggered by the

ideological, social and political association and position of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. In Pakistan English is associated with an educated upper class having a symbolic social value which makes the speaker orient to English.

Extract 6.6 (a)

SM17.**nur da shay chi mung ta milao shu** then **ba pa hpala alaqa k na ba pakhtu wala na urdu wala ta dasy aksar yaw neek qism hagha ye nu english**= (You might have seen that very rarely the Pashto and Urdu degrees holder get good jobs and spending a prosperous life) =

SM6. =as far as the fame of people is concerned people always trying for three things to acquire fame authority and as well as the other thing I forgotten that but i will know in that context to know learning literature to get a job to get authority is something else

SM17. here we are admit fifty students in English department everyone want to do css why css why he didn't take admission in pashto or urdu.

In extract 6.7 (a) the speakers talk about the issue of medium of instruction at school, college and university levels. SF15 begins the discussion in Pashto and argues that the main issue of our educational system is the different mediums of instructions at different levels, which create numerous problems for the students. As soon as she finishes SM6 diverges to English and in a scholarly manner states that the main issue is the division of curriculum into English and Pashto. SM7 converges with SM6 and agreed with him on the point that our curriculum is problematic. Here the choice of language clearly determines the preferences and orientations of the students. At the micro level, SM6 and SM7 being native speakers of Pashto, turn to English deliberately and assert in a proud manner that they can speak English and so, they are different from ordinary students. Here, the change from Pashto to English not only outlines the

difference of opinions but underlying the students' orientation to the broader elite class identity. The socio-economic and political status of English make the students orient to the English-speaking elite class identity.

Extract 6.7 (a)

SF15. **wo zaka chi zamung** students **ta dir ziat** problem **di** primary level **bandy pakhto ve aur haghi** middle level **bandy chi kom da hagy ta biya   urdu k shi aow** fsc level **na biya** english **k shi nu dasy** student **dir ve matlub** (.) (Due to the change of medium of instruction at different levels, the students face certain problems)

SM6. as far as the predicaments and hardship in education is concerned the first and basic problem we do have is that is our curriculum that is urdu or pashto why we are not getting into a running stage of development

SM7. The first problem he mentioned about the curriculum that a: we have some curriculum books some in Pashto some in urdu some in english but just this is not the problem for students that he should study and learn pashto books and urdu books or english books.

In extract 6.8 (a) yet again, the deliberate shift from Pashto to English can be observed in the discussion between SF4 and SF3. SF4 narrates the story of Cromwell in Pashto and explains that he has destroyed the literary and intellectual cultural heritage of his country. But afterwards when she turns to her personal view about religion and life, she switches to English. She believes that one should not involve religion in each and every matter. Religion and life should be kept separate. She agreed with Milton's Satan's revolt against God. The switching of SF4 from Pashto to English is accompanied by the shift of change in her views. Earlier, when she was talking about the Cromwell and other like-minded people who believe in the supremacy and involvement of religion in

different spheres of life, she uses Pashto. Pashto here in a way is used for people who are more inclined towards religion. Then when she turns to the enlightened class, who believes in separation of religion and life, she switches to English and identifies herself with the same class. Subsequently, the same change and symbolic value of language is reflected by SF3 as well. However, the pattern changes here. She first talks about the moderate enlightened class in English positioning herself as a member of the same class and then when moves to the common people, switches to Pashto. Hence, English is symbolically used for enlightenment and moderation, while Pashto for religious mind set. Both the speakers identify themselves with the enlightened and secular class. In a way, it can be stated that the alternation between Pashto and English refers to the differences in life style between average middle and elite English classes. Again, the orientations of the speakers towards English take us to the socio-cultural fabric of Pakistani society, where English is considered to be a symbol of modernity and prestige, while the regional languages are assumed to be used by the lower class of the society. Thus, the micro interactive practices reflect the broader social, political, historical and even to certain extent the global ideologies.

Extract 7.8 (a)

SF4. **matlub chi hagha** character **ta oguru hagha hpul hi kom cromwell wu da hagha khilaf yaw** rebel (He revolted against Cromwell) **aow hagha kha kaar wu chi hagha tool** system **kharab karay** (He did the right thing as Cromwell destroyed the whole system) we should not involve religion in everything religion and life should be separated so milton was right

SF3. yes I agree that we should not be so religious and see everything from the point of view of religion **khu di mazhub pa sar khejoly da pa har sa k mazhub aow da haghy pa waja masaly** (We have given great

importance to our religion. The religious mind set has created these problems)

In extract 6.9 (a), SM7 begins the argument in Pashto and tries to justify the resentment of the lecturer and his leaving the class as protest over the issue of students' carelessness regarding text books. SM7 argues in Pashto that the lecturer was right, and he has given us sufficient time to purchase the books but we failed to comply and so, he left the class as a protest. Interestingly, it can be noted here that the students time and again uses the word "we" in Pashto for the students. On the contrary, SM6 not only diverges by turning to English but also criticizes SM7 that even he did not have the books, whereupon SM7 converges and answers him that he has already purchased the book and complied the lecturer. SM6 divergence at the micro level not only shows his disagreement but also tries to highlight his fluency in English, which is responded in the same way by SM7 in English. In addition, the analysis also shows that the short extract not only represents two different mind sets; one is complying teacher and the other believing in resistance, but it is also indexical of the identity orientations of the speakers. Again, the social status and prestige of English feature prominently making the students to codeswitch from Pashto to English. In short, the interactive practices reflect the social background of the speakers.

Extract 6.9 (a)

SM7. two days **wrazu** class **na wo aow** yesterday class **na o aow haghay na os zamung** class **wo chi sok paky** interested **wo hagha paky** books **aghashty shu** (There wasn't any class for two days after the introduction module, so those who were interested they purchased books)

SM6. now SM7 said that those who were interested to get the books of drama so actually he does not have books as well because he has not bought

SM7. I have my own book and I went to market and bought the books for myself because teacher sir L suggest that you should buy the book

In extract 6.10 (a) the lecturer discusses very interesting situation. Lecturer 1 asks a question in English from lecturer 4, which is answered by him in Pashto. Again lecturer 1 asks a question from lecturer 4 in English and he responds him in Pashto again. The same practice continues three times. Now, here we observe that the persistence of both the lecturers with English and Pashto are deliberate and serve different identity purposes. At the micro level L1 tries to be formal while L4 reminding L1 that your native language is Pashto, so we should turn to Pashto to discuss things openly in a free manner. The micro contextual analysis shows that the differences in language choices are caused by the formality of a situation, but the macro social context takes us to the social background of the speakers. The differences in the language choices of the speakers are emblematic of the differences in their identity orientations. Lecturer 1 is oriented towards English on account of its social and global status while lecturer 4 sticks to his native language showing his love and attachment with Pashtun heritage and culture. The same is endorsed by the participants in their interviews.

Extract 6.10 (a)

L1. otherwise they are not sir your category personal (laughing)

L4. alaka zama na qalar shay (Guys dont get me involved in the issue)

L1. sir you are the only married among us any guideline for us

L4. **yaw kaar bul da** (There is another thing) farooq shah **ka ta warla suit rawory** hagha **chi raowry khula ye wrana v** (When you bring a suit for your wife she will not be happy with that)

L1. I will try to follow you

L4. **dir sa ba learn kri wakht sara** (You will learn a lot with time)

The analysis revealed that the micro identity related attributes and positions of the speakers very clearly reflect their macro socio-cultural background. The speakers' orientations towards English are indicative of the status and importance of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. In Pakistan, English being the official language of the country is mostly used by the upper stratum and this is one of the important reasons that it is considered to be the language of elite class. So, it can be stated that the participants' orientations towards English are guided by certain social and global ideologies. All the identity orientations have been endorsed and referred to by the participants in their interviews as well.

Interview Data (b)

Extract 6.6 (b) is self-explanatory. The student very clearly mentioned that they codeswitch to English because of its socio-economic value and social status in the world. He explains that English is considered to be a symbol of social status, so they codeswitch to English to impress others that they can speak English and so are different from common people.

> **Extract 6.6 (b)**
>
> **SM1.** we codeswitch to another language that is second language like if i am speaking in Pashto because automatically i codeswitch to english to show that I am an influential person because english being a prestigious we feel proud in speaking english and to impress others. So it is also you know the reason that we codeswitch to other language and also to show our status a bit high. You know we feel a bit proud of that as well to show ourselves to be educated.

In extract 6.7(b), SF4 admits that they turn to English to show the people that they belong to an upper social class. She added that English is an international language and

if they want to succeed in life, they have to learn and speak English. She further adds that English has become a fashion in these days and they speak it as a fashion as well.

Extract 6.7(b)

SF4. Honestly speaking we codeswitch to English for showing, to impress other to tell others that we belong to a high educated class. English is an international and standard language. In our country it becomes a fashion. So when we speak it, it increases our value.

SF22, in extract 6.8 (b) yet again states that they codeswitch to English to project their social status. She further elaborates that English is a symbol of progress and prosperity not only in Pakistan but in the whole world and therefore, they are oriented towards English.

Extract 6.8 (b)

SF22. We can also do it for social status to show that we are educated. English is an international language symbol of progress and development in the world.

In extract 6.9 (b) the speaker first talks about the status of English in the world and then explains in Pashto that they codeswitch to English for social status. In other words, they codeswitch to English to project themselves as members of an upper elite social class.

Extract 6.9 (b)

SF11. English has high status in the whole world. **Mung chi bul language ta rawory that is insan hpul social status show kolu dapara da hagha munga- da** (The people codeswitch to English for social status).

In extract 6.10 (b), the student explains in detail that they codeswitch from Pashto to English to show that they are more educated and knowledgeable than the others. They also codeswitch to English to impress others and highlights that they belong to educated families.

Extract 6.10 (b)

SF12. We codeswitch to English to tell the people we are knowledgeable. We know more than them. Also to give them an impression that we are not ordinary people but an educated high class. Besides, to tell others that we belong to educated families.

The analysis showed that the micro identity attributes and positions demonstrated by the speakers in their interactive practices are linked and driven by socio-cultural, socio-economic and global considerations. English has attained a high social status in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. In Pakistan, it is MI and official language used for official correspondence. Further English is also associated with the upper and educated class of the country as they mostly use English for different purposes. Besides, most of the competitive examinations are held in English. Therefore, in addition to its high prestigious social status, English also carries high socio-economic value. Consequently, it is considered to be a symbol of social and economic prosperity. All these aspects get reflected in the interactive practices of the lecturers and students.

6.1.3 Hybrid bilingual identity

The analysis of the data reveals that unconscious or habitual CS is the most dominant form of CS used by the participants in their interactions. Keeping in view the social context of the study, in a way the habitual CS reflects the bilingual hybrid identities of the speakers. The lecturers and students are socialized in a multilingual environment

wherein they are mostly exposed to Pashto and English in their daily routines, which led to the development of unconscious CS in their interactive practices. The high diversity of unconscious CS at times give a feeling that if the participants have developed a separate language by integrating Pashto and English. The dynamic and diverse nature of CS at times make it difficult to determine its micro functions and reasons. The habitual or unconscious CS, which is indicative of the emergence of hybrid bilingual identities of the speakers, could be attributed to their socialisation in a bi-multilingual environment. The interviews as well as interactional data very explicitly reflect the same. Besides, a number of studies conducted in different parts of the worlds support the findings of the current study on the same point (Casas, 2008; Henry & Goddard, 2015; Kharkhurin & Wei, 2014).

Interactional Data (a)

SM7 in extract 6.11(a), while talking about the unexpected results explains that in our last semester our results remained really poor and contrary to our expectations, none of the students scored higher than 3CGPA. He first starts in English then moves to Pashto and the interplay between the two languages continue till the end. Here it can be noted that in the beginning, the speaker codeswitches to English for reiteration and then at the end codeswitches from Pashto to English to conclude the argument. However, in the rest of the extract, codeswitching between the two languages are so diverse and dynamic that it is quite hard and difficult to state why do they switch. Even the participants themselves in their interviews stated that sometimes they codeswitch unconsciously. The analysis shows that there appears no hesitation, break or pause but the speaker does CS in a fluent manner which is indicative of the fact that speaker codeswitches unconsciously. One of the main reasons of unconscious CS is that the speakers are brought up in a multilingual environment, which gets unconscious reflection in their

interactive practices, indexing their hybrid identity orientations. So, in this way the micro context of the interactive practices is guided by the broader social context.

Extract 6.11 (a)

SM.7. yes SM 6 is right because what we have done the results is not according to us according to - because we have study quite a lot **mung dir ziat** study **karay wa tareeqa** eighteen hour sixteen hours **mung** study **kawala** (We studied a lot up to 18 hours in a day) **chi senga mung** results **raghaly nu da haghay na baad zamung zra maat shu** (But the results greatly disappointed us and broken our hearts) **aow da haghay na baad hagha shanty hagha shanty** results **mungta milao na shu** (The results were against our expectations) **zaka chi** three gpa **yaw** normal **kus nun saba da hagha** three gpa **v aow mung l pa haghay k** three gpa **rakary wa** (Because an average person takes 3 CGPA easily and we were given just 3 CGPA) so that's my view.

Not only the students but the lecturers also get engaged in habitual or unconscious language alternations. Lecturer 3 in extract 6.12 (a) talks about the differences between hostel and home life. She elaborates that in hostel one faces a number of problems including cleaning your room, taking care of hostel mates, showing concerns for everything and so on. But on the other hand, at home one remains really comfortable and do not need to think about such issues. Here, again CS is highly dynamic, and the languages are fused and linked in a complimentary manner, which make it difficult to identify its immediate functions. The analysis reveals that mostly Pashto remains the matrix language and English is embedded in. So, L3 does CS in a habitual and natural manner with no hesitation and deliberate effort on her part, which is indicative of unconscious CS representing the bilingual hybrid identities of the speakers.

Extract 6.12 (a)

L3.   **halta** parents **ve** siblings **v dir** easy **v insan dapara nu** (There you have parents and siblings and so everything easy for you) suppose **k sa ghalti o hum shi nu duna da fikar habra na da** (Even if you make a mistake so it's not a big issue) **aow bulky k taso na waruki ghalti hum oshi nu taso ba tola wruz** but even sometimes it happened that **pora** week **chi da hagha** tension **k teer shi** (But in hostel if you make a minor mistake you will be in tension for the whole day and even week) **nu zaka da** hostel life **lug** tough **shanty da** (That's why hostel life is tough) and its not like that much comfortable when u compare to the home

Similarly, another very clear illustration of unconscious/habitual CS can be observed in extract 6.13 (a), wherein SF3 begins the sentence in English, then switches to Pashto, afterward back to English and the process continues till the end. All this happened in a fluent manner. In addition, the analysis shows that both the languages are used in a complementary manner. First, she talks about other subjects where the students make good progress and then she turns to poetry and states that poetry is a little difficult. Thereafter, when she turns to the consequences of the difficulties, she switches to Pashto *haghay k mung lug dir ziat* slow hum *rwan yo khu hagha* poetry *pata nishta* **(**We are a bit slow in poetry but I don't know why). It means part of the issue is stated in one language and the other part in another language. Thus, each part is incomplete without the other and this happens in a natural and fluent manner underlying the hybrid identity of the speakers.

Extract 6.13 (a)

SF3.   actually we are good in some subjects we are going well in one or two subjects i guess poetry is a little bit difficult i can say **haghay k mung**

lug dir ziat slow hum **rawan yu khu hagha** poetry **pata nishta (**We are a bit slow in poetry but I don't know) i personally feel **chi** that might be a weakness poetry **k mung tool koshish kao** (We do our best to cover poetry)

In extract 6.14 (a) lecturer 1 switches between Pashto and English where the matrix remains Pashto while English is embedded. He narrates the story of a king and a clever goldsmith who offers the king to make one of the best pure gold crowns for him. The king agreed and happily provided him all the required golds for the purpose. The analysis yet again shows that the speaker codeswitches in a fluid and dynamic manner which is indicative of the unconscious CS emblematic of the hybrid identity of the speaker.

Extract 6.14 (a)

L1. search it on internet its very interesting story **nu chi kala warta dagha warku a: chi kala ye warta dagha warku a:** pounds **aow har sa** gold pounds (The king gave him thirty pound gold which he promised to convert into crown in three months) **kana da chi wapus raghly nu dagha ye paky oku da** pound **dagha ye warla jur ku** thirty pounds **chi kom dagha a:** crown **jur kru** (He returned back with a gold crown) after nineties days and then there was a coronation you know coronation **coronary khu pejany** (You know coronary?) **da** coronary artery **halq-warta asl ke** originally **da** ordinary art **da halq warta** (The people called it coronary artery but actually this is something developed from ordinary art)

Yet another example for unconscious CS can be observed in extract 6.15 (a). The lecturer narrates the story of the brutal killing of Julius Caesar and then moves to his

funeral proceedings. He refers to the speeches of Anthony and his wife, who tried to tell the mob that Caesar was an honourable man but at the same time he was ambitious. He was offered thrown thrice which he refused each time. Here once again, the interplay between Pashto and English continues in a natural and effortless manner indicating the speaker unconscious movement from one language to another.

Extract 6.15 (a)

L1. **laka** ambition **dir da sakht seez na juregy** ambition (Ambition is made of hard stuff) **aow za khu yaw boda dagha da** (I am an old man) lady Anthony wept with Caesar wet with that lady **hagha pa jara shavay wu da khu di ki** ambition (He wept and it was his ambition) **hagha khkari aow taso ta khu ye bala shay dagha aow** (He was not what he seemed to be) thus we presented him thrice the crown which he thrice refused **dree zul warta mung** crown **warkao hagha dree zul oghurzao** (We offered him crown thrice but he refused) **matlub da chi diry qissay warta okry kana** (In short, he narrated them many stories)

The analysis reveals that the unconscious interactive practices of the lecturers and students are guided by their social background. The participants are brought up in a social setting where they use Pashto and English on daily basis. In such situation, the emergence of unconscious CS is natural. However, languages are not mere linguistic structures but embodiments of social, political, national and global ideologies. In this sense unconscious CS is the amalgamation and integration of two different cultures which lead to the emergence of hybrid identities as shown and reported in the current study as well. Therefore, to a greater extent, the unconscious CS of the speakers symbolically represent the integration of local (Pashto) and global (English) cultural components resulted in their hybrid identities.

Interview Data (b)

As discussed earlier the speakers being brought up in a multilingual environment, developed codeswitching unconsciously, which is indicative of their hybrid identities' orientations. Both the lecturers and students in their interviews confirmed that sometime they codeswitch consciously. For instance, in extract 6.11(b) L4 explains that sometime they do CS in the classroom naturally and unintentionally. He calls it a useful practice for both lecturers and students. He further recommends that CS should be used for teaching and learning purposes.

Extract 6.11 (b)

L4.   Being a teacher I think its good. It should be used in the classes and i do it myself I do it I often codeswitch to my native language and even from native to English language. So sometime it happens not using it intentionally but it happens naturally and i think its useful for the teachers as well as for the students

In extract 6.12 (b) L3 categorically confirms that sometimes the students and teachers codeswitch naturally and unconsciously. She explains that occasionally she herself does CS unconsciously. She further elaborates that CS is a positive practice and both the teachers and students should do it in the classroom. However, she did not comment on the background or reason for unconscious CS.

Extract 6.12 (b)

L3.   Sometime, codeswitching happens naturally. We are not aware that we are codeswitching but still we do it. It becomes our habit willingly or unwillingly gets reflection in our language. Even from Pashto sometime we move to English and from English we switch to Pashto.

In extract 6.13 (b), the student SF10 explains that CS has become an integral part of their lives which can be observed in different spheres of life. She argues that mostly they do CS habitually, which refers to the fact that the students and teachers being brought up in a multilingual setting, developed CS unconsciously, which at times get expression in their interactive practices. The statement that it has become an important part of their lives, implicitly endorses their hybrid identity orientations.

Extract 6.13 (b)

SF10. Now codeswitching has becomes an important part of our languages. Here in the university and outside with friends and family we codeswitch automatically. We are not conscious that what we are doing. Codeswitching can be conscious and unconscious

Another very categorical endorsement comes from SM1 shown in extract 6.14 (b). While commenting on the reasons for CS, S1 argues that sometimes they codeswitch naturally and unconsciously in both directions: English to Pashto and Pashto to English. He further explains that CS as being unconscious can happen anywhere irrespective of time and place.

Extract 6.14 (b)

SM1. it became sometime natural with us that we codeswitch to English from native language and native to English because most of the time if we are speaking Pashto and English in both formal as well as informal occasions. So we also we are unable to control this act of CS like if i am speaking in Pashto because automatically i codeswitch to English.

A very comprehensive and in-depth reply comes from SF3 in extract 6.15 (b). SF3 not only endorses that sometimes they codeswitch unconsciously but goes to the very root

and crux of habitual and unconscious CS. She explains that they have been brought up in a multilingual society where they use three main languages: Pashto, English and Urdu but most dominantly Pashto and English, which sometimes get unconscious reflection in their interactions. Here the students linked the micro unconscious CS with his macro social background. In other words, the speaker implicitly endorses the fact the unconscious CS is indexical of their hybrid identities.

Extract 6.15 (b)

SF3. **da di** broader **yaw dagha dasy da chi munga yaw** multi-multilingual society **ke** brought up **shavay dalta ke pashto** use **kegi** urdu use **kegi** english use **kegi** (We are brought up in a multilingual society where Pashto, Urdu and English are frequently used) **nu da di nu da biya zamung pa habru ke da di har sa** reflection show **kegi** (All these languages are reflected in our interactions) **nu da di wajy na** codeswitching automatically **ba kegi chi munga dasy** society **ke** brought up **shavay wu chi haghay ke da tool** languages use **kegi** (We do unconscious CS on account of our multilingual background).

In short, the analysis shows that codeswitching in the current context reflects the micro and macro identities of the participants. The micro interactional stances and identities include, informal (friend), light mode (joker/humorous), personal (daughter, father, elder, sister), past (narrator), submissive (simple/innocent) cultural matters (member of community) indexing family and community membership identities. These identity positions can be observed when the participants codeswitched from English to Pashto, which take to the students' and lecturers' broader socio-cultural background and their ethnic identity orientations. These identities have also been endorsed by the participants in their interviews and later on confirmed in their feedbacks on the findings as well.

Similarly, CS from Pashto to English also outlines certain micro interactional stances and identities i.e. to appear formal (teacher) to look educated, learned person (scholar/critic), assuming English identity, to appear arrogant, detached (alien) different (leader) open and unbiased (liberal) which directly take us to the social status and prestige of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. Because English is a global language occupies a prominent position in many countries of the world. It is used for communication across the globe and hence is considered to be an international lingua franca connecting the whole world in a single thread. Thus, it is these considerations which guided the lecturers and students in their identity orientations.

The analysis also reveals a third category of identity which can be labelled as bilingual hybrid identity. Due to the dynamic, diverse and complementary nature of unconscious CS, it was quite hard to label them at the micro level. This dynamic and diverse unconscious CS is indicative of the bilingual hybrid identities of the speakers, which could be linked to the participants' socio-cultural background.

On the whole, the analysis shows that the micro identities are connected with the social and the social to a greater extent with the global. All these dimensions are intertwined, and one cannot understand the one without the other. In this way one can say that in the micro interactive world of the lecturers and students, one can get a glimpse of the social, historical, political and global ideologies, which guide their linguistic choices and behaviours.

6.2   Discussion

The analysis of the interactional and interview data clearly established the micro and macro identities of the lecturers and students. Their micro identities and orientations take to their ethnic, elite class and hybrid identities, which are underpinned by their

socio-cultural and socio-psychological considerations. It is quite natural that the person who is the product of a particular soil, grown and brought up in an environment would definitely bear its imprints. The lecturers and students have been brought up and live in a multilingual Pakistani society. They have developed certain cultural beliefs and ideologies and all these things get reflected in their interactive practices and orientations. A number of studies support the stand of the current study on the same point (Song, 2016; Wang, 2017). Wang (2017) very explicitly states that the family background, interactive practices at home and cultural norms and beliefs have far reaching effects on ones' behaviours and personality, which are reflected either implicitly or explicitly in their identity orientations develop through their interactive practices. Similarly, Song (2016) also argues that family and socio-cultural background where someone is brought up play a vital role in selection of his/her linguistic choices and its meanings. All these aspects consciously or unconsciously get reflections in their interactive practice in one way or the other. In this vein, the lecturers and students' orientations towards their ethnic, elite class and hybrid identities could be mainly attributed to their socio-cultural and socio-psychological background.

The findings showed that the lecturers and students in their codeswitching practices, particularly in the direction from English to Pashto revealed certain ethnic identity orientations. These identity orientations are demonstrated through certain micro attributes and local identity positions such as to be informal (friend), humorous (joker), to discuss personal issues (daughter, father, elder), cultural matters (member of the community), past (narrator) and to appear submissive (simple) which could be linked to the ethnic and social identities of the speakers. This is something natural because we assume that most people love their native language, culture and community. They feel more comfortable and get a kind of satisfaction to discuss their personal and cultural issues in their native languages. Harris et al. (2006) endorses the same point and

explains that speakers have great attachment with their L1 and culture, which are implicitly or explicitly reflected in their interactive practices. A number of studies conducted in different parts of the world, reported the speakers' ethnic identity orientations demonstrated in their interactive practices, particularly in their codeswitching to native language, support the findings of the current study (Chang, 2014; Lin, 2017; Martinez et al., 2017; Probyn, 2009). Chang (2014) showed that the speakers codeswitched to their native language to show their attachment with their community and index their ethnic and social identities. Likewise, Probyn (2009) in English-Xhosa context reported that the speakers' codeswitching to native language revealed certain attributes, which guided towards their ethnic identity orientations. Similarly, Martinez et al. (2017) on the other hand, turned to USA and showed that the speakers codeswitched to native language to project their ethnic and socio-cultural background. In this way, it can be stated that the orientations of the lectures and students towards ethnic identities are consistent with the findings of other studies conducted in different contexts and settings.

In addition to the ethnic bend, the lecturers and students in their interactive practices also tried to identify themselves with the English-speaking elite class. This was observed when they codeswitched from Pashto to English by indexing certain micro positionings/ stancings such as to appear formal, to look educated, knowledgeable, , arrogant to appear different. All these micro attributes and identity stances are linked to the social status and prestige of English in Pakistan in particular and the world in general. So far, the status of English in Pakistan is concerned; it has a long and solid background and history, which began with arrival of British to United India in 1600. Soon after the occupation of United India, they entrenched English language in the educational, administrative and legal set up of the region in such a way that the people had no other choice but to learn English for their socio-economic survival and uplift.

After independence in 1947, Pakistan continued with the same system wherein English remained intact and occupied the same position (official language and MI). Competitive examinations for civil and other lucrative and prestigious positions continued to be held in English. Keeping in view the demand of English in the job market, the elite class continue to send their children to English schools to imporve their proficiency in English so that they may do well in the competitive examinations and occupy prominent positions in the civil service. Consequently, English is associated with upper elite class having high prestige in the society. It is considered to be a symbol of social status and socio-economic prosperity and development. A number of other studies endorse and support the current study on the same point (Ammar et al., 2015; Mahboob, 2017; Rahman, 2010; Raja, 2014).

Due to the economic prosperity and political stability of the British, English, not only in Pakistan, but in many of the countries of the world, particularly the former British colonies, has got a highly prestigious status. Casas (2008) reported the same situation in the context of Island Puerto Rico and showed that the participants' CS towards English is indicative of their aspirations to claim membership in the elite English-speaking group. Likewise, Lamb (2009) found that in Indonesia the people tended to switch to English on account of its socio-economic considerations and its high status in the world. Similarly, Wang (2017) also endorsed the fact that most of the speakers opted to English to index their global identities, recognising the uncontested status of English as a global language of communication and a source of prosperity and economic wellbeing. So, English language has attained a high social and global status. It has become a lingua franca connecting the whole world on a single thread. Therefore, the micro identity orientations of the lecturers and students towards English are manifestations of their desires for membership in the English-speaking elite class. In

fact, it is the social and global status of English, which guided their desires towards elite class identity.

Further to ethnic and elite class identities, the study has also reported the emergence of bilingual hybrid identities in the interactive practices of the lecturers and students. The current data is replete with instances where the lecturers and students without any conscious effort codeswitch between English and Pashto in a habitual manner, giving vent to their bilingual instinct indexing their bi-multilingual identities and background. In fact, the speakers are brought up in a multilingual environment, where they exposed to Pashto and English on routine basis which led to the integration of local (Pashto) and global (English) elements in their interactive practices and behaviours, ultimately resulted in their bilingual hybrid identities. In simple terms, the hybrid identities of the lecturers and students could be attributed to their socialisation in a bi-multilingual environment.

The stance of the current study on hybrid identities are supported by other studies conducted in different of the world. For example, Henry and Goddard (2015) reported the emergence of hybrid identities in the interactive practices of university students in Sweden. The study showed that the hybrid identities of the speakers could be attributed their socialisation in a multilingual environment. Likewise, Casas (2008) also came up with hybrid and bi-cultural identities of his participants in the Island of Puerto Rican. He found that the participants being brought up in a bicultural and bilingual community developed hybrid and bicultural identities. In the same way, Rosendal (2017) also showed that due to socialization in a bilingual environment the participants developed hybrid identities in Swahili-Ngoni context, in Tanzania. So, all these studies support the findings of the current study and show that the speakers' exposure to multilingual practices and their socialization in a bi-multilingual environment could be

one of the major reasons for the emergence of hybrid identities in the interactive practices of the speakers.

In short, it can be stated that the micro identities of the lecturers and students take us to their broader identities such as ethnic, elite class and hybrid identities, which are guided by socio-cultural, socio-psychological and socio-historical factors and forces.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This chapter is divided into three main sections: summary of findings, importance of the study and recommendations for future research.

7.1   Summary of findings

The study aimed to find out the types of CS, and the reasons for CS and CS as a resource for identity formation. For these purposes, data were collected through recording lecturers' and students' interactive practices, ethnographic observations and conducting semi-structured interview, which were then analysed from a micro-macro sociolinguistic perspective. The analysis enabled us to answer all three research questions. The summary of findings is given in the following section under each research questions.

7.1.1   Summary of findings on types of CS

The study showed that both the lecturers and students made a frequent use of CS in their interactive practices, which have been classified into three types: Intra-sentential, Inter-sentential and Tag CS. Although, the same classification has also been reported by a number of other studies (Casas, 2008; Gulzar, 2010; Mabule, 2015; Saraswati & Octavita, 2013) the current study can be distinguished from others by the fact that here the participants have made diverse uses of CS in either direction: English-Pashto and Pashto-English. This high diversity illustrates the high level of bilingual proficiency of the speakers in both the languages. Surprisingly, unlike the previous studies conducted in different places, none of the speakers in the current study have opposed the use of CS in their interviews. Rather, they recommended that it should be freely used in the learning and teaching context in academic settings.

7.1.2   Summary of findings on the reasons for CS

The findings also showed that codeswitching in the interactive practices of the lecturers and students are triggered by certain micro and macro reasons. These micro reasons include, emphasis and clarity, social status, solidarity, explanation, translation, topic change, conclusive remarks, feelings and emotions, translation, quotation and habitual or unconscious CS (In the current study, which is taken as a reason in itself). These reasons have been classified into three broader categories: socio-cultural, socio-psychological and communicative. Among these categories, the socio-cultural factors have been the most dominant ones. In fact, CS in itself is a socio-cultural phenomenon which has become a socio-cultural norm in bi-multilingual communities. In this context, Pakistan, being a multilingual country, is home to bilingual and multilingual practices such as CS, which in a way reflect its rich linguistic heritage. Interactants consciously or unconsciously reflect the ideologies, practices, and activities in a society. Therefore, the lecturers and students codeswitching practices could be attributed to their socio-cultural and socio-psychological backgrounds. Moreover, the lecturers and students also codeswitched for communicative purposes including, clarity, emphasis, explanation, conclusive remarks, quotations and translations, which have been reported by a number of other studies as well (Amorim, 2012; Gulzar, 2010; Kim, 2015).

7.1.3 Summary of findings on CS and identity

The third question was related to CS and identity. The study showed that the lecturers and students in their interactive practices showed certain identity related attributes and micro identity orientations, which can be divided into three main categories of identities: ethnic, elite class and hybrid identities. The findings revealed that the lecturers and students in their interactive practices, particularly while codeswitching from English to Pashto, show certain micro attributes and local identity positions such as, to be informal (friend), humorous (joker), turning to personal issues (daughter,

father, elder), discussing cultural matters (member of the community) and referring to their past (narrator), which in turn could be linked to their ethnic and social identities, leading to their socio-cultural and socio-psychological background.

The findings also revealed that the lecturers and students in their interactive practices have also tried to identify themselves with the upper English-speaking elite class of society. This is shown when they codeswitched in the direction of Pashto to English. These aspirations for social status and elite class membership are indexed through various attributes and identity positions, such as, to appear formal, educated, knowledgeable, elite, leader, liberal, open, enlightened, and different. These micro positions refer to a broad brand macro reality, the social status and position of English in the world in general and Pakistan in particular. English being an international language is generally considered to be the language of power, prestige, and economic prosperity in most of the countries (Casas, 2008; Lamb, 2009; Mahboob, 2017). In this context, the lecturers and students' orientations towards English show their aspirations for socio-economic mobility.

Then finally, the findings also reported the emergence of unconscious CS, which indicated the development of hybrid identities by the lecturers and students demonstrated in their interactive behaviours and practices. The hybrid identity constructions of the lecturers and students could be attributed to their socialisation in a bi-multilingual environment. They are brought up in a social environment where they are exposed to Pashto and English in their daily routine, which led to their development of hybrid identities. Hybrid identity construction is a recent development commonly observed in the developing countries across the world, where mostly the speakers due to their socialization in a bi-multilingual environment develop hybrid identities. In other words, the hybrid identities of the lecturers and students could be attributed to their

socio-cultural background. In sum, the lecturers and students in their identity constructions are strongly influenced and guided by their broader socio-cultural and socio-psychological background. In a way, the socio-cultural and socio-psychological background of the speakers is reflected in their identity orientations.

It can be noted that the findings on three questions are linked together by the fact that they are related to the same socio-cultural and socio-psychological realities and background of the speakers. The types of CS and its high diversity could be attributed their exposure and socialisation in a multilingual environment. In this vein, it could be traced back to the socio-cultural and socio-psychological background of the speakers. Likewise, the emergence of CS and its reason yet again take to the socio-cultural fabric of Pakistani community. For example, unconscious CS, CS for solidarity and CS for social status, all are embedded mainly in the social cultural and socio-psychological contour of the broader societal structure. Similarly, for the understanding of the dynamics behind ethnic, elite and hybrid identities, yet again one has to take into consideration the socio-cultural environment of the speakers without which it would be difficult to explain and justify their orientations. It means that the findings on all questions are held together by the common broader social-cultural and socio-psychological factors and forces working within the lives of the lecturers and students in different ways.

In short, the study has drawn a complete sketch of the society and social environment in which the speakers are brought up. It indicates to the broader socio-cultural backdrop and dynamics which guide the interactive behaviours and practices of the participants. To put it simply the study serves as window to Pakistani society in general and the Pashtun community in particular.

7.2   Importance of the study

The study will create awareness among the lecturers and students regarding multilingual practices particularly CS, its nature, background and its role in identity formation. The study has various theoretical and practical implications.

In the first place, the study is useful in the sense that here TL and CS have been looked at from a multilingual perspective, which reduces the distance between TL and CS.   In this context the study is guided by MacSwan (2017), who has come up with a version of translanguaging which is more practical and realistic than the one presented by Garcia and Lin (2016) and her colleagues. MacSwan (2017) has not only brought TL and CS closer to each other but has also accommodated the concepts of multilingualism, speech communities and native languages as well. In agreement with MacSwan (2017), it is felt that languages share similarities but at the same time there exist some structural differences in certain languages which could not be explained and attributed to the political factors and forces. The structural differences between languages necessitate the fact that these should be named separately. Therefore, in this vein, to think that the bi-multilingual speaker's underlying linguistic system is governed by an undifferentiated unitary linguistic system would be hard to justify on empirical grounds. This is because it lacks explanation for the structural differences exist between certain languages. As MacSwan (2017) contend, the bi-multilingual speaker's interactive practices underlying an integrated linguistic system, which account for the linguistic variation exists between certain languages.

The current study has shown that CS is a useful practice. It can be used for pedagogic purposes which can facilitate learning and, in the process, assist teachers and students in their teaching and learning endeavours. The lecturers can use CS for accommodating students who come from different backgrounds. They can use CS as a positive resource

for boosting the communicative potential of the students by allowing them to utilize their multilingual resources in the learning activities which will add to their confidence and make them ready to participate and share their ideas and knowledge with other fellow students. The teachers can use it as an additional resource for inculcating and sharing information with students, which will lead to the creation of a safe, friendly and less stressful environment. The students can get rid of memorizing each and every point in English, which makes them limited in terms of concept and content to English only. It can enrich their linguistic repertoire and they can freely express their inner voices.

In the Pakistani context, the current study may help to mitigate the stigmatized status of CS, which was previously reported as something negative emerging due to lack of proficiency on the part of the speakers. On the contrary, as seen in the current study, the perceptions of lecturers and students about CS was largely positive, which is a welcome sign in the current scenario of multilingualism and which can help in the creation of a positive learning environment.

The study will also contribute to the pool of research on local languages such as Pashto. Unfortunately, in Pakistani context research studies (see Chapter 1) have mostly focused on English and Urdu while research in other local languages including Pashto is neglected. This research may also help to encourage further research in Pashto-English context as well.

In the long run, the study may also help policymakers to make informed decisions embedded in classroom practices and take on board all the stakeholders including the teachers and students in their decision and policy-making process.

7.3   Recommendations for future research

As mentioned earlier that research on bi-multilingual practices particularly in Pakistani context is still in its embryonic stage. The multilingual practices need to be further investigated particularly, from the current multilingual perspective on CS and TL, which will help to create awareness among the educated community in general and teachers and students in particular. As the current study is limited to Mardan (The largest division in KP in terms of population), researchers can further expand on and conduct a similar kind of sociolinguistic investigation of CS by extending its range to other regions as well.

The second potential avenue for research is that researchers may approach CS by drawing upon both the sociolinguistic and grammatical dimensions at school and college levels. The study will help in clarification of misconceptions regarding CS and its effects on learning and language proficiency of the learners.

Another potential area for research is CS and identity. Identity crises in multilingual and multicultural contexts have been an issue of prime importance, which needs further investigation. Therefore, an in-depth full-fledged sociolinguistic investigation of CS and identity formation in KP, needs to be conducted which will enlighten teachers and students about the relation of language and identity in general and CS and identity in particular. The current research study will help to give a snapshot of CS and identity formation, which could be further developed and extended.

Likewise, researchers need to explore CS from a gender perspective. Keeping in view the historical and cultural backdrop of KP, where a significant gender gap exists, the investigation of CS in male and female interactive practices and their choices of language will be interesting and may contribute new insights to CS literature in general.

An interesting focus area might be to look at literary works, novels, poems and dramas from the current multilingual perspective. As most of CS and TL studies have focused on the spoken medium but investigation of literary works from the perspective of CS and TL are comparatively the less explored area. Therefore, this area needs to be explored on the same lines too.

Another very interesting avenue for research will be to compare and contrast CS practices in general and academic settings. It would be highly interesting to know the kind of differences and similarities exist between these two types of discourses. This would help in the generalization of multilingual practices across contexts and settings and getting a general overview of the phenomenon as a whole.

In short, keeping in view the multilingual backdrop, the bi-multilingual practices, such as codeswitching and TL, need to be thoroughly studied from different perspectives in different settings. This will help in developing an all-round understanding about these multilingual practices, its teaching, learning and communicative potential, which will be positively utilized for learning, teaching and communicative purposes in general.

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