

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CLASSIFICATION OF CODE SWITCHING IN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

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ABSTRACT

Code switching has been classified into grammatical and sociolinguistic categories. The sociolinguistic classification is mainly based on the function that code-switching serves in a specific context while the grammatical classification is made on the basis of the structure of the code-switched component. The current study aims to investigate the nature of the grammatical classification of Code Switching (CS). For this purpose, a total of 3 hours teachers' and students' interactions were audiotaped and a questionnaire comprising open and close-ended questions were served to the participants of the study. The findings show that the teachers and students code switched at Intra, Inter and Tag level wherein Intra CS came up not only as of the most dominant but diverse form of CS. The study is important in the sense that it will further enhance not only understanding of the teachers and students about nature and existence but also establish the prevalence of CS in institutional settings.

Keywords: Code Switching (CS); Sociolinguistic; Intra CS; Grammatical Classification.

INTRODUCTION

Code switching (CS) is a widespread practice observed in multicultural and multilingual societies. The study of code switching can be traced back to the early 20th century. Weinreich (1953), is considered to be one among the foundational studies in this context. The two other pioneer proponents of code switching, specifically linguistics analysis of code switching, were Ferguson (2003); and Fishman (1972). Since then code switching has been studied from different perspectives. Irrespective of domain, it has been generally noticed that research in code switching is carried out from one

of the two perspectives, namely a grammatical perspective or sociolinguistic, and specifically the functional perspective. The grammatical aspect has mostly dealt with the grammatical/structural constraints involved in code switching (MacSwan, 2017; Poplack, 1980). On the other hand, the sociolinguistic approach concerns with questions such as how social meaning is created in code switching, how social elements influence the use of code switching and why code switching is used. (Fishman, 1972; Blom & Gumperz, 2000).

The same grammatical and functional bits are evident in the definition made by different linguists. For example, Trudgill (1992) approaches CS from a broader sociolinguistic perspective and defines CS as “the process whereby bilingual or bi-dialectal speakers switch back and forth between languages and dialects within the same conversation” (p.16). Trudgill (1992) emphasized the variation and alternation components in CS and did not talk about any other aspect. Blommaert (1992), turned to the social and historical dimensions and defines CS as “a kind of social historiography, which cannot be explained in linguistic terms” (p.63). Likewise, Blommaert and Varis (2011) focus on the semiotic and functional dimensions and highlight the symbolic and social significance of CS. According to Nilep (2010), CS is “the use of language alternation or of code choice in order to contextualize an utterance” (p.2). Here, the word “contextualize” bears importance. It is used in the sense of social context, which takes us to the macro sociolinguistic world. A critical look at the definitions mentioned above reveals that they have approached CS from a very narrow angle, falling within the realm of macro-sociolinguistic perspective but none of them has done justice to address CS as a whole.

Contrary to the social side, there are some researchers, who while defining CS, mainly focused on the grammatical aspect. Poplack (1980) while defining CS elucidates “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” (p.581). The definition very explicitly emphasizes the grammatical aspect, particularly bilingual grammar. However, the functional side is not touched. Similarly, Valdés (1981) very directly turns to the grammatical aspect and describes CS as “the alternate use of two languages at word, phrase or clause level” (p.95). It can be noted here that Valdés (1981) has just talked about the structural levels (words, phrase, and clause) based on which CS is

classified into three main structural types. He did not touch on the functional aspect. In the same way, Bokamba (1989) has also focused on the grammatical side “Code switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event...” (p.278). In short, all these definitions very clearly reflect the theoretical backgrounds of the researchers. We can say that CS has been approached from two main perspectives: social and grammatical. However, none of the above-mentioned linguists in their definitions has tried to explain CS as a holistic bi-multilingual practice. The same is the case with different studies they have either focused on the social aspect or the grammatical dimension but very few of them combine the structural aspect with the social ones.

In Pakistan, being a multilingual country code switching is a customary practice, which has been extensively explored. Most of the studies have either focused on the grammatical aspect of sociolinguistic investigation of CS but the structural classification of CS in combination with the function of each CS type has been the least explored dimension. Consequently, the current paper has explored the classification of CS in combination with the function of each CS type in one and the same study. The study is significant as it not only highlighted the classification of CS but also outlined the nature and frequency of each type of CS, which eventually helps to further the understanding of the subject at hand. For this purpose, two main questions were posited:

1. How many types of CS emerge in the interactions of students and teachers in an academic setting in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
2. What kind of CS emerge as the most dominant of the CS types in an academic setting in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?

LITERATURE REVIEW

CS has been classified both, on the basis of its functions that it serves and its form/ structure. Blom and Gumperz (2000) have classified CS into Situational and Metaphorical CS. Situational CS is dependent on situations. It means that code switching is triggered by the change of situation which generally includes, participants, setting and activity-type. Metaphorical CS refers to CS where the situation and setting remain the same, but the speaker code switches for other reasons. Metaphorical CS mostly emerges in interpersonal relationships, which can be attributed to interpersonal reasons (Blom & Gumperz, 2000). Myers-Scotton (1993)

divides CS into three main categories but two of them, marked and unmarked choices, are commonly cited in CS literature. Marked choices, she refers to situations, where the speaker moves/behaves unexpectedly and breaks the norms of the context. On the other hand, unmarked choices are used for speakers' ritualized selections, conditioned by traditional norms and patterns of a community. For example, if in a particular community, the speakers generally use two varieties/languages each separately in formal and informal situations and now if a speaker in formal situation uses a variety associated with the informal situation, so this would be labeled as a marked choice. On the other hand, if a speaker follows the norms of the community and code switches accordingly, then this would be labeled as an unmarked choice. Furthermore, some of the researchers turn to Conversation analysis and classified CS into discourse oriented and participants-oriented CS (Auer, 1998). Discourse oriented CS is triggered by discourse-oriented reasons such as topic change, emphasis, clarification of certain points and so on. On the other hand, in the participants-oriented CS, the speaker changes language due to the needs/requirements of the co-participants (Auer, 1999).

Likewise, based on the structure/grammatical aspect, CS is also classified into diverse types. So far, the structural classification of CS is concerned, it would be unjust not to mention Poplack (1980). Poplack (1980) presents a seminal study where CS is addressed from a structural or grammatical perspective. She has classified CS into three main types: Inter sentential, Intra sentential and Tag CS. The study served as a lighthouse and guiding principle for myriad studies exploring the types of CS (grammatical), conducted across the globe until present (Mabule, 2015; Romaine, 1997; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016). Mabule (2015) explored the types and functions of CS in two different settings and contexts but produced the same findings that there emerged three main types of CS, Inter, Intra and Tag CS. However, there do exist studies and researchers who have restricted the classification of CS to Inter and Intra CS only. They included Tag CS in the Intra CS category (Kebeya, 2013; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2003). But the current study is guided by Poplack (1980) three-pronged CS classification. The reason is that it is a detailed and fully explained model, while the two-pronged CS models seem to be oversimplified, which lack in-depth CS structural exploration.

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 Intersentential elaborates 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 have reported Inter sentential CS (Kebeya, 2013; Romaine, 1997). In the following line, inter sentential CS is illustrated with the help of an extract taken from the current study. *maa rotay khwaraly da (I have taken lunch) and when will you take lunch.* Here it can be observed that the first sentence is in Pukhto and the subsequent one is in English, so it is an example of Inter sentential CS.

Intra Sentential CS

In Intra sentential CS, code switching takes place within a word, clause, or sentence level (Casas, 2008; Mabule, 2015; Saraswati & Octavita, 2016). An example of intra CS from the current data can be as *hagha smart aow clever and also chalak da* (He is smart, clever and sharp). In this example, one can clearly see that the speaker code switches between Pukhto and English within a single sentence, which is an illustration of Intra CS. In addition, some of the researchers have referred to Intra word CS, which is included in the current study in Intra sentential CS. The example of Intra word CS can be *teacheran* (Teachers). In the word, *teacheran*, the base word is English “teacher” which is converted into a plural by applying the Pukhto rule of plural formation to the English word “teacher.” Intra CS is considered to be one of the most difficult types of because here the speaker is supposed to be competent enough to deal with the grammatical rules of both languages. Besides, Intra CS is risky and the speaker can easily get confused, hence, can lose the direction in the sentence. Poplack (1980) refers to the same point that Intra CS is “.... running the risk of rendering utterances that will be ungrammatical” (p.570). Because it requires grammatical integration of two languages, which need grammatical knowledge of both the languages. Given the fact, only a proficient bilingual, who has a strong grip on both languages can engage in Intra CS. Besides, several other studies have also come up with the same conclusion (Romaine, 1997).

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) “Tags are freely

moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule” (p.569). 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. Several studies have come up with Tag CS in their classification of CS (Mabule, 2015; Saraswati & Octavia, 2016). An example of Tag CS is as follows; I know *chi di dir takra ye* (I know that you are very talented). Here, an English Tag, I know is attached to a sentence which is otherwise completely in Pukhto. It can be observed that in Tag CS both the units remain separate from the grammatical perspective of the languages concerned.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study aimed to find out the types of CS and its relative frequency. For this purpose, three hours of interactions between teachers and students and a questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions were distributed among ten teachers and 60 students. The study was conducted in an academic setting in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Keeping in view the nature of the study, a mixed-method design was used. Data were transcribed and observational analysis of the data informed by Blom and Gumperz (2000), was conducted.

Background and Location

The study was conducted at Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan and its affiliated colleges. The university is located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a province situated in the northwest of Pakistan. There are more than 26 languages spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, wherein Pukhto language is the dominant and native language of the majority of the people in the province. Broadly speaking Pukhto is mostly used in domestic and social settings while English is mainly used as the medium of instruction in higher educational institutes. Besides, Urdu being the national language of the country is also used at times. In such a multilingual environment, the emergence of CS is a natural phenomenon.

Selection of the Participants

A total of 50 graduate students and ten teachers were purposively selected from the faculty of Arts and Humanity, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan and its affiliated colleges. The students were anonymised as S1, S2, and S3 up to S50, while the teachers were labelled as T1, T2, up to T10. The age range of the teachers was from 25-21 year whereas the students were 19 to 25-year-old. Before proceeding with data collection, all the ethical procedures/formalities were fulfilled.

Procedure for Data Collection

Data was collected employing audio recording of the interaction of teachers and students for 3 hours. Afterwards, the interactions were transcribed. Consequently, the teachers and students' perceptions were elicited through a questionnaire with open and closed-ended questions. The interactive data was analysed informed by observation and guided by Poplack (1980). Based on Poplack (1980), data were categorised into Intra, Inter and Tag CS.

Data Analysis

An observational analysis of the data guided by Poplack (1980) was carried out. The analysis showed that the teachers and students code switched at three different levels: Intra, Inter and Tag. Further, the analysis also revealed that the students and teachers mostly code switched at Intra sentential level.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The findings of the study were analysed separately. First, the findings of the interactive data are given and discussed. Then the findings of the questionnaire are explained and discussed. In order to determine the types of CS, an observational analysis informed by Poplack (1980) was conducted. The analysis showed that there emerged three main types of CS: Intra CS, Inter CS, and Tag CS wherein Intra CS came up as the most dominant of the CS types. A summary of the overall findings of the study is shown in Table 1 and the interactive data in figure 1.

Table 1. Summary of CS types

No.	Types of CS	Interactive data	Interview data
1	Intra CS	219	47
2	Inter CS	63	32
3	Tag CS	80	21

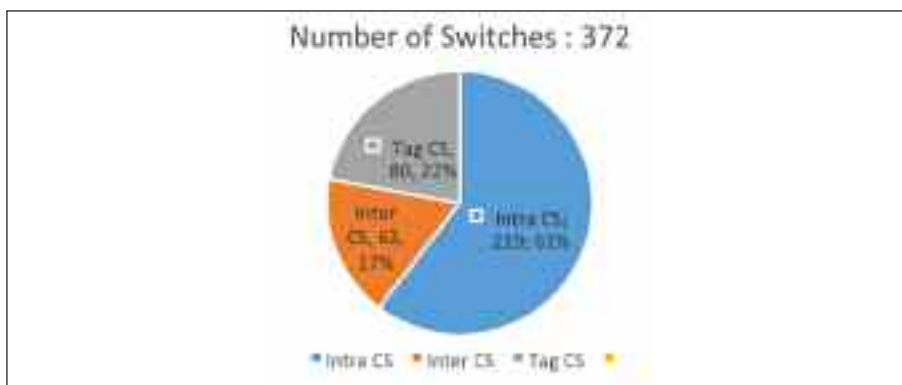


Figure 1. An Outline of Interactive Data

In the following section, we have discussed and explained the findings of the interactive data. Due to the limitation of space and time only two examples in each case are quoted and analysed.

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) explains the same as “We refer to this as the most complex and intimate type since a code-switched segment and those around it must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which bridge constituents and link them together grammatically” (p.589). Romaine (1997) also endorses the same point that Intra CS is one of the complicated types 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 it 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 a strong grip on both languages, can engage in Intra CS. This type of CS can be found within a sentence, clause and even within a word level. For example, in the clause kha (*ok*) *negative contrast da moon alta ke dim cool wu* (It is an example of negative contrast. There the moon was dim cool), it can be observed that the speaker in a very fluent manner code switched within a clause where initially the matrix language remained Pukhto and the English words such as *negative contrast, moon, dim cool* are embedded therein. Likewise, CS within a word-level can be contextualised by referring to the examples, “Dean” and *Dean+nan* (*Deanan*) and “Rickshaw” *Rickshaw+ Wala* (*Rickshaw-wala*). Here, it can be observed that the Pukhto rule for plural formation is applied to the English word “dean”. In Pukhto mostly plurals are formed by adding a suffix, + nan to a noun. Similarly, in “rickshaw” Urdu and Pashtu suffix “Wala” (person) is added for the derivation of another noun from an already existing one, “*Rickshaw-wala*” means the driver of Rickshaw.

The same back and forth movement between English and Pukhto can be observed in extract 1 (a), where T 3 starts with Pukhto *taso khu ba khpul zaan hum* (You have to maintain yourself) and then turns to English *maintain* and thus the interplay between Pukhto and English continues till the end. Interestingly, T3 utters the subject part of the sentence in Pukhto *taso khu ba hpul zaan hum* (*You will yourselves*) and then for the verb part code switches to English *maintain*. The same sequence, with minor

change in the subject part, is repeated in the subsequent sentence **aow taso ba budh** behaviour **hum bardasht kavay** (You will have to bear the bad behaviours). In the next sentence, the pattern changes and instead of English, a Pukhto verb can be observed **warkave** (to give) and so, the practice continues till the end. The whole extract is loaded with Intra CS, which is not an easy task to manage. Because here, the speaker has to coordinate and manage two different grammatical systems. But all this is done meticulously.

Further on the functional dimension, mostly these switches are used unconsciously, this is shown by the lack of pauses, hesitation, and intentional pauses. In addition, the speaker code switches in a diverse manner in either direction; Pukhto-English and English-Pukhto. This highly diverse CS makes it difficult to determine the immediate function of Intra CS.

Extract 1(a)

T3. 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 2(a) is slightly different than extract 1. Here S5 starts with an English phrase *we expect* and then for completion of meaning/idea switches to Pukhto **chi hagma ba sta corridor ke walar ye** (that he will be standing in your corridor). Though the matrix of the subsequent sentence is Pukhto but there does exist English switches such as *corridor* and *like*. Then finally in the last sentence, there appears a kind of repair work that begins with an English connector *but* and then the entire sentence is delivered in Pukhto, **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 structures.

Approaching extract 2(a) from a functional perspective, yet again the speaker code switches in a highly fluid and diverse manner, which makes it difficult to determine its function with this specific context except in the first where the speaker tries to look for a gap filler. The context shows that in the extract after *like* **hagma kae gupshup kavi** (That they will be standing in the corridor and will be gossiping) the speaker seems to be looking for a particular phrase or word.

Extract 2(a)

S5. we expect **chi hagma ba sta** corridor **ke walar ye aow** corridor **k b** (.) like **hagma kae gupshup kavi** (That they will be standing in the corridor and will be gossiping) but obviously **dagma bandy dasy na da chi dvi dagma se walar ve aow gupshup kavi** (It's not like that they will be only standing and gossiping)

The analysis outlines that the teachers and students have demonstrated a high level of diversity and creative use of Intra CS, which could not be restricted to some specific structure or grammatical category. Moreover, this highly creative, diverse, and fluid use of CS equally makes it difficult to determine its immediate function. This shows that the speakers mostly code switch at Intra level unconsciously or habitually.

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) explains inter sentential CS as “ Inter-sentential code-switching, on the other hand, involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where a clause or sentence is in one language or another” (p.55). Poplack (1980) explained that Inter sentential CS is the easiest among CS types and an average bilingual can easily manage it. Romaine (1997) agreed with Poplack that Inter sentential CS does not require high proficiency on the part of the speaker and a common bilingual could manage it easily. An example of Inter sentential can be, *I will come tomorrow but za ba khaar ke paty kegum* (I will stay in the city). Here it can be observed that the first clause of the sentence is in English and the subsequent one is in Pukhto, which is an illustration of Inter sentential CS.

On the functional front, here the speaker code switches for conclusive remark. In the first clause, the speaker raises the issues and creates a kind of suspense and then code switches to deliver the key idea.

Extract 3(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

In extract 3(a), the order of Inter sentential CS changes. Here the lecturer begins with a Pukhto 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 one can observe Inter sentential CS at the clause level. In the first clause, the speaker states that it is not a child and then in the next dependent clause, the speaker completes the sentence that it is in the sixth stanza that man is to be supported by Angela. Yet again here the speaker in order to complete the idea and meaning of the first clause code switches to another language. In a way, the speaker code switches for communicative purposes.

Extract 4(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)*

Again in extract 4(a) SF10 begins with an English clause the *man was going*, which is completed by the subsequent clause in Pukhto, ***hagha zaka ta chi hagha pa his qimat hpul beloved na prehuda*** (because he wanted to meet his beloved by all means). So, this is another example of inter-sentential CS at the clause level. A closer look at the switching point reveals that the speaker code switches for conclusive or making important remark. This appears to be a pedagogic strategy which the speaker employs for highlighting the important part of the sentence.

In short, the speakers have also frequently code switched and have shown variation at the Inter sentential level too. The speaker code switches at this level for making important remarks or highlighting the important part of the argument.

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) “tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule” (p.589). Tajolosa (2013) also confirms the existence of Tag CS and highlights its nature. He defines 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 depend on the high bilingual proficiency of the speaker in both languages. But the speaker should be competent enough to insert tag/switch from one language into the sentence of another language.

Extract 5(a)

T1. teek da kana (Ok now) he describes these people with villainous characters as like some characters in the dramas or the novels

In extract 5(a), T1 attaches a cliché phrase of Pukhto *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 Pukhto speakers to get consent or agreement from the audience/listener. Generally, it is used as comprehension check and so did the writer use it in the current context as well. So, here the speaker code switches unconsciously serving in the current context as a comprehension check.

Extract 6(a)

L4. I wish **chi taso charta mug sara khwaky osedy** (I wish you were living in my neighbourhood) (laughing)

In extract 6(a), an English phrase *I wish* is inserted as tag in an otherwise complete Pukhto matrix, *chi taso charta mug sara khwaky osedy* (I wish you were living in my neighbourhood). In the first extract the tags words are from Pukhto, inserted in English matrix but in the last extract the order gets reversed, the tags are in English attached to Pukhto sentences. Yet again, the speaker uses the phrase “I wish” as habitual exercise, serving no other but just to give expression to his habitual whim.

The analysis revealed that in comparison to Intra and Inter CS, Tag CS appears to be a bit limited in use and meaning. We do not see that much variety in terms of its function and sequence. Mostly it is used either at the very beginning of the sentence/clause or at the very end. Likewise, it is used for very limited purposes, serving as a comprehension check, emphasis and so on. Moreover, it is generally considered to be the easiest form of CS, which does not require high bilingual proficiency and grammatical knowledge in both languages.

On the whole, both the teachers and students have made frequent use of all three types of CS. However, Intra CS has come out as the most dominant one, which could be attributed to the high bilingual proficiency of the speakers.

Interview Data (b)

In the questionnaire section, most of the students confirmed that there are three main types of CS. A total of 47 out of 50 students and 10 out of

10 teachers endorsed that they code-switch at Intra level. Similarly, 32 out of 50 students and 8 out of 10 teachers also endorsed the code switch at inter sentential level. Further, 21 out of 50 students and 8 out of 10 teachers also endorsed that they code switch at Tag level. It is to be noted that later on when the findings were shared with participants, all of them confirmed it for three types.

Table 2. Questionnaire Break-up

Types of CS	Total participants	Students	Teachers
3	60	50	10
Intra CS	=	47	10
Inter CS	=	32	8
Tag CS	=	21	9

For the sake of convenience and shortage of space, we have just quoted three examples from the data of the questionnaire for all three types of CS, respectively.

T3 while commenting on the question about the types of CS, explained that in most of the cases the teachers and students change language at Intra sentential level. He also referred to Inter and Tag CS too. Therefore, in this way, he referred to all three types of CS.

Questionnaire extract 1(b)

T3. We frequently code switch within the sentence. But sometimes we also code switch between a sentence or add some habitual kind of phrases, for example, I know, right etc.

In the questionnaire S5 very clearly stated that there are three main types of CS. He explained that code switching within a sentence or clause is a widespread practice that can be seen almost everywhere.

Questionnaire extract 2(b)

S5. There are three main types of code switching; code switching in the sentence, changing of complete sentence or clauses and attachment of phrase or word. Using words within the sentence is something common.

The findings showed that teachers and students code switched at all three levels: Intra, Inter and Tag CS. The interactions of the students and teachers revealed that they dominantly code switched at Intra level. Further, Intra CS and Tag CS are mostly done unconsciously which make at times difficult to determine its immediate meaning. However, at Inter

level the students and teachers do CS to make conclusive remarks or sentence completion.

DISCUSSION

The analysis showed that the lecturers and students code switched diversely at all three levels (Inter, Intra and Tag). The diverse uses of CS particularly at Inter and Intra sentential levels, shows the level of permeation that CS has made into the lives of the participants, which feature prominently in their interactive practices. Even though Intra CS is considered to be one of the most difficult types of CS which requires a high level of bilingual proficiency but in the current study, the speakers have made free use of Intra CS in their interactive practices. The reason of difficulty maybe that it mostly involves the risk of violating grammatical rules which can lead to the production of ill-formed and meaningless utterances (Romaine, 1989, p.113). As a result, only the competent balanced bilinguals can control and practice Intra CS (Poplack, 1980). Keeping in view the complexity and vulnerability of Intra CS, some of the researchers have even called Intra CS, particularly at a word level, such as mixing (Bokamba, 1988).

Unlike Poplack (1980) where Intra CS was the least reported among the CS types, 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 lack bilingual proficiency which might have prevented them to practice CS at Intra level. While in the current study, the speakers are quite fluent in both languages which resulted in the frequent occurrence of Intra CS. Therefore, the frequent use of Intra CS in the current data is indicative of the speakers' command of both the languages which may be attributed to their rich and dynamic bi/multilingual background.

Besides, the findings showed that Intra CS is not only the most dominant of CS types but also contains a high level of diversity. In simple terms, Intra CS cannot be limited to specific parts of speech, grammatical category, open or close clause items or even syntactical order. Besides, Intra CS, CS within a word have also been observed. Diversity is also evident at the word level too. This diversity yet again distinguishes the current study from Casas (2008); Mabule (2015); Poplack (1980); and Saraswati (2013). None of these studies has shown and reported the kind of diversity that this paper has found in the current study.

Also, the findings also revealed that Intra CS is not one-directional. In the case of unidirectional CS, the matrix and embedded languages consistently remained the same, while in bidirectional CS, it varied and changed 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 remains the matrix and Pukhto is embedded and vice versa. Poplack (1980) also produced 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; Mabule, 2015; Romaine, 1997; Saraswati, 2013). Casas (2008), for instance, has also investigated CS types but he has just mentioned the types of CS and then exemplified it with data extracts. Similarly, Mannarswamy, Saraswati, and Raghavendra (2013) have also explored CS types in the US, but his focus was on Intra CS and the level of proficiency of the speakers. He has classified CS into two types Intra and Inter CS and then concentrated on the relationship between proficiency and Intra CS. 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 go beyond this point.

The high diversity in the current study may be attributed to the speakers’ socialisation and brought up in a bi/multilingual society. The teachers 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 (MacSwan, 2017). The findings are important in the sense that it answers all those who consider CS to be a negative practice and advocated its avoidance (Khan, 2014). However, 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 enhance the communicative potential of the speakers. Besides, all the participants perceived CS as a positive and useful practice and recommended that it should be used.

In short, the current study shows 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 speakers’ rich

multilingual background. In other words, the lecturers and students CS practices are rooted in their socio-cultural and socio-psychological background.

CONCLUSION

The study aimed to find out CS types and their dominance. The study showed that the teachers and students code switched at all three levels, that is, Intra, Inter and Tag CS. Further, Intra CS emerged as the most dominant form of CS. Moreover, the study reported a high diversity among the different CS types particularly Intra CS. As the study was restricted to Mardan, consequently it is needed to be extended to other areas too. The study also recommends an in-depth exploration of CS types and its main functions not only in an academic setting but also in other settings such as media, communication in general, family, and domestic settings.

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