

**Qualitative analysis of code-switching with reference to gender and
pragmatic functions in Indian students at Oxford**



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Dedicated to Papa

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ABSTRACT

Past research on code-switching (CS) has attempted to establish that CS is used more due to fashion or as a mark of modernization (Kachru, 1978; Pillalamori, 2018). It is also considered to be a mark of familiarity in an informal context; teachers in classroom contexts use it to make the classroom teaching less formal and also to simplify the teaching material. Although CS is more common in out-of-classroom (Jacobson, 1997), informal contexts, a lot of research (Macaro, 2001; Grit & Jennifer, 2004) has been done on formal classroom settings; that on informal out-of-the-classroom context is less (Si, 2011; Kashpolia & Ong, 2015). Two of the researches in these informal contexts that have been identified talk about CS in Bollywood films and linguistic analysis of CS in billboard advertisements. To date there is no study which probes into CS in an informal, out-of- -classroom, Anglophone context.

This dissertation contributes to fill this identified research gap. The data for analysis has been taken from group elicitation (GE) and stimulated recall (SR) conducted in an informal Anglophone context, based on three broad research questions on gender, CS patterns and pragmatics. The key findings demonstrate that gender is not decisive in finding the CS patterns, which in this study are confined to intra and inter-sentential CS. The range of pragmatic markers used by Indian speakers of English while CS differed from male respondents to the female ones. The findings from this research suggest that a linguistic analysis of CS patterns and study of pragmatic functions in comparison with L1 and L2 could contribute significantly in extension of knowledge about Indian users of English in informal out-of-classroom context.

Key words: code-switching (CS), L1, L2, pragmatic functions (PFs), group elicitation (GE), stimulated recall (SR), Anglophone context, CS patterns

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASR	Automatic speech recognition
CM	Code-mixing
CS	Code-switching
CUREC	Central University Research Ethics Committee
EFL	English as a foreign language
EL	Embedded language
EMI	English as a medium of instruction
FL	Foreign language
GE	Group elicitation
GETP	Group elicitation task protocol
HKUST	Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
L1	Mother tongue (here Hindi)
L2	Target language (here English)
ML	Matrix language
MLFM	Matrix Language Frame Model
NEP	National Education Policy
OP	Observation Protocol
PFs	Pragmatic functions
AUAL RQ	Qualitative research question
RQ	Research questions
SR	Stimulated recall
SRP	Stimulated recall protocol
TC	Thematic coding

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

India is a bilingual country where there are differing mother tongues (local vernacular), and a broader tongue (Bengali, Punjabi, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Telgu, Malayalam, Tamil, and Marathi), and the language of the educated, English, which for most of the users is a second language (Graddol, 2010), especially for young learners in the urban and semi-urban context. This can further be authenticated by a review of the recent draft National Education Policy (NEP) which proposes a three-language formula that includes English as one of the languages uniformly across the country (Express News Service, 2019). It is primarily because of exposure to two or three languages that an average Indian user is bilingual or multilingual. Out of 520 million people 26% of the population consists of multilingual speakers in an urban setting, along with 12% being bilinguals (*Times of India*, 2018). In India, the urban speakers of English are nearly 34% but there is uncertainty about the semi-urban speakers as they do not make use of it frequently because their proficiency level is low. They do make use of certain English words to convey their message to the listener, but these are limited. As part of their conversation, there is seamless switching between English and the mother tongue (Sadi, 2013; Bhatia, 2011) and it is difficult to tease apart this frequent mix. But English remains the most coveted language by Indians because of its global language status and widespread use in education, media, hospitality industry and courts. This has given it the status of an ‘official language’ in India (Crystal, 2012). Efforts are being made by one and all to

give a reflection of their familiarity with, if not a complete understanding of its usage.

Figure 1.1 reflects the status of English as an L2 and Hindi as L1 in India.

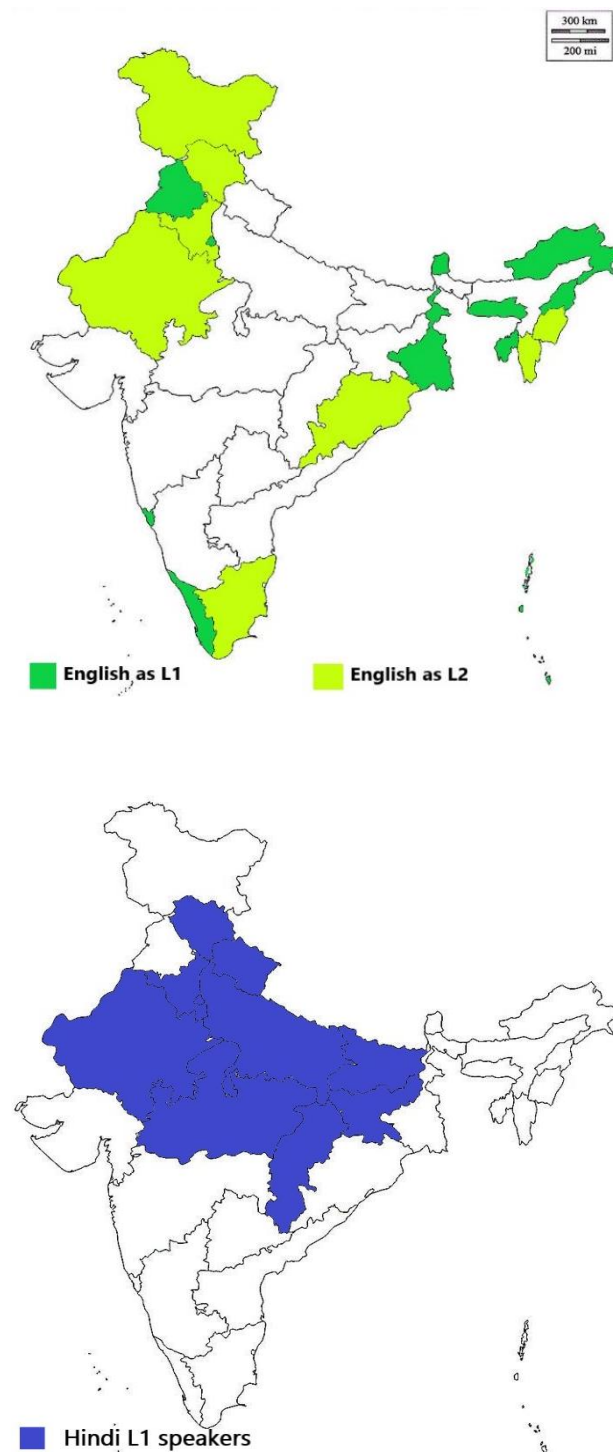


Figure 1.1: Map showing L1 and L2 speakers of Hindi and English (Kawoosa, 2018, pp. 3-4)

Initially, before independence, English acted as an operational language which was based on rigid, native standards abided by all (Scarse, 2007); even after independence standards were strictly adhered to by upholding King's English and Queen's English: 'Academics usually frown(ed) upon ... "adulterating" mode of communication' (Pal and Mishra, 2011, p. 161). Conformity to standards continued till the start of globalisation around 1990s; before that, CS was rare and anyone indulging in it was looked down upon (Mettille, 2015). It was never considered as an ideal form of language and was stigmatized on various platforms as a weak form of communication (Boztepe, 2003). But ever since globalisation took over and cheap work force was required in countries like India, standards were compromised and a hybrid variety of English (Graddol, 2000) emerged. Gradually when communicative language teaching took over and media became more widespread, fluency was preferred over accuracy; it was during this phase that Hinglish –was introduced by McArthur (1995) as a hybrid, an amalgamation of the two languages, which started becoming widely acceptable (Lambert, 2018). Beyond this, with the emerging print and audio-visual media in India, English became a link language (Matthew, 1997), the common medium of communication across the country, surpassing all regional barriers of language.

It has been observed that CS is more common among urban Indian youngsters who use L2 (English) with L1, because they do not want to lose touch with L2 even when they are not using it or not in a position to use it consistently. The primary reason for this is that English has become so rooted in their psyche that they want to be around it all the time, sometimes out of fashion and at other times as 'a marker of modernization' (Kachru, 1978; Pillalamari, 2018). But over the passage of time,

English has been accepted as ‘the language of the intellect and formality in India’ (Gumprez, 1977; Pingali, 2009), leading to a rise in the number of users (Galloway and Rose, 2015). This phenomenon has picked up pace just recently due to the spread of education and the more widespread use of English at all levels in schools, films, pop songs, and print and TV ads in India (Crystal, 2012). The increasing use of English has emboldened the average urban Indian user of the language to use it freely, without getting conscious of adhering to strict norms of the language. As a result, it has become one of the most widely accepted ways of communication among them in whichever form they can manage. The fact is that use of English language remains pervasive in a formal context and as soon as the environment changes to an informal one, individuals take recourse to CS to indulge into a conversation.

That is a brief overview of how and why CS in India started among urban Indian users. Looking at the frequent and wide use of Hinglish by Indian users of English it was assumed by the researcher that in a foreign context, even in the native English land, Indian users of English may not hesitate to code switch in an informal context. Another assumption was that they may not exclusively use their mother tongue or English in a familiar situation which is not very demanding in terms of strict adherence to a particular code. Looking at past research in this field the researcher found that there was hardly any research that had been done on Indian users of English in an informal context outside of India. This is what encouraged the researcher to choose the mentioned topic.

1.2 Aim of the study

Most of the existing research in this field contributes towards CS in a classroom context in India or other non-native countries like Africa, China, and Japan. There has been limited research in out-of-classroom situations in the Indian context on pragmatic functions (PFs) in CS. Therefore, this study attempts to address the CS patterns of Indian students, taking PFs into consideration in an Anglophone context. For this, all the participants chosen for data collection were bilinguals or multilinguals who were video recorded carrying out a group elicitation (GE) task. Post-task stimulated recall (SR) protocols contributed towards analysing the patterns within a single utterance and validating their reasons for CS. These utterances were observed to be integrated with a unique combination where gender disparity prevailed; the PFs used were taken from both intra and inter-sentential switches. This study gains significance because of the analysis of CS patterns of Indian students in informal conversation in a study-abroad context.

1.3 Dissertation structure

The dissertation is divided into six parts where the first chapter gives a brief background to the study and establishes its relevance. The second chapter (Literature Review) provides an insight into the current model which has been adopted for the study along with identifying the variation in the patterns and usage of PF words amongst bilinguals and multilinguals with critical reference to the literature available. It also highlights gaps in the literature which have been addressed in the present study. Chapter three (Methodology) describes and justifies the methods employed to conduct this study, including a detailed discussion of the instruments and approaches used. Chapter four (Findings) presents the qualitative results from the data collected.

The fifth chapter (Discussion) provides a detailed discussion of research question (RQs) which have been comprehensively answered. The final chapter (Conclusion) identifies the limitations of the research and also suggests the scope for future researchers.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the role of CS in informal communication settings in the study-abroad context. It first talks about the differentiation that has been made by researchers and linguists between CS and code-mixing (CM); then moves on to discuss patterns of code-switching. Thereafter, the discussion shifts to research in the Anglophone context, linking it to addressing patterns of CS, and relationships between CS, pragmatics and gender. In the end, the rationale of the study has been given. This review of literature has enabled the researcher to identify the methodological and analytical approaches adopted by CS researchers in the past and to establish the relevance and methodology of the present work.

2.2 Code-switching

A ‘code’ is a linguistic system that activates the learner’s repertoire to encrypt the language and is the ability to convey a message which is not comprehensible to all. Similarly, codes are widely used by multilingual speakers in their utterances which allow them to switch between languages. These switches occur when ‘the use of more than one linguistic variety’ (Pfaff, 1997, p. 345) occurs within a conversation. CS is a broad term which includes both CM and CS and is based on intra and inter-sentential patterns respectively. An explicit definition of the two terms will give further insight into CS.

2.2.1 Mixing and switching

CM and CS have been widely adopted by bilingual and multilingual language users both in and out of the classroom context. The distinction between the two has been drawn by various researchers differently. CS is defined as the usage of more than one code at the sentence boundary or sentence, whereas CM occurs within the sentence syntactically, lexically and phonologically (Auer, 1998; Muskyen, 2000; Li, 2008). In a similar vein, Myers-Scotton (1993) defined CM as the interchanging of two languages within the same discourse. In Muysken's (2000) view, CM occurs in a random pattern in an utterance whereas CS occurs in a fixed pattern within defined boundaries. Adding to this, Gardner-Chloros (1991) argued that CS is not only confined to utterances within two languages but extends to different dialects. However, grammarians like Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartik (1993) outrightly reject the acceptance of CS and term it as non-standardised. But despite this rejection CS is used widely and effectively by bilinguals and multilinguals. Therefore, the status of CS is still debatable (Gierlinger, 2015) in the out-of-classroom and in-the-classroom context. For the purposes of the present study, CS will be defined as a switch from one language to another at the end of a sentence and CM as a to and fro switch between two different languages within a single sentence. These definitions have been arrived at because they help in understanding these core terms from different angles but for the present study, Muysken's (2000) view has been taken into consideration because it allows us to create a clear distinction between the CS patterns. So, it is now pertinent to take the discussion on to CS patterns.

2.2.2 Patterns of code-switching

CS, which has been used as a cover term for all the elements of communication where a mix or switch occurs within a specific utterance, has been

operationalised by various researchers differently. Initially, it was divided by Blom and Gumperz (1972) into situational and metaphorical CS, where, in the former, there is a situational variation in communication (e.g., the language used between the students changes while conversing with the teacher in a classroom as the context determines the codes to be used), whereas, in the latter, code is simplified metaphorically which conveys a symbolic meaning in communication (e.g., when the language used by the teacher in the classroom changes from formal to informal code; CS for a specific purpose). As Hindi is the authoritative language with social prestige it can have an immediate appeal. However, researchers like Coupland and Jaworski (1997) consider situational CS as a different language form which varies from one user to another based on the situation and the context it has been used in.

Poplack (1980) categorised CS patterns into, intra sentential and inter sentential. This was later modified by Hoffman (1991) into intra, inter and tag sentential code-switches, and this modification has been widely used by researchers (e.g., Dewale and Li, 2014; Koban, 2013) to define the difference between CS and CM. According to Hoffman (1991), inter-sentential switches occur at the sentence boundary, i.e. between different sentences, whereas intra-sentential switches are confined to the sentence where the mix occurs in the form of words and phrases that are inserted, and tag switches are used for inserting tags in a conversation (e.g., *Matlab*, [In Hindi it means, 'I mean']I can't even describe the situation there). Macaro (2018) uses the terms 'intra-clause' and 'inter-clause', simplifying Hoffman's (1991) tripartite classification by considering inter-sentential and tag-switching together. Muysken (2000) divides CS into alteration (i.e. turn from one language to another at the sentence boundary), insertion (i.e. embedding of a phrase, clause, or lexical unit

into the conversation) and congruent lexicalisation (i.e. usage of two languages which can be embedded in the lexicon with either of them).

Among the CS patterns mentioned above, Poplack (1980) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981) talk about two constraints as regards intra-sentential CS. The first (the *equivalence constraint*) states that there is mutual possibility of syntactical items in both languages. Hamers and Blanc (2000) are of the view that for this constraint to apply, the two languages must be typologically identical, else the switch is not possible. The second (the *free morpheme constraint*) states that CS may occur even at the level of the morpheme, provided it is a free morpheme and not a bound one.

The CS patterns that have been focused on in the present study are intra and inter sentential which address the utterances made within a sentence or between sentences. The usage of the language and the patterns can be determined by the socio-economic status of the people and their awareness towards the language. The matrix language frame model rightly talks about the patterns in CS which are appropriate to the present study and is discussed in the following section.

2.2.3 Matrix Language Frame Model (MLFM)

Myers-Scotton's (1993) matrix language (ML) and embedded language (EL) refer to a dominant language and an inserted language which is used within the sentences (Auer and Muhamedova, 2005). This framework describes how learners insert words or phrases from the EL into discourse in the dominant language. The framework is similar to the notions of inter and intra sentential code-switches where the threshold of a switch is defined by the boundary for Myers-Scotton (1993). This boundary is the end of a phrase, clause or a sentence. The ML is considered as the first language within which the morphemes, words or phrases are inserted. Myers-

Scotton (2006), for instance, undertook a discussion on CS from a naturalistic aspect, so she proposed the MLFM to apply to naturally occurring data. This model is based on the dominant ML and EL in a community. The model attempts to answer questions related to what, how and when of activation. Myers advocates that bilinguals choose one language for their morphosyntactic framework, i.e. the ML and thereafter choose words from their lexicon. Generally, they switch because the other language conveys their intention better, based on their proficiency in the target language.

In a similar vein, changes in the patterns of Indian students' speech while communicating in an informal context have been observed. Klinger (2017) draws closer to the naturalistic CS as she examines the variation in the patterns amongst three older speakers and three younger speakers for a period of one month. All the conversation during this period was recorded and the widely code-switched speech was chosen for the purpose of analysis in a naturalistic setting. Based on Myer's Scotton matrix framework model it was observed that in terms of insertional switching (i.e. embedding L2 in the ML), younger speakers produced higher English matrix clauses (75%) as compared to Hindi matrix clauses (25%), whereas, older speakers inserted lesser English clauses (32%) while using their dominant language, Hindi. On the other hand, in terms of alterational clauses used by older people in Hindi and English, there was nearly a balance (31%, 36%), however, in most of the younger speakers CS (80%) dominated the conversation. Hence, it can be concluded that older speakers did make use of insertions in their conversations, but the younger speakers tended to go in for switches at the clause boundary which is termed as alterations. For this reason, younger Indian students in an informal Anglophone context were chosen to analyse their CS patterns. As CS can occur in different situations, it is important to understand the context.

2.3 Context of code-switching

CS is now a common feature of communication among bilinguals (Gardner-Chloros, 2009) and is primarily used in two broad contexts, viz. classroom and out-of-classroom context. There has been more discussion and debate about the former context and less about the latter. The following section critically discusses prominent research in these two contexts in order to justify the relevance of the present work.

2.3.1 Code-switching in the classroom context

There has been ample literature which evidences CS in utterances made in a classroom context (e.g., Macaro, 2005; Brice, 2000). Much of this research pertains to foreign or second language classroom. For example, Macaro (2001) conducted a quantitative study on 6 student teachers in secondary schools in South England investigating CS between English (L1) and French (L2), taking into consideration 14 French lessons during a 36-week training programme. Each interaction was video-recorded to measure student-teacher talk duration in their L1. For this he proposed the virtual (entirely excluding the use of L1), the maximal (taking recourse to L1) and the optimal (making partial use of L1) framework. Beyond the main study, two of the student teachers were also asked to give their reflections on CS. This was analysed using correlation and standard deviation where one-fourth (4.8%) of the conversation was L1 dominated out of the total teacher talking time (6.9%). The findings revealed that the respondent teachers used L1 sparingly. This could be a context specific research where the need to use L1 was less. But these results will not remain uniform and constant in varying situations where the number of teachers increases, or senior secondary or primary teachers are taken from some other region, say the north, east or west part of England because there are always regional variations and variations as per the level of learners which will affect CS. These may also differ depending on the

level of the learners, their background, culture and the medium of instruction in the classroom because in some families and classrooms English is taken seriously whereas in others it is not.

Grit and Jennifer's (2004) study attempted to answer the question of whether L1 access should be provided in a foreign language classroom or not. Using the interaction model proposed by Auer (1984), the researchers struck a contrast between switches based on function: discourse-related function (teacher-led) versus participant-related function (student-led) in a classroom where CS is used as a medium. To conduct this study, the researchers chose a German language classroom of 12 students aged between 20 to 30 years in Canada, where their CS practices were observed and then recorded. The chosen students were accessed based on their German skills in different contexts. It was noted that the students shifted from L1 to L2 when they were not able to convey their message; also, they made use of language alteration to modify their thoughts and referred to their utterances to convey their meaning. The study concluded that CS is user dependent. The authors also advocated that usage of L1 in the classroom assisted in acquiring L2. However, one could argue that L1 usage may act as a hinderance as each language should be taught in isolation to develop the phonological, syntactic and lexical overview of the language for study. Not only this, if L1 is made accessible to the learner they might not want to go out of their comfort zone unless the rules of L2 overlap those of L1. As the present study is in an Anglophone context, it is pertinent to also look at works (which are not too many) done in this context.

2.3.1.1 Code-switching in Anglophone classroom contexts

For their study Dey and Fung (2014) sampled 9 Indian students (from Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai (IITM) in a foreign classroom) who had Hindi as their L1 and English as L2. They were chosen and interviewed at Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) for a period of one month (when they were there for internship) based on their stress and anxiety in the classroom which aimed at finding out the usage of the language and the number of CS made within an utterance during their classroom participation phase. It was concluded that switches occurred within nouns and adjectives only and determiners, pronouns and possessive pronouns did not change. The defined ratio for the usage of Hindi words was confined to 32.30%, whereas use of English remained confined to 67.70% which mostly contributed towards intra-sentential switches. This study suggests that even in an Anglophone classroom context at higher levels of learning CS is common. It can be also argued that if the classroom is teacher controlled CS might vary based upon the mode of communication by the teacher. After talking about the classroom context, it becomes important to switch over to talking about CS in out-of-classroom context.

2.3.2 Code-switching in the out-of-classroom contexts

CS in an out-of-classroom context is a common mode of communication in the Indian context. Therefore, there is a need to highlight the usage of CS in everyday communication as it has become a common medium. However, most researchers of CS among Indian multilinguals have attempted to throw light on the usage of CS in Bollywood films. For example, Si (2011) investigated the variation (alteration, insertion) in CS patterns in Bollywood film dialogues, which revealed that the usage of English has been on the rise as compared to Hindi.

Similarly, CS is all pervasive in the media, especially in advertisements where it is used as a medium of communication in all languages be it in English or Hindi or an amalgamation of the two ('Hinglish'), it is the new wave which has taken over in India, linguistically termed as CM, unlike CS which occurs at the intra-sentential level in an utterance. Research undertaken by Kathpalia and Ong (2015) looks into the linguistic aspect with reference to CS and CM in bill board advertising. For this study, an Indian butter commercial (Amul) was chosen where 493 hoardings were used to analyze whether code-mixed advertisements had the ability to draw the attention of the targeted consumers. Also, the researchers attempted to depict the usage of 'figurative language' and 'combining words' in Amul advertisements. Subsequently, it was concluded that CM is quite natural among bilingual speakers because media which plays an important role in influencing the viewers, readers and listeners make profuse use of it. Even though this research is on print advertising of Amul ads, the print along with pictures impacts the psyche of the language user. The authors emphatically believe that language mixing takes place in advertisements to catch the attention of the targeted consumers

One could argue that although CM and CS hamper the knowledge of both the languages, yet their use is on the rise in the commercial and creative world. As a creative piece of work it could be a part of the tag lines in TV advertisements (which is not the focus of the study), but from the point of linguistics one can study the causes that go behind this very common practice among second language users and analyse the overall impact of CS on general language use (both L1 and L2).

2.3.2.1 Code-switching in the Anglophone out-of-classroom context

CS in an Indian out-of-classroom context is these days a common feature but the use of CS in Anglophone out- of -classroom context is a less explored area of research. The only research that could be traced is based more on the observations of the researcher, rather than gathering data through interviews, focus group and group elicitation.

Malhotra (1992) draws a comparison between the switches of 12 urban, upper-middle class Indians (3 younger males, 3 older males, 3 younger females and 3 older females) residing in the US. The data was collected from the observation of conversations in informal contexts such as religious gatherings, while shopping, on theatre visits and various other recreational activities. Thereafter, interviews were conducted based on their utterances which the researcher observed over a period of five years as they resided in the same neighbourhood. After collecting the data for that long a span, the researcher transcribed it and selected larger chunks of CS for analysis, leaving the smaller chunks to make comparison between the switches made by young and old males and females. She analysed that these urbanites, especially the young adults made use of frequent CS in their conversation irrespective of the setting. This study has been undertaken in the out- of-classroom context as it is easier to observe the switches in varied contexts. The domain and topic variables have been identified appropriately and analysed by the researcher in detail. The study is more extended as it takes into consideration younger and older males and females. If the analysis had been presented in tabular form, the data could have been clearer because the textual analysis has overlaps and lacks clarity. Beyond this the observation span of five years is too long and the data gathered too massive to handle. In this long duration and with this extensive data, there is all possibility of missing out on the key variables. Moreover, the various informal contexts in which data has been collected

could bring about issues related to confidentiality. After the context let us now talk about the role of pragmatic functions (PFs) in CS.

2.4 Pragmatic functions in code-switching

Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics (Cummins, 2019) which considers the usage and also the context in which the language has been deployed (Huang, 2007). These social signals entail ‘speech acts, deixis, conversation implicature and presupposition’ (Huang, 2007, p 2), out of which speech acts and conversation implicature, discourse markers, interjection, general extenders, quotatives, intonation, expletives, vocatives, repetition, emphasis, acceptance, rejection, pauses, humour and questions have been taken into consideration for the present study. It is essential to determine the use of PFs to get a clear insight into why, how and where people code-switch in a specific situation (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981). However, Poplack (1985) argues that CS does not convey any significant meaning. On the other hand, Andersen (2014) contests that PFs act as meaningful units and help in the way CS conversation is carried out.

One of the initial studies by Prince (1988) highlighted pragmatics with reference to CS, taking into consideration the discourse markers linked to the second language in Yiddish society and see how he attempted to analyse the Yiddish sentences and how one language borrows the discourse markers of a particular syntax from another language. He observed that PFs remained confined to the meaning in the context and did not affect the utterance at the syntactic level. The study failed to provide detailed information on the background of the Yiddish and Salvic speakers, note the sample and reveal how the data was collected. Though the variation between pragmatic borrowing from Salvic into Yiddish denoted that the borrowing occurred at

the pragmatic level using discourse markers in a non-standard English form, yet quantitative analysis of the data using co-relation would have led to better results. Similarly, Andersen (2014) analysed the pragmatic borrowing (pragmatic and discourse markers of L1 into L2) at various levels such as interjections, discourse markers, expletives, vocatives, general extenders, tags, focus constructions, intonation and paralinguistic phenomenon with reference to the impact of English in the Norwegian context. He analysed the functions and collocational properties of these borrowings from source language to a recipient language which is also termed as Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) because of similar embedding mechanism of the dominant language into another language and also their presence and absence in one or the other language along with their impact on syntax. This is similar to the Matrix Language Frame Model (MLFM) proposed by Myers Scotton (2006) in that this framework talks about insertion of words/ phrases from EL and ML. This has been further extended by Barredo (2014), who talks about how lack of an expression in Basque or Spanish leads to lexical gaps, hesitation, pauses and authoritative tone. They usually take recourse to switching to ease out the conversation or 'structure discourse' (p. 540). So, this study instead of theorising the PFs came up with an analytical framework of borrowed words.

Beyond the informal and the formal setting, PFs have had a widespread use on the internet. Lavander (2017) attempted to create a distinction between CS into Valencian, English and Castilian in oral communication and Twitter conversation, classifying the respondents according to gender and then analysing their responses in terms of PFs. This was done through the extraction of 106,719 words and 8,432 tweets from PRESEEA corpus and by including twenty-five female profiles and thirty-seven males which included only the code-switched tweets from the corpus

provided. It was interesting to note that triggered switches (7.14%) and lexical units (25.56%) dominated their tweets, however, emphasis (9.02%) and free switches (8.64%) remained the least favoured, amongst the Valencian bilinguals. Similarly, in PRESEEA triggered switches (44.44%) were pervasive in their oral conversation, and free switches (13.49%) the least used. Results showed that the data available through Twitter was not elaborate; in fact, there were different tags used to give an emotional response. The respondents used CS as a pragmatic tool for different functions. The comparison made between the two modes of communication is non-conclusive because of the varying sociolinguistic context.

2.5 Code-switching in relation to gender

The usage of CS in bilingual or multilingual communication has emerged over the years. Amongst which, gender has been a widely researched factor in determining the CS patterns within a community. Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998) advocate that gender cannot be considered as one of the sole factors in determining switches, rather it should be based also on culture, socio-economic status and setting.

Abiding by this norm, Sreeram, Dhawan and Sinha (2018) explored CS in the context of growing usage of technology in India and found that ‘Hinglish’ is the new wave which has taken over the networking world. The study analysed the code-switched speech corpus of Indian students in ‘Hinglish’ using automatic speech recognition (ASR). Key features like accent, age, gender were considered while compiling the corpus. 71 native speakers of Hindi aged between 20 to 64 years, from different parts of India were recruited for collecting their text and speech corpus. For the former, the researcher collected transcripts from various blogging websites which were compiled together to create written data. Similar topics were given to them for

recording their speech production which led to collection of speech corpus. Thereafter, the data was compiled together for creation of ASR database. It was observed that nearly 7,500 utterances were made by the participants, out of which males (61.97%) dominated the conversation in comparison to females (38.03%). This gender disparity in terms of code-switched utterances prevailed in every aspect. However, the researcher argues that these might vary based on their region, culture and competence in both the languages as India is a multilingual country.

As stated by the researchers, there were various limitations and challenges to this research in collecting the data because a lot of research had been done in languages like Cantonese, Mandarin, Malay etc. but Hindi stood alone as the least researched language. But in this research, the researchers managed to create a database with a varied corpus in which gender remained a decisive factor to a certain extent, however, the other factors (age, background, culture, competence in the language) also contributed in the analyses. The study lacked clarity on the conclusions drawn; also, the usage of ASR detection for code-switched speech was not successful because it could not detect the reasons for CS clearly. Beyond this, the researchers did not talk about the speech detection which is essential to ASR. Another drawback to this research was that the researchers also did not distinguish between CS among males and females.

2.6 Rationale of the study

Research on CS, as is evident from the literature reviewed above, has been undertaken predominantly in the context of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and English as a foreign language (EFL). Very few studies have been conducted in out-of-the-classroom context and hardly any among Indian participants in an

Anglophone context because CS was initially considered as non-standard. As a result, to date only a small number of researchers have been willing to work on it.

Moreover, collecting data in an informal context from advanced users of English is a challenge because when it comes to performance, most of them prefer using English because of which instances of CS are less. The reasons of bilingual/ multilingual users alternating between their L1 and L2 would have been an interesting study but the focus of the research was to identify the patterns and analyse them as per gender variation and pragmatic function. Due to gradual increase in the code-switched utterances, studies in this area have been undertaken in the Spanish, Chinese and various other bilingual contexts. Further studies can be undertaken to check the receptivity of CS practices in other countries like Japan and France also where focus towards English has shifted in the recent past.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

CS has been one of the common ways of oral communication which has been widely used while communicating in an informal context in India. In Li's (2018) words it is 'the alternation between languages in a specific "communicative episode" which occurs at specific switch points'. In a similar vein, Scotton and Ury (1977) define it as 'the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction'. So those who switch over are essentially bilingual, if not multilingual speakers. In this study CS is operationalized as the ability to have a back and forth shift between two languages or varieties in a single conversation. This switch enables the receiver to comprehend the meaning conveyed by the interlocutor.

During the course of the study, CS has been used as a hyponym to define borrowing, alteration and mixing between utterances as some of the elements of CS overlap with mixing. It is difficult to segregate the two terms as both are used as a part of a single utterance. Though CS is user-dependent and occurs in a fixed pattern, CM occurs in a random pattern as it exists within the sentence (Muysken, 2000; Vu, Adel, Schultz, 2013; Blom and Gumperz, 2000). Linked to these two terms is translanguaging which focuses on 'sense making' and does not limit itself to bilingualism, rather it promotes multilingualism in the classroom (Li, 2018; Garcia, 2009). For the present study CS has been taken as an issue in the bilingual speakers in an Anglophone context because these common shifts have been observed in day-to-day conversations of Hindi users of English while talking informally to friends and relatives (Graddol, 2010). But the focus of the present work is on CS and CM,

excluding translanguaging. For this, three broad research questions, which formed the basis of this dissertation, were framed.

3.2 Research Questions

The study addresses the following research questions:

RQ 1: What are the patterns of code-switching among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

RQ 2: Is gender a decisive factor in finding the patterns of code-switching among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

RQ 3: Do patterns of code-switching serve pragmatic functions among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

There are two key components which have been addressed while taking CS into consideration. The first (pragmatics) forms a part of semantics which deals with conveying meaning through a speaker, context and expressions (Yule 1996,). To analyse the patterns of CS amongst Indian users, pragmatic utterances delineate their attitude and expression towards the questions raised. These can be based on stylistic features such as: emphasis, focus, elaboration, clarification, attention, attraction and retention, mode shift, topic shift, addressee shift or grammatical elements which are intertwined in a conversation and can be determined by the context (McClure 1977, Auer 1995).

The second (gender) can be considered as one of the major social factors in determining the patterns of CS because it is believed that females tend to be submissive and men overpower women in terms of their speech (Kiesling, 2007). It was anticipated that the utterances made would enable the researcher in differentiating

the patterns of CS in women from that of men, and further answer the question about the frequency of switches in sentences; whether they are inter-sentential or intra-sentential. The study considered gender as a factor while analysing the responses collected from Group Elicitation (GE) task and Stimulated Recall (SR) which were video recorded and then transcribed.

One of the seminal studies in this regard is that of Poplack (2000) who studied the factors which affected CS and took gender into consideration as an extra linguistic factor while examining the occurrence of intra-sentential CS in Spanish speakers. It was noted that women code-switched 56% more than men and these switches were predominantly intra-sentential. Similarly, Dewaele and Li's (2014) study, examined the attitudes of the learners towards CS on the basis of gender. One of the underlining social factors of this study was that females had a positive attitude towards learning as compared to males. Hence, there was a gender disparity in their attitudes towards CS. But in the current research gender as a factor has been taken into consideration to identify and ascertain the patterns of CS in a group of Indian graduate students studying and residing in University of Oxford, UK.

3.3 Study design

In order to explore the patterns of CS among these Indian students, they were made to take part in two group elicitation (GE) tasks (the first being piloting and the second being main discussion) in which they discussed general topics such as sports, their area of specialisation, and politics. Based on their initial utterances and previous research, it was predicted that they will engage in CS (Gardner-Chloros, 2009) in such an informal setting. This gave the researcher an opportunity to analyse the variation in their use of CS patterns and PFs.

The current study is of significance as it adopted a qualitative analysis approach which delves into the change in patterns and the usage of pragmatics in the utterances of the Indian users in the out-of-classroom, informal context. Qualitative analysis was adopted because it allowed the researcher to have a better understanding of the participants and the data received from them rather than basing it on statistics. This detailing feature of qualitative research covers its drawback that it is ‘less systematic and standardized’ (Dorneyi 2007, p. 125) as compared to quantitative research. So, the focus of this research was more on ‘an issue, a group... rather than having a hypothesis’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 304).

For the study the research was divided into two parts:

1. Group elicitation (GE) task

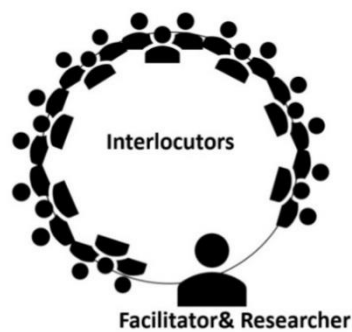


Fig. 3.1 GE Formation

The GE task is a branch of elicitation technique used for seeking desired information from a targeted group of respondents. It has been loosely termed as the ability to ‘uncover unarticulated informant knowledge’ (Johnson and Weller, 2001, p. 491) which is sometimes difficult to convey. Elicitation tasks majorly make use of ‘visual, verbal or written stimuli’ to elicit responses from the respondents (Barton,

2015, p.179). However, for the purpose of this study verbal stimuli was delineated as part of the GE task.

GE technique was used as a part of this study to get an insight into the group that was formed in a manner to make the participants comfortable enough to enable them to share their views. The selected participants were asked to talk on general topics (Appendix M) which did not require any prior knowledge. One of the key advantages of using elicitation groups is that they can interact freely by communicating with others (Cooke, 1994). However, there are some drawbacks to this technique such as getting similar data from the participants in the group or a fading out of discussion, which luckily did not happen in the present study. Therefore, this technique proved to be effective in eliciting data from groups of people who had shared interests. This group cannot be termed as a focus group as it was not an organic group, rather it was a single group that was created by the researcher, because of which no comparison between more groups could be made. (Krueger and Casey, 2015).

2. Stimulated recall (SR)

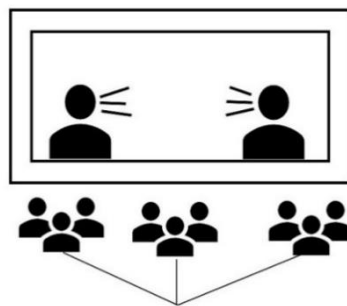


Fig. 3.2 SR Formation

After the GE task, out of the six participants, two of them (one male, one female) who frequently code-switched during the GE task were chosen and asked to

reflect back on their utterances made during GE task which is termed as SR, one of the most introspective methods that triggers the participants cognitive process and enables them to recollect their thoughts when performing a specific task. The strength of the research is that it provides a naturalistic environment. However, there is a conflict regarding the introspection process as some of the L2 learners would not be comfortable in sharing their views unless they are assured about confidentiality of the collected data. So, the weakness of the research is that the participants might have considered it to be a direct attack on their implicit knowledge which may have made it difficult to elicit responses, but this did not happen in the present research (Lyle, 2007). Also, this method is majorly governed by the research questions framed by the researcher which makes it a less favoured method (Gass and Mackey, 2000; Rose, 2009). In order to check these drawbacks effective measures were taken towards ensuring that the participants were in a comfortable and safe environment and their responses were not manipulated. The study opted for SR protocol to analyse the driving force behind the utterances made at a given point of time, in the form of flashback, conducted within 24 hours of group discussion through video-recording. Selection of respondents was made based on the switch and turn taking at the sentence boundary from Hindi to English and vice versa, and also within the same sentence.

This method was apt for the study because it enabled the researcher to ‘isolate particular events from the stream of consciousness’ (Gass and Mackey, 2000, p. 15) such as the long code-switches with turn taking at the beginning of a sentence or a mix in the tongue which is followed by a turn taken at the end, picked up from the GE task to identify the switches. This also helped in understanding the choices of the respondents from their linguistic repertoire. Think aloud which enables the participants to introspect their utterances and elicit responses from them at the same

time was not used because the thoughts occurred in a disorganised manner (Dörneyi, 2007) and the possibility was that they could have missed out on important details. Beyond this, it was not apt for the study as it would not have addressed the desired questions raised. This introspective method could be rather used if the utterances were in a specific context and the conversation was being analysed instead of the spoken language content.

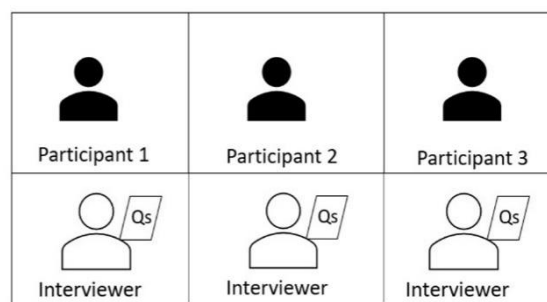


Fig 3.3 Interview Formation

This enabled the researcher to have an in-depth knowledge of the utterances made and answered the questions related to CS. As a final step of SR two respondents who code-switched often and made use of PFs in their utterances were chosen and were interviewed through questions which were ‘open-ended and the interviewee ... encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner’ (Dörneyi, 2007, p. 136). This is one of the most efficient ways to collect data in detail from the participants as it occurs in a natural and socially acceptable way and results in yielding valid data. The questions raised by the researcher had varied answers from each of the respondent. Interviewing is considered as one of the most effective techniques as it allows the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the experiences shared (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). However, it remains confined to a particular topic which restricts the interviewee to think in similar direction. This tool

is also one of the most time-consuming methods (Meade and McMenemy, 1992) hence, difficult to opt for. Beyond this, as it is majorly based on interaction, sometimes the respondents might not be willing to share their thoughts. But in the present research the selected respondents participated actively and keenly. So, this method was used to learn more about the experience of the respondents. Keeping in mind the time constraints, each interview was conducted for 15 minutes, with nine questions (Appendix K) to analyse the respondent's reasons for CS during informal conversation.

The patterns of CS have been analysed using the transcribed data. These patterns were defined using switch at the sentence boundary or within a sentence. This allowed the researcher to understand the utterances made within a sentence or at the sentence boundaries. To get a deeper understanding of the patterns, all the spoken text was transcribed which helped in making use of the thematic coding analysis to measure and easily understand the code-alterations within a sentence. Thematic coding (TC) was adopted to analyse the patterns as it divides the themes into various categories which are dealt individually in the form of cases thereafter (Flick, 2014). In the current study TC has been used for creating the CS and pragmatic themes to understand the patterns within the data which is effectively managed and organised in a chronological order, enabling easy access and flexibility to carry forward qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The six-phase approach was adopted to take all the CS factors into consideration for the current study. It initiated from the familiarisation of the data which was available in the form of video recording of GE and audio recording of SR. The data was first compiled, thereafter, it moved on to generating the codes in NVivo which consisted of observation notes and other descriptive notes, the coding procedure was followed by assignment of suitable

themes to the utterances made which were thereafter reviewed by the researcher and defined (Huberman and Miles, 1983). Conversation analysis and content analysis were dropped as they were content based.

Gender was considered as one of the governing factors when taking CS into consideration as men tend to overpower women in terms of speech (Odongo and Jagero, 2011). Therefore, gender was analysed through NVivo where the question of who outperformed in the informal conversation was answered. However, gender, as a variable could be controlled to a certain extent only. From the initial observation notes it was observed that men outperformed women. It was interesting to note gender in comparison to other factors, like their patterns of CS and their usage of PFs.

Each detail was taken into consideration while transcribing the collected data from the interviews and GE task. As mentioned above the data was transcribed, pseudonymising the names of the participants and simultaneously focusing on 'turn taking, breaks, ends of sentences' (Flick 2014, p. 389) and time pauses.

The utterances have been analysed on the basis of turn taking at sentence initiation through conversation analysis. This method was adopted as it takes into account 'naturally occurring, interactive talk' in an informal context which is based on turn-taking, repairs and interruptions. This inductive driven approach has been considered as it can be based on individual and group utterances with the help of the discourse environment (Paltridge and Phakiti, 2015, p. 509). The PFs that have been operationalised are apology, greeting, rejection, acceptance, interjections, discourse markers, general extenders, quotatives, intonation, expletives, vocatives and focus markers (Anderson, 2014; Cummins, 2019). These were analysed in relation to gender and patterns qualitatively which enabled in answering the use of PFs by the Indian

bilinguals. To begin with, the dataset was initially recorded, and specific pragmatic statements were chosen from the transcribed data to justify the organisation of these elements which eventually led towards conversation analysis (opening and end) (Flick, 2009).

The uniqueness of this research is that it has been done in an Anglophone country, taking non-native students as respondents. CS is now a common practice which can be mainly noticed in informal naturalistic environment, but it is missing in formal situation (Dewaele 2001). The current study aims at exploring the patterns in participants' utterances when they code-switch while interacting with their peer group in informal settings. Effort has also been made to find out whether these shifts were because of PFs and also finding out whether there were variations according to gender. Now we need to consider the population and the number of participants from whom the sample was collected.

3.4 Population and sample

The population was graduate and postgraduate Indian students who are native speakers of Hindi, studying at University of Oxford, UK. The sample consisted of 6 adult (18+ years of age) Oxford students who had Hindi as their L1 and English as their second language. All of them were fluent in English and had a good proficiency level as they came from public school background where English was the medium of instruction from the primary class. All the participants were expected to be fluent in both the languages initially during the recruitment process as mentioned in the proposed email (Appendix E). The table below gives details of each participant whose identity was pseudomised:

Table 3-1 Participants' details

S. No.	Participant code	Gender	Age	Major languages spoken	IELTS score	Home state/ City	Status of Hindi
1.	AD	F	25	Hindi, English	7.5	New Delhi	L1
2.	DJ	M	26	Hindi, English, Malyali	8	Kerala	L2
3.	DE	M	24	Hindi, English	7	Chattisgarh	L1
4.	PU	F	23	Hindi, English, Bangla	6.5	West Bengal	L2
5.	SU	M	25	Hindi, English, Punjabi	7.5	Chandigarh	L1
6.	VA	M	24	Hindi, English, Telgu	7	Chennai	L2

These participants were recruited through snowball technique where initially one participant was recruited based on his initial meeting with the researcher as a result of the mail sent by the president of Oxford Indian Society to all Indians

studying in University of Oxford. This eased out the recruitment process as it allowed the researcher to create a homogeneous group of participants who fulfilled the desired criteria for participation as English and Hindi were the two common languages known to all and during their informal conversations, they were observed to code switch often. This also allowed them to be comfortable with their peer group. Through this method the respondents could have fallen prey to the biasness of the referral which might have affected the data (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013) but they did not because each one participated actively and freely which helped the researcher get the desired data.

For SR the selection was done on the basis of the most active CS participants during the GE phase. Amongst the boys it was DJ and out of the two girls, AD and PU, the former CS with longer patches as compared to the latter but she could not be taken for SR because of her academic engagements. So, the obvious choice was PU. She also code switched often with short stretches of conversation, but she was able to give significant input.

3.5 Research instruments

The research instruments employed in the research were an Observation Protocol (OP; Appendix L), an Interview Schedule (Appendix K), interlinked with SR protocol and GE task protocol.

GE task protocol was one of the initial instruments which aimed at collecting the data from a group of 8 invited students out of which finally 6 attended the study. These interested participants were given a walk through the entire study and were motivated to talk on general topics of interest in a group. GE task protocol was chosen as an instrument to get data from informal switch pattern that existed in L2 users of

English from India in a foreign context. Along with CS, the usage of pragmatic functions (PFs) during their conversation was noted. In order to understand and analyse these utterances in an informal context, code-switches which had a mix of pragmatic function words (both in L1 and L2) within the same sentence were chosen. Beyond this, gender was also taken into consideration, to know whether female participants were more active in a conversation as compared to the male participants.

Initially, two discussion topics were assigned in the form of flashcards so that participants could talk on a specific topic rather than a controversial or debatable one. However, the moderator did not make use of the given flashcards as the participants were comfortable introducing their area of interest and moved on to discuss about the political scenario in India without any cue cards assigned to them. This GE had a moderator (who was responsible for driving the conversation) and an observer (the researcher) assigned within the conversation.

The Observation Protocol measured the patterns of CS and differences in terms of gender. This was used during the GE task where the researcher, acting as observer, was placed outside the group and did not participate in the group discussion. The researcher collected field notes which contributed towards the analysis of the research questions. During the observation, the researcher checked whether the research questions were addressed. For this she gave the responsibility to the moderator and ensured not to intervene in the conversation as it might have affected the data. This approach was inspired from the focus group discussion. However, focus group discussion could not be adopted as it involved the comparison of various groups but as the number of respondents in this case was small, GE was adopted. This instrument was used to illustrate their usage patterns and identify who code-switched more in the informal discussion context. In order to analyse the data a note of their

PFs was made before transcribing it. During the observation phase, initially the participants were a bit hesitant in deciding the code in which they should speak because they were conscious that they were being video-recorded but after the initial hitch when the moderator took over and made them comfortable by seeking their views on familiar topics they became more confident and natural in their discussion.

SR helped in making the participants refresh their memory about the CS they indulged into during the discussion. This contributed towards answering the questions about the patterns of their CS at certain time points and identifying whether it was done deliberately or unconsciously. This led to a better understanding of how and why utterances were made and acted as a source of feedback. In order to gain their input regarding the usage of two languages within the same boundary or outside that, they were asked to introspect the utterances made. Based on that, they were questioned about their knowledge of CS, usage of CS in formal and informal context, role of the environment and comfort level while interacting in an informal context with Indian friends. These questions gave an insight into the reasons which contributed towards drawing conclusion to the main research questions raised. Initially, this also acted as a feedback towards their comfort level during the study.

SR has been considered as an effective instrument to bring back traces of the utterances made while interacting during GE. The two participants who were interviewed had similar responses which contributed towards identification of CS patterns. Although, GE task protocol would have been sufficient to get the desired input, yet SR was chosen to understand the psyche behind the usage in the informal setting and to establish that this is the usual mode of communication among Indian students in an out-of-country context.

Followed by this, they were simultaneously interviewed after retrieving the utterances made in order to re-establish the analysis done during observation. This instrument was used to conduct a qualitative analysis and delve deep into the intricacies of CS. Research tools like questionnaires were dropped because the number of respondents was less. Moreover, a questionnaire would have made it difficult to yield the desired result; neither would it have answered the research questions raised. The biggest drawback of using questionnaires is that these are not very reliable as the respondents might be dishonest in terms of their responses (Dorneyi, 2009). Nine basic questions were framed for SR because the interview was planned for 15 minutes, keeping the time constraints of the respondents. The questions focused on their awareness about CS, their comfort in switching codes, their intention in doing so, role of environment in encouraging or discouraging them to switch codes. The order of questions asked was in the same sequence so that the desired data that addressed the RQs could be sought from them. It is now pertinent to talk about piloting.

3.6 Piloting

Piloting was conducted on 25 March 2019 with 5 participants who were Indian students studying at University of Oxford. Initially, 8 participants were recruited for the pilot study, out of which, only 5 male participants willingly agreed to participate, therefore, it led to gender disparity, meaning that the pilot data received became invalid as regards investigating gender differences in CS. The pilot study was conducted with a small group discussion in a meeting room in Kellogg College for 15 minutes to test whether during the GE task (Appendix G) participants code-switched in an informal setting. The researcher did not become a part of the discussion, rather acted as an observer. Instead, a moderator who was articulate, social, reliable,

intelligent and had the ability to create a comfortable environment for the participants and encourage the participants to talk was appointed to drive the conversation. As part of the conversation, all the participants were asked to introduce themselves to the peer group and discuss about their area of study. This was emulated in the main study design where they were asked to talk on similar lines. These participants indulged in an informal conversation automatically and code-switched during the discussion quite naturally.

These set of respondents, it was observed, felt encouraged to code-switch from their environment as they had aligned interests and subjects. During the course of this period, they also made use of some PFs out of which questioning, and discourse markers were the most common ones. However, female participation could not be reflected in the pilot study. To overcome this and control the gender variable in the main study, some female students were approached to be recruited for the study, but finally only 2 of them showed interest in participating. Beyond this, during the pilot study, one of the participants felt intimidated at the start because of the setting of the GE task. Therefore, for the main study, an informal setting was created so that all the participants felt comfortable. The position of the camera was also taken into consideration so that everyone was visible in the video recording. It is now relevant to talk about the procedure adopted right from the beginning of the dissertation to collect the desired data.

3.7 Procedure

The research was conducted with the main sample (n=6) over a period of 2 weeks (9 May 2019 to 2 June 2019), fixing two meetings with the whole group, followed by individual stimulated recall sessions with some individuals. Each group

session lasted for approximately an hour. The first group session took place on 19 May 2019 in Kellogg College. This session functioned as a pilot of sorts, which enabled the researcher and the participants to become accustomed to one another and to the discourse environment of the meeting. It did not pose much of a challenge because all came from the same ethno-cultural background (Sert, 2005).

Thereafter, in the second week the group met for the second time on 2 June 2019 in Kellogg College and participants entered into a discussion on topics such as sports, their area of study and Indian politics. All meetings were video-taped and observed by the researcher, using the observation protocol. However, the second meeting was opted for analysis as all of them code-switched frequently and the desired data was gathered. At the end of the second week meeting, after the final GE, the researcher identified the participants who would be interviewed during SR within 24 hours, based on their CS patterns and behaviour.

For the recruitment process, an email (Appendix F) was sent across to all the members of the Oxford Indian Society by the President of the society who had been provided with the proposal to participate in the study. Out of 800 members in the society to whom the mail was sent, only one of them showed keen interest in participating. After getting such a cold response, the participants were recruited through referrals and snowball sampling. All the interested participants were provided with an information sheet where being a Hindi native speaker was considered as an essential requirement. Once they agreed to all the conditions stated on the information sheet, it was followed by piloting.

The researcher initiated the first meeting with an introductory session where an attempt was made to create a rapport with the participants by making them talk

about Oxford, the colleges they have been residing in before turning on the video-taping as they were getting conscious of being video-taped. For the GE task, the researcher acted as an observer who took a backseat during the discussion and did not intervene during the conversation, taking some field notes related to the research questions. This method emulated from the focus group discussion which is based on the comparison between multiple groups (Hennink and Leavy, 2014; Kitzinger, 1995). The researcher remained as a spectator and appointed a moderator for GE to keep the conversation neutral. The moderator initiated the conversation on a topic and ensured that each of the participants is comfortable speaking on it. To conduct this study, 6 participants who met for an hour for discussion on some general topics of their choice formed a part of the study. The initial plan was to ask them to discuss on the topic provided in the flashcard given to them and share their experiences on it. However, they did not discuss on the topic(s) provided, rather they deviated towards other topics which they found interesting.

24 hours after the GE task trimmed video-clips from GE were shown to two selected participants on a laptop where the researcher posed questions related to their utterances. The respondents were asked to reflect on their responses and give reasons for their switch during the conversation. After talking in detail about the procedure of the data collection it is pertinent to discuss the strategy adopted to analyse it.

The patterns of CS have been analysed using the transcribed data. These patterns were defined using switch at the sentence boundary or within a sentence. This allowed the researcher to understand the utterances made within a sentence or at the sentence boundaries. To get a deeper understanding of the patterns, all the spoken text was transcribed which helped in making use of the thematic coding analysis to measure and easily understand the code-alterations within a sentence. Thematic

coding (TC) was adopted to analyse the patterns as it divides the themes into various categories which are dealt individually in the form of cases thereafter (Flick, 2014). In the current study TC has been used for creating the CS and pragmatic themes to understand the patterns within the data which is effectively managed and organised in a chronological order, enabling easy access and flexibility to carry forward qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The six-phase approach was adopted to take all the CS factors into consideration for the current study. It initiated from the familiarisation of the data which was available in the form of video recording of GE and audio recording of SR. The data was first compiled, thereafter, it moved on to generating the codes in NVivo which consisted of observation notes and other descriptive notes, the coding procedure was followed by assignment of suitable themes to the utterances made which were thereafter reviewed by the researcher and defined (ibid., 2006). Conversation analysis and content analysis were dropped as they were content based.

Gender has been considered as one of the governing factors when taking CS into consideration as men tend to overpower women in terms of speech (Odongo and Jagero, 2011). Therefore, gender was analysed through NVivo where the question of who outperformed in the informal conversation was answered. However, gender, as a variable could be controlled to a certain extent only. From the initial observation notes it was observed that men outperformed women. It was interesting to note gender in comparison to the other factors, like their patterns of CS and their usage of PFs.

Each and every detail was taken into consideration while transcribing the collected data from the interviews and GE task. As mentioned above the data was transcribed, pseudonymising the names of the participants and simultaneously

focusing on ‘turn taking, breaks, ends of sentences’ (Flick 2014, p. 389) and time pauses.

The utterances were analysed based on turn taking at sentence initiation through conversation analysis. This method was adopted as it considers ‘naturally occurring, interactive talk’ in an informal context which is based on turn-taking, repairs and interruptions. This inductive driven approach was considered as it can be based on individual and group utterances with the help of the discourse environment (Paltridge and Phakiti, 2015, p. 509). The PFs that have been operationalised are apology, greeting, rejection, acceptance, interjections, discourse markers, general extenders, quotatives, intonation, expletives, vocatives and focus markers (Andersen, 2014; Cummins, 2019). These were analysed in relation to gender and patterns qualitatively enabled in answering the use of PFs by the Indian bilinguals.

3.8 Analysis strategy

3.8.1 Transcription protocol

The switch at the beginning of the sentence or at the end from Hindi to English or vice versa is considered as CS. In the data collected, the utterances made in Hindi were italicised to differentiate between the two languages in the transcription. Other abbreviations in the transcription data such as pause, hesitation, overlap have also been noted in block letters in round brackets; this facilitated in analysing the PFs, for example:

AD: (CROSS OVER TALK) *Acha* you are starting, okay. *Bolo?*
The English translation has been taken up in curved brackets in the following manner:
{Okay, you are starting, okay, speak?} Translation

3.8.2 Coding procedure

Thereafter, all the transcribed data from the GE task and SR was analysed and coded into NVivo. The research questions (based on gender, pragmatics and patterns) acted as parent nodes and the varieties acted as child nodes (Appendix E). Once each of the nodes was coded individually, they were grouped together for comparison and contrast within the existing nodes. Operationalisation of PFs was also done and findings were drawn as per the frequency of occurrence. The reliability of the tools in the present research can be established through trustworthiness while transcribing the discussion of the participants in the group and the responses received from SR. Beyond the coding, the authenticity of the data was also validated.

3.9 Trustworthiness

To establish the trustworthiness of the data, the qualitative data was re-coded by another researcher from the cohort, out of which, the relevant code-switches which were mutually discussed upon were considered because Lincoln and Guba (1985) are of the view that it is essential to create credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability of the encoded data. This is important for ensuring objectivity and transparency in research. If the data is credible, the research will be authentic. So, 20% of the data was dropped as it was considered insignificant; it did not have long stretches of CS.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Once the ethical approval from the Central University Research Ethics Committee of the University of Oxford (CUREC; Appendix A) was granted, the researcher contacted all the interested participants through email and briefed them about the study through the information sheet (Appendix C) and also personal meetings. As soon as the participants gave their consent to be included in the study,

they were asked to sign a consent sheet (Appendix D) on arrival which stated that the study would keep all the details pseudonymised, and withdrawal from the study at any point would not be questioned.

Apart from gaining ethical consent via CUREC, the ethical implications of research were taken into consideration by conducting GE task and SR in 62 Meeting Room, Kellogg College so that the interaction with the group remains confined to the participants only and there is no public viewing of these discussions.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In order to conduct a qualitative analysis of the data on CS in an informal context among Indian students studying at University of Oxford, UK, three variables (patterns of CS, pragmatic markers and gender) were taken into consideration by establishing the inter relation between them to get a better understanding of CS in the given context.

This chapter highlights the findings of the data collected through GE and SR. Although CS patterns, which are operationalised in this study as intra and inter-sentential, are difficult to deduce as they usually appear in an irregular pattern making them difficult to understand, this study has tried to identify these patterns and excluded extra-sentential or tag-switching. Analysis of this third pattern was excluded because there are hardly any samples of it in the data collected; most of the switches are at the sentence/ clause boundary or within the sentence/ clause. Likewise, the varieties of PFs which are used within a code-switched sentence have also been analysed in detail and the rest (i.e. those that occur during non-switched discourse) have been ignored.

The present study is an adaptation of the work undertaken by Andersen (2014) on pragmatics and Dey's and Fung's (2014) study on CS in Anglophone context which has been carried forward in the present study in the Indian context as it include both the aspects and extend it further to consideration of gender and CS patterns. After undertaking a review of literature of the related works, the researcher realised that most of the work on CS has been done in the classroom context; very few works have been undertaken in the out-of-classroom context and rarer still are works in the

informal Anglophone context. A study of the inter relationship of the three variables (gender, CS patterns and PFs) taken in the present study comes up with relevant findings which address some of the gaps left and questions unaddressed in previous studies.

4.2 Code-switching in relation to gender

The data collected has been analysed at the clause level initially, to get a detailed understanding of CS respondent-wise and in totality. This comprised a total of 671 clauses within a duration of 60 minutes interaction during GE; out of these, 220 (32.78%) clauses had CS. The table below shows the CS percentage as per each respondent for a clearer understanding.

Table 4-1 Number of clauses used

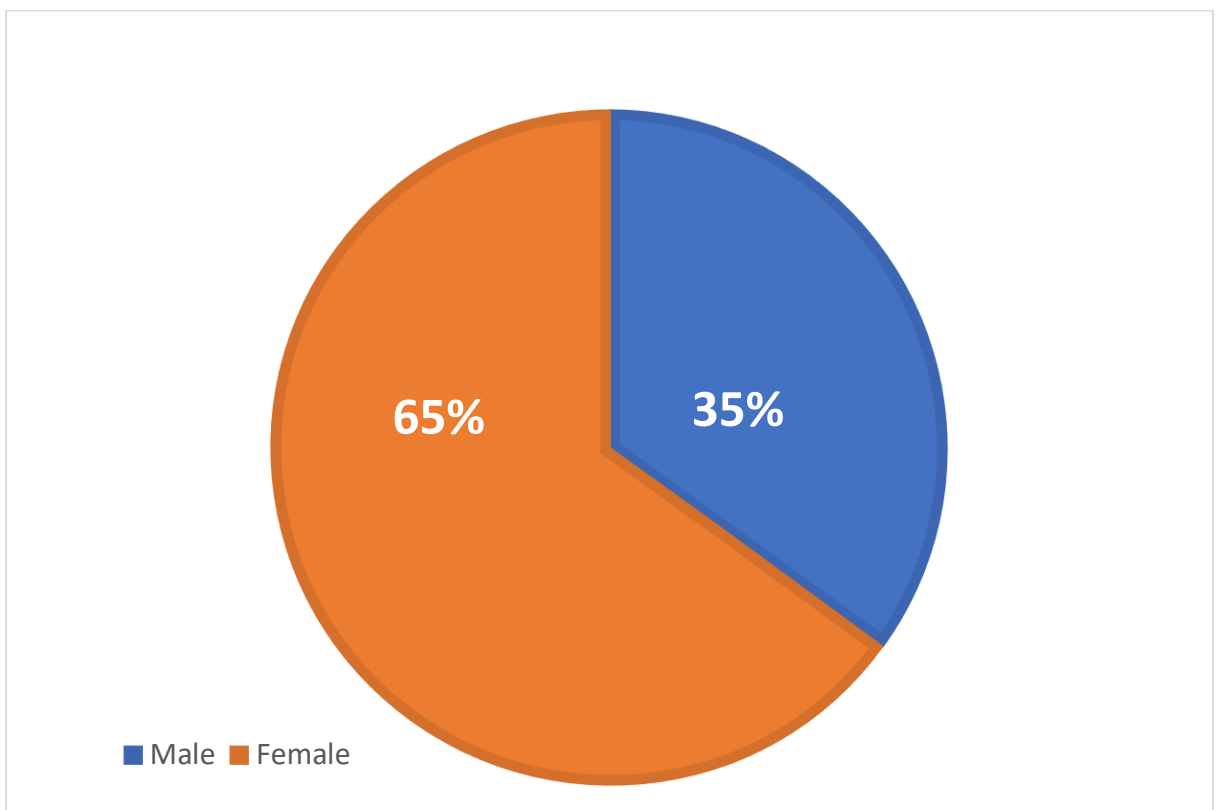
Respondents	Gender	No. of clauses used	No. of CS clauses	CS Percentage
1 AD	F	119	41	34.45%
2 PU	F	86	31	36.04%
3 DE	M	99	08	08.08%
4 DJ	M	247	92	37.24%
5 VA	M	38	05	13.15%
6 SU	M	82	43	54.43%

Finally, two of the participants who frequently code-switched during GE were interviewed for SR. Their responses to the questions asked led to significant

contribution to research. Finally, their responses (PU and DJ) were transcribed and analysed for the study.

Out of the 6 participants in the group, there were 4 males and 2 females whose conversation was analysed based on their CS patterns in an informal context. There is an imbalance in the number of male and female participants because it was difficult to create balanced participation through snowball technique. This gender disparity gets reflected in terms of CS also; male participation (65%) was stronger than the female participation (35%). The graph below also shows this clear divide:

Fig 4.1 CS as per gender



From the above graph it can be clearly seen that there was no fixed pattern in terms of CS by male and female participants. The following extract from one of the male participants in the group supports the point:

DJ: Cheating *hai* boss. *Nahi* but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive. [PAUSE] Which is fair, if your personality is aggressive then that's good but like why are you being aggressive? Just to prove a point [NOT AUDIBLE] ...productive or like worth presuming?

{It is cheating boss. No, but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive. [PAUSE] Which is fair, if your personality is aggressive then that's good but like why are you being aggressive? Just to prove a point [NOT AUDIBLE] ...productive or like worth presuming?}

In the above example, except for the two morphs *hai* and *nahi*, the whole conversation is in L2. On the other hand, the same participant at another point indulges into frequent CS:

DJ: *Koi baat nahi*, Sushil Kumar *ko dekh lijiye*. He...*banda* world champion *reh chuka hai*, *theek hai*. World champion of wrestling *matlab Usbeki, Kazaki, Ruski*, Japan. *Pure duniya se jo log aate hain Kenya wanya se sab logon ko unke desh mein jake haraya hai* and he became the world champion. *Aaj pata hai vo kya kar raha hai?* He is clerk in a... railway. He is a railway clerk! *Soch ke dekhiye. Dekhiye jo bhi kaho kitne desh khelte hai cricket yar. Subcontinent ko nikal do, criket ka market hai kya?*

{No problem look at Sushil Kumar. He...has been a world champion, alright? World champion of wrestling means he has defeated the Usbekies, the Kazakis, the Russians and the Japanese, even the Kenians in their own country and became the world champion. Do you know what he is doing today? He is a clerk in the railway. He is a railway clerk! Just think about it! Look, whatever you say, how many countries play cricket, friends? If we exclude the subcontinent, is there a market beyond it for cricket?}

Below is an instance of a female participant of adhering to L1 code:

AD: *Matlab, peon to Manmohan Singh tha vo uska beta hai bichare ko bhadane ki koshish kar rahi hai thoda ho nahi pa raha.*

{I mean, Manmohan Singh was the peon. He is her son whom she is trying to promote but it isn't happening.}

In contrast, after a few exchanges, the same participant code-switches at the intra-sentential level:

AD: I am not pro-BJP or pro-Congress. I am nothing but literally *eske alawa koi aur option hi nahi hai*.

{I am not pro-BJP or pro-Congress. I am nothing but literally there is no other option beyond this.}

The same participant at another point during the discussion does not code-switch at all; throughout she makes use of L2:

AD: I am not in agreement with everything that Modi does, especially the things he has been doing for last three months.

The examples above authenticate the irregularity in CS patterns amongst both male and female participants. However, the number of intra-sentential switches dominated the utterances of male users more than females. Amongst the 65% of CS utterances made by male respondents, half of them (50%; DE and VA) rarely code-switched, but the remaining 50% (DJ and SU) code-switched more often. On the other hand, out of the 35% utterances made by females, AD code-switched more than PU. Here it is pertinent to also match the proportion of CS clauses against non-CS clauses for each gender and the table below represents it quite clearly:

Table 4-2 Number of CS and non-CS clauses

S. No.	Respondents	Gender	No. of CS clauses	No. of non-CS clauses	Total clauses
1.	AD	F	41	78	119
2.	PU	F	31	55	86
3.	DE	M	08	91	99
4.	DJ	M	92	155	247
5.	VA	M	05	33	38

6.	SU	M	43	39	82
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The data indicate that there was initial hesitation to code-switch by both males (DE and VA) and females (PU). In the case of 50% respondents (DJ, SU and AD) CS seemed quite evenly balanced whereas for the remaining 50% (DE, VA and PU), it tilted more towards the use of L2. This was legitimised through the response given by PU during SR:

R: Ok! So, do you think you were comfortable talking about umm... like during the conversation in general. Do you think you were comfortable with the environment?

PU: Yeah! I think, I was. Initially, I was a bit hesitant, I would say but then...

R: Ok! I mean like did you know the participants already?

PU: Ah...so, so...I like...knew some of them, not everyone but it was like a very friendly atmosphere. So, yeah (PAUSE)

Another important finding is that DJ, SU and AD code-switched more often and more confidently, producing longer stretches of CS. This point was further validated through the utterances made in GE:

AD: And it is my first year DPhil. It's umm computational and mathematical biology and what I am working on right now is you know... ummm...*bachpan mein humein vaccines lagti hain bahut sari aise to phir there was a time jab log polio, chalo polio to waise ab eradicate ho gaya hai.* There was a time *jab log small pox se mar jate the* and all that, *theek hai? To ye sare* umm viral diseases which eventually led to the death and people eventually made vaccines. *Toh* similarly, cancer *kya hota hai.* It starts from a tumor and tumor *mein kya hota hai ki* our body, *humara jo* immune system *hai,* it is constantly battling a lot of tumors. ... *Toh fir kya hota hai ki jo pure* mechanism *hotihai* for this another model that you want to see a tumor, *usme kya hota hai ki* they become extra smart. *Yar,* I am trying to really tone it down so that everyone understands.

{AD: And it is my first year DPhil. It's umm computational and mathematical biology and what I am working on right now is you

know... ummm...during our childhood days we used to get numerous vaccines, there was a time when people started having polio, well polio has been eradicated now. There was a time when people used to die out of small pox and all that, alright? So, all these umm viral diseases which eventually led to the death and people eventually made vaccines. So similarly, cancer, what is cancer? It starts from a tumor and what happens in tumour to our body, our immune system, it is constantly battling a lot of tumors. ... So what happens is that the entire mechanism for this another model that you want to see a tumor, what happens in this is that they become extra smart. Friends, I am trying to really tone it down so that everyone understands.

But the common point in the conversation in all the participants was that CS did not seem to be forced because the topics of conversation were of their choice as was accepted by one of the participants during SR:

R: So, the first thing is, do you think you were comfortable talking in this environment?

DJ: Yes, yes! I would definitely say that. I mean I- I...if I can say that about myself that I was kind of person on many instances who was directing the conversation.

R: Yes, I would agree with you, you were authoritative.

DJ: Since I was the one directing the conversation, it naturally meant that I was discussing issues that I was more comfortable in.

Hence, CS is not a gender variant, rather it can vary as per the context and the setting in which utterances are made. Beyond this, patterns of CS also play a major role in depicting the manner and the order in which the language is spoken; which is not the point of focus of the present study. An analysis of CS patterns will be of much importance now.

4.3 Code-switching in relation to patterns

The utterances made during an informal conversation occur at both the sentence boundary and within a sentence. These were analysed based on the overall code-switched utterances. From the data collected from GE, it was observed that intra-sentential CS dominated the conversation with 28% of the code-switched utterances, whereas inter-sentential CS was merely around 18%. Their switches were

most of the time natural and effortless; they did not seem to make a conscious effort.

There was also no consistency in terms of the duration (lasting for 5-6 secs) per switch. At times some respondents inserted L1 words in L2, e.g.

DJ: ... Ten teams *mein se char*, well *teen*, they are from the sub-continent.

{Amongst the ten teams, four, well three, they are from the sub-continent.}

At other times the same respondent used a complete stretch of sentences in L1 or L2, e.g.

DJ: *Koi baat nahi, Sushil Kumar ko dekh lijiye. ... Banda world champion reh chuka hai, theek hai.*

{No problem, look at Sushil Kumar...he has been a world champion. Alright?}

DJ: ... but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive.

This indicates that CS has become a very natural way of speech with most of the Hindi users of English. This was partly justified and partly contradicted by the two responses during SR when they were questioned about the discourse environment and their CS behaviour, whether they made a deliberate attempt to code-switch or it came naturally to them:

R:Is it like a deliberate attempt when you do this or is it part of your natural speech?

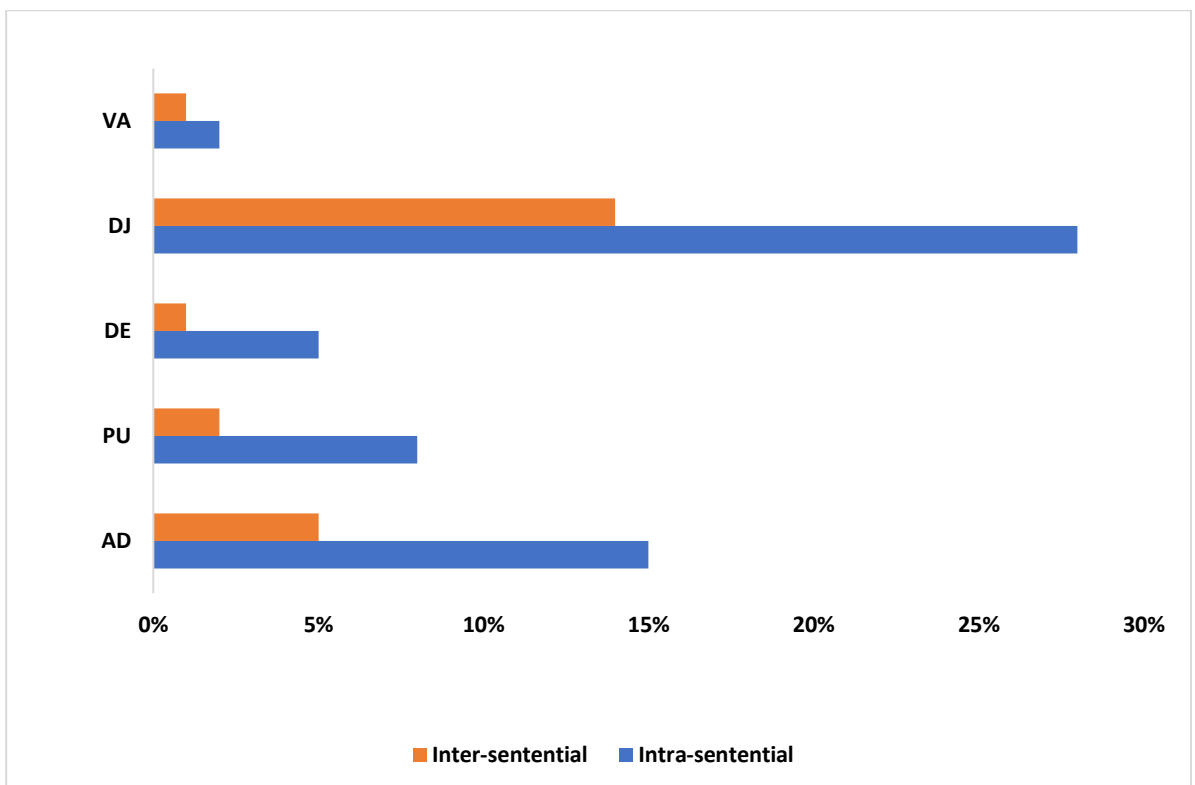
PU: Yes, right. So, I did not really realise when I am doing [sic.] but I know definitely I have done it. Sometimes when I am running out of words for both English and Hindi, like if I am running out of words for English, I go back to Hindi and the opposite definitely happens. I think most of them were non-intentional and I did not make an effort to code-switch or mix.

DJ: If I am being very honest, I would say that there have been several occasions where it is kind of deliberate where I try and speak it with a person because I feel it might make them feel more

comfortable or on my account, I feel it will help us create a better relationship with that person if you can speak the same language. ...

These two contradictory responses show that respondents CS for different reasons; some do it unconsciously and others do it consciously to make the other person feel more comfortable. The bar chart below which shows the inter and intra-sentential CS frequency in an informal conversation gives a representation of CS patterns amongst the respondents. The variation in the inter and intra-sentential switches from one respondent to the other is a clear indicator that these patterns are more user-dependent:

Fig. 4.2 Patterns of CS amongst respondents



The data indicate that most of the respondents are in the habit of CS within a sentence; words from L1 are embedded in sentences from L2. Similarly, words from L2 are embedded in sentences from L1 and this is done effortlessly. CS at inter-sentential level is comparatively lower and that at intra-sentential level is higher.

Within these majorly dominant intra-sentential switches made, diversified usage of PFs was also noted, a detailed description of which has been given in the next section.

4.4 Code-switching with reference to pragmatics

Each code-switched utterance signifies the respondent's intention and the meaning conveyed in the given context. Below are instances of CS that are categorised by PFs:

Table 4-3 Operationalisation and occurrences of PFs

PFs	Operationalisation	No. of occurrences
Discourse Markers	Linking words or sentence connectors	7
Interjections	Spontaneous feeling or reaction	4
Intonation	Rise or fall in the pitch	5
General Extenders	Usage of vague language	5
Quotatives	Quotations	1
Emphasis	Extra force on specific words/phrases	7
Expletives	Rude words	4
Acceptance	Agreement	5
Rejection	Disagreement	6
Pauses	Hesitation or lack of words	6
Humour	-	1
Question	-	13
Repetition	-	1
Vocatives	Attracting the attention of the listener	6

Out of all the PFs, the above-listed ones formed the basis of pragmatic analysis by the researcher. In the code-switched data, PFs constituted 20% of the total CS utterances, rest 80% were regular syntactic structures. These were decided based on the operationalisation of these functions in the utterances made. Out of these humour was used the least (0.27%) and discourse markers were used the most (15.03%). Even repetition was quite less as compared to other PFs (0.57%). Their level can also be judged through their frequent and appropriate use of discourse markers. Beyond this, most of them used English (40 mins) more than Hindi (approximately 20 mins) during the GE. In their choice of pragmatics, a wide range was used, out of which the least and the most widely used PFs have been evidenced below:

Questions:

DJ: *Nobody? No one? Koi nahi janta Hema Das ke bare mein?*
(EMPHASIS) This is...I mean come on!

{*Nobody? No one? Nobody knows about Hema Das? This is...I mean come on!*}

VA: *Abhi kya baat karein? World cup?*

{*What should we talk about now, world cup?*}

AD: *Yeh kya hai yar? Kisi ko uske basis pe kyon judge kar rhe ho?*

{*What is this friends? Why are you judging someone on this basis?*}

DE: *News mein aata bhi hai yeh? Is it reported in the news?*

{*Does it come in the news? Is it reported in the news?*}

PU: *Ab kiski turn hai?*

{*Whose turn is it now?*}

Quotatives:

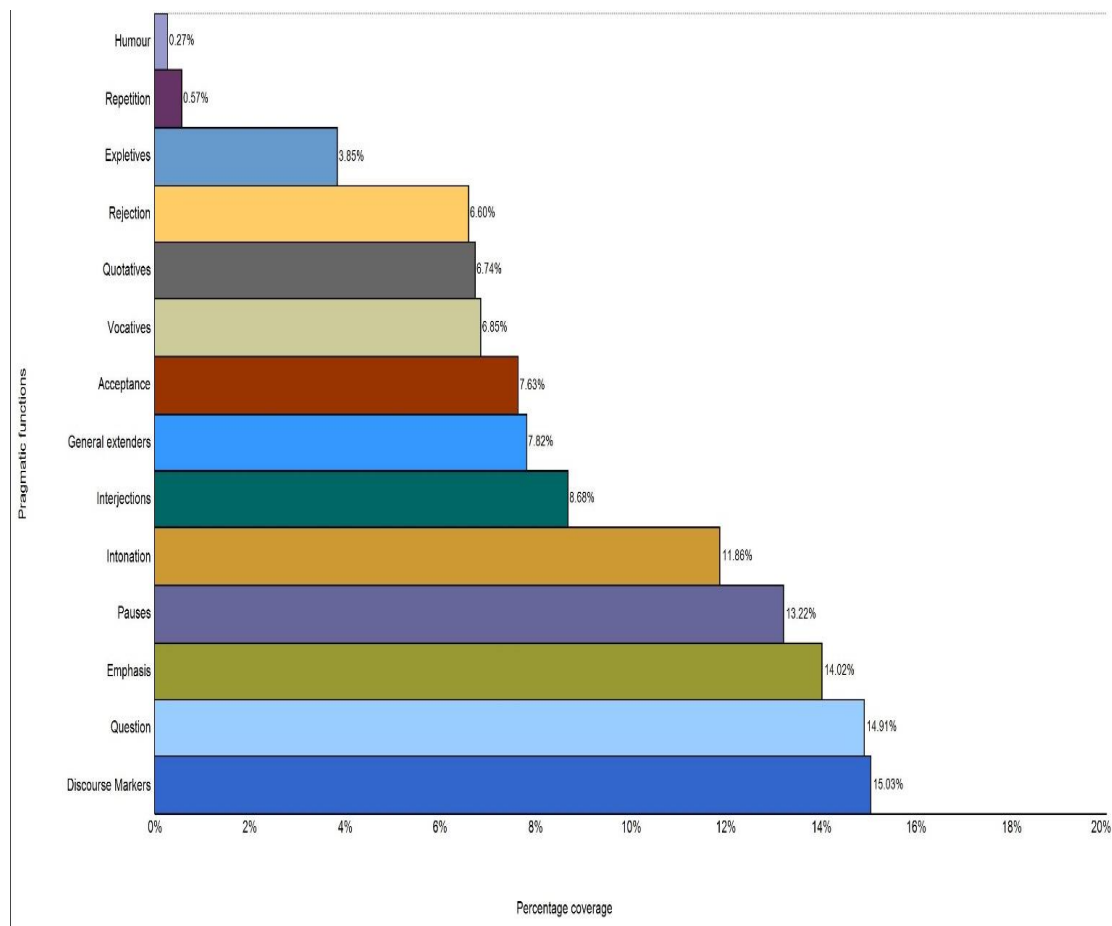
DJ: *Balochistan mein aajki tareek mein log against the military where they have rallies against Pakistan where they are waving Indian flag saying “Abki baar Modi sarkar”. ... They are saying all these things and Modi in one of his rallies is saying “Balochistan ke mere bhaiyon aur behno”. Jis dharti pe mein kabhi gaya nahi hu, you know, vo mughe keh rahe hain. ... This is something no*

academic, no politician from Congress has ever done. *Agar aap sarkon pe dekhoge* he says “*Aapka ye chokidar chaukana hai...*”

{DJ: In the present time the people of Balochistan are against the military where they have rallies against Pakistan where they are waving Indian flag saying ‘Let it be Modi government this time’. ... They are saying all these things and Modi in one of his rallies is saying ‘My brothers and sisters of Balochistan’. This is what the people of the land where I have never been to are saying, you know. ... This is something no academic, no politician from Congress has ever done. ‘If you look around’ he says, ‘Your watchman is vigilant’...}

The graph below shows a clearer representation of occurrences of these PFs at one glance:

Fig. 4.3 Pragmatic analysis of respondents’ CS conversations



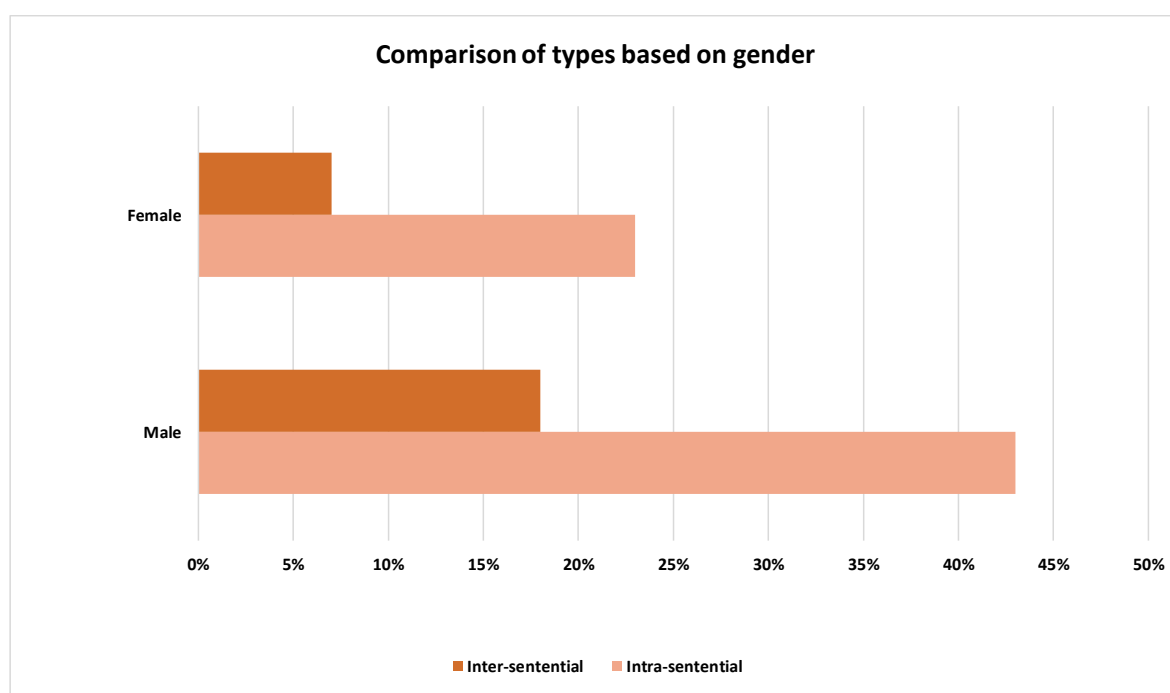
The above data shows the frequent use of pragmatic markers like question, emphasis and discourse markers and rare use of repetition and humour in L1, which seem to be more user-dependent; the non-code-switched data for PFs was also used in equal

proportion to the code-switched data but it has not been analysed because of focus on CS.

4.5 Code-switching patterns in relation to gender

Despite there being a gender imbalance because of the unequal participation of females, it is essential to see them in the light of the male participants to look at the varying patterns of CS each gender conforms to. The data revealed that intra-sentential code-switches were predominant in the entire conversation. It is interesting to note that despite the smaller number of CS utterances made by the female respondents, intra-sentential CS utterances by males are double (44%) than that of the females (22%). Beyond this, males use inter-sentential utterances (18%) three times more than those used by females (7%). So, it can be said that both men and women majorly focus on intra-sentential switches. Below is a graphic representation of the two patterns made use of by males and females:

Fig. 4.4 Patterns as per gender

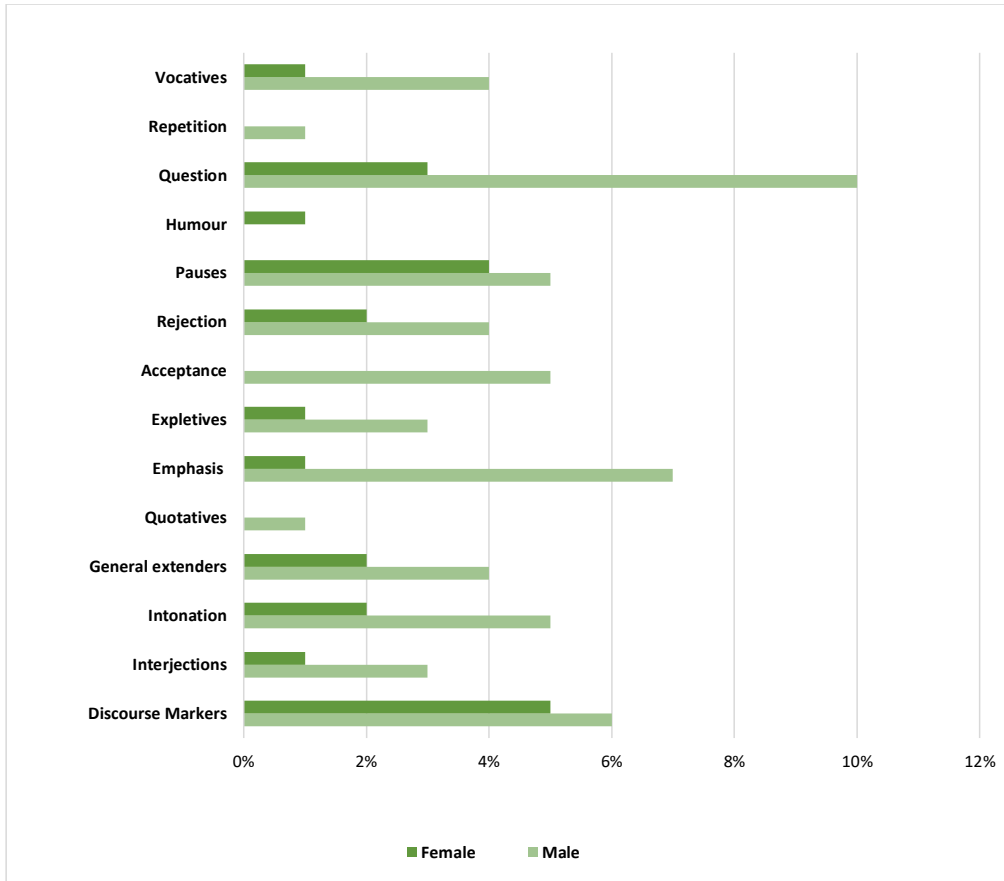


The findings from this data are that both males and females code-switch at the intra-sentential level more than inter-sentential as it comes to them quite naturally.

4.6 Comparison of gender with pragmatics

Gender has been considered as a determinant variable to analyse the use of PFs with reference to frequency of use (Alvanoudi, 2019; Balterio, 2018). Despite gender being a dormant factor in the study, when placed in comparison to other variables, it brings a new dimension to the data collected and the results. Similar to the pragmatic results, questions dominated the male codes (10%), however, they remained low (3%) in the female utterances. Although, both males (6%) and females (5%) took recourse to discourse markers in their informal speech except for frequent pauses and discourse markers, females' speech did not contribute much to the PFs, whereas males outperformed females as they used diversified PFs which is clear from the bar graph given below:

Fig. 4.5 Pragmatic functions as per gender



The data indicates that CS at the level of PFs is predominantly a feature of male speech rather than that of female speech. There is a stark contrast between males and females in the use of CS in questions and emphasis; males used these more often than females.

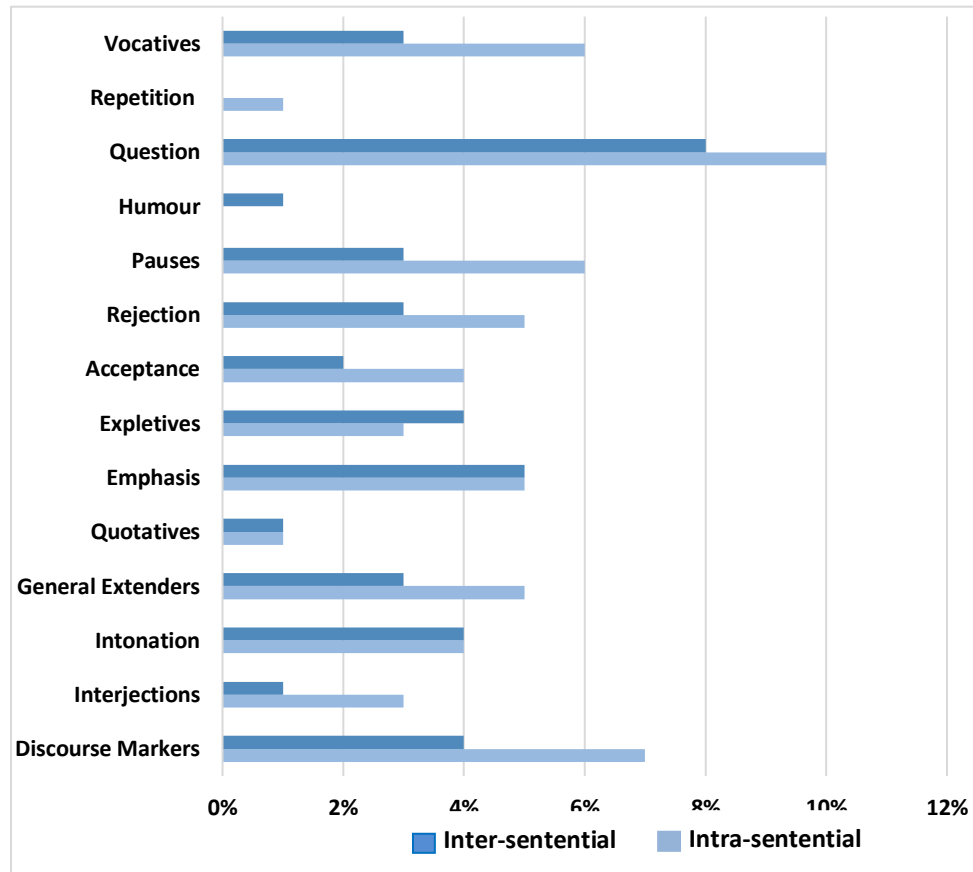
4.7 Pragmatic functions in relation to code-switching patterns

The usage of PFs in CS patterns is apt because the latter takes into consideration the manner in which utterances occur and pragmatics takes into consideration the way in which meaning is conveyed in a particular context. Therefore, it is imperative to compare the two factors as they contribute towards understanding how code-switched utterances are made.

Similar to the previous results, there has been a slight variation in inter-sentential CS where acceptance as a PF increased from 1% to 3% and so did

intonation (4%) and emphasis (5%). Beyond these, questions and discourse markers remained constant.

Fig. 4.6 Comparison between CS patterns and pragmatics



This foretells that the usage of intra-sentential CS is common in the speech of students in an Anglophonic setting who have native-like proficiency. Their usage of pragmatics is majorly governed by questioning and discourse markers.

4.8 Summary

The analysis was done through NVivo which enabled the researcher to identify the intra and inter sentential CS patterns where the former dominated the conversation in an informal context. Along with this the data revealed some of the frequently used PFs by advanced level users like discourse markers and questions. Apart from this, gender did not play a significant role as the CS patterns were governed by male respondents.

The key findings of the research are as follows:

- The main pattern of CS identified in the study through data collected from GE revealed that Indian students studying in University of Oxford, UK made use of intra and inter sentential CS; the former more frequently than the latter.
- Gender is not a decisive factor in finding the CS patterns among these students because both male and female respondents code-switched; the females slightly less than the males. However, it does not give any significant indication about their language knowledge as CS is majorly governed by the context.
- Patterns of CS did show use of PFs among these international students from India in UK. The main PFs used during the CS process were questions, discourse markers and emphasis both by male and female respondents, but to very different degrees, though comparatively the use of these functions was done more by male respondents.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The qualitative analysis in the previous chapter depicted the patterns of CS in an informal Anglophone context amongst Indian students, studying in University of Oxford, UK. It also provided an insight into the meaning they intend to convey in a particular context. The results differed based on the use of their language and switches made in a particular conversation. Most of the time during the conversation a single code (English or Hindi) was used predominantly; only one-third of the conversation had CS. The discussion in this chapter is primarily based on the three research questions mentioned in the methodology.

5.2 What are the patterns of code-switching among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

The first question was about the patterns of CS amongst Indian students in an abroad context. The current research answers the question of patterns that exist in the speech of Indian students. They majorly make use of two patterns of CS, namely, intra-sentential and inter-sentential switches (Milroy and Muskyen, 1995) which have been covered in Chapter 4. The variation in the patterns of CS was observed along with the frequency of occurrence. An utterance was considered as a code-switch by taking into consideration the switched phrases or clauses at the sentence boundary or within the sentence. These were counted upon to analyse the frequency of occurrence of the underlined switches. Out of the 30% code-switched utterances made, switches at the lexical level (28%) were all pervasive in the conversation, whereas the switches at the inter-sentential level (18%) were less so (Koban, 2013). This is comparatively

low because all the six participants were advanced level users of English and used Hindi in informal situations while talking on familiar topics.

Similarly, in previous studies (Gort, 2012) also inter-sentential CS remained the least preferred pattern by second language users of English, however some contrastingly had high usage of inter-sentential switches (Nakamura, 2005) which led us to conclude that the CS type primarily depended on the context. It is prevalent majorly in the intermediate learners who switch within the two codes simultaneously when they are unable to find words in a specific code. Therefore, intra-sentential has been widely used by advanced level learners who have native like proficiency in English which makes them insert words within the L2 or vice versa to lay emphasis or to convey their message in a syntactically appropriate manner and position. Most of the studies emphasise on the usage of intra-sentential switches whether it is in the out-of-classroom or in-the-classroom context.

When a comparison was made between the PFs based on the patterns, it was found that questions and discourse markers were used more prominently than any other function. As it was an informal conversation, formal pragmatic markers like greetings and politeness markers were not used. Beyond this, once they started conversing, they made use of expletives both in the inter and intra sentential switches. This shift in conversation did not affect their usage of PF words which were used effectively both in their L1 and L2.

Usage of patterns has been considered as one of the essential parts of CS which has often been analysed in varied contexts by researchers in the past. This allows interpreting the manner in which utterances are made and the manner in which they might differ based on their usage.

5.3 Is gender a decisive factor in finding the patterns of code-switching among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

The results of gender CS support the previous studies (Chambers, 1994) in which switching was majorly male dominated, whereas in some, it was dominated by females (Lanoff, 1975; Gal, 1979). However, previous literature states that women tend to code-switch more, and males predominantly use standard forms (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Haust, 1995; Amin, 2018). But none of these studies reported any marked variation in CS data. Above all, it is difficult to make comparisons between speech patterns based on gender as these are determined more by context and culture. One of the major reasons for getting less CS data from the female respondents was because of lesser number of female participants during the study on which the researcher did not have much control.

The study aimed at deploying gender as one of the elements which contributed towards determining the patterns of CS amongst Indian students studying in University of Oxford, UK. The results were more tilted towards male students (65%) as compared to the contribution made by female (35%) respondents in the GE task. As a result of this, the data flawed the results based on the usage of CS in terms of gender. This representation of conversation in an informal context depicted a gender disparity where four out of the six respondents were more talkative and indulged in CS more often, whereas one female and one male respondent were hesitant in CS and mainly interacted in a single code (English). But looking at the proportions of CS by gender, 50% of females matched 50% of male participants. So here we can say that there was a balance.

Similarly, when gender was placed in comparison to patterns and pragmatics, varying data was reported. Therefore, gender played a significant role in comparing the CS patterns. It was interesting to note that both male and female speech was dominated by intra-sentential or insertional switches (26%). This insertion of words within the clause level contributed towards more than half of their utterances.

Also, the usage of PF words had similar results, where questions (10%), emphasis (7%), and discourse markers (6%) contributed towards most of the utterances amongst males. In contrast, female speech did not contribute much towards pragmatics besides discourse markers (5%) which were used effectively by both the genders. Men probably code-switched more in questioning than women because of their dominant nature whereas women did not code switch at all in acceptance because of their hesitation and reluctance to agree to things at the first instant. Beyond this, pauses (4%) and questions (3%) were frequently used by the female respondents but other functions were used less.

Hence, it can be stated that gender is a contradictory variable in terms of determining the patterns or analysing the PFs in a discourse environment where Indian students in a foreign context are concerned. If the ratio of male and female were balanced, it would be interesting to note the CS ratio and the pragmatic function words used.

5.4 Do patterns of code-switching serve pragmatic functions among Indian students in informal conversation in University of Oxford, UK?

As discussed above, pragmatics has been considered as one of the essential parts while analysing the conversation. The functions were operationalised and analysed manually from the chosen code-switched utterances, conveying the intention

of the respondents in a particular context both in L1 and L2. It was interesting to see that CS was handled equally well by each of the participant in both the languages, although the analysis in the study has only been done of those in L1.

The results of the PFs varied significantly from one function to another. Also, previous studies which have attempted to explore these functions did not come up with similar results; they varied because the target audience addressed was different (Anderson, 2014; Alvanoudi, 2019). In the present study, out of all the other functions, discourse markers (15.03%) have been used the most whereas humour (0.27%) has been used the least despite the context being informal. As the participants were competent in English, they made use of discourse markers more often, however, for humour the topics chosen were not appropriate (Trillo, 2002). These variations are essential to note because when these are used in conjunction with CS, they convey the sequence and meaning in which the utterance has been used. Similar to gender, these functions might vary with age from adults to kids, as each of them would have their own set of contexts which will explicitly define the functions. Therefore, pragmatics might differ from informal to formal setting and usage of language from L1 to L2 in a particular setting. For the current study, in an informal context, the conversation topics were debatable as they were mainly related to politics, sports and their own subject area. These opinionated topics brought about a variation in the usage of PFs such as intonation, questions, discourse markers and emphasis to convey their meaning.

5.5 Summary

In terms of gender it can be concluded that despite the number of utterances being less as compared to those of males in the conversation, females code switched in most of the utterances, though the stretches were not as long as those of males.

In terms of patterns, it can be said that alteration and CS tags were rarely used by the respondents and the formation of complex structures mainly using intra and inter- sentential CS types was predominant (intra more than inter) in their utterances.

Regarding use of CS in terms of PF words it can be said that their use differs from formal to informal conversation; also, gender acts as a determinant, depending on the male and female participation in a given situation.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the major findings of the research, highlights the general pattern that emerged in terms of CS in informal conversation of Indian students studying in the UK and then talks about the pragmatic markers that emerged in the course of the said conversation between male and female participants. This is followed by consideration of the limitation of the study and ideas proposed for future research on CS.

6.1 Summary of key findings

The study aimed to find out the CS pattern of Indian students studying in University of Oxford, UK and see if there was any difference in terms of gender followed by investigation about the pragmatic markers used. It was noted that male participants code switched more than the female ones. This is in contrast with previous studies (Dewaele and Li, 2014) which give the opposite picture. The reason for this could be the imbalance in the number of male (4) and female (2) participants in this study. It was noted that larger chunks of CS conversation came more from male participants than from females but proportionately CS was done equally by males and females. Another point that was noticed was that there was no fixed pattern of CS except the broad one at the intra and inter-sentential level, which was common to both the genders. The researcher remained an observer and it was the moderator who handled the whole conversation. One of the two participants in SR confirmed that CS for her was natural and random; it was not pre-meditated; the other one said that it was deliberate initially to make the respondents comfortable and establish a

bond with them. The three major findings that emerged out of the study are as follows:

* Some participants in the study were comfortable to CS right from the beginning of the GE whereas some others took time to warm up and get comfortable after which they started CS naturally. Two of the participants were hesitant and reluctant to go in for CS; as a result, their conversation has the least CS.

* CS occurred at both inter and intra-sentential level and the frequency of the pattern was more user-dependent, but both the patterns were used naturally. They developed a kind of linguistic mechanism which did not follow any lexical or syntactical CS pattern. Intra-sentential patterns dominated CS.

* A range of pragmatic markers were used by respondents while CS but the most frequent ones were questions, discourse markers, emphasis, and pauses. But this again cannot be considered as a fixed trend; it could vary according to the competence level of the respondents. As the participants involved in the study were all advanced level users of English, their range of pragmatic markers was wide; those with a lower level of competence could be using the more common pragmatic markers.

This study has contributed to study the CS pattern, connected it with gender and pragmatic markers in informal, out-of-classroom Anglophonic context. It is unique because it is assumed that Indian students studying in a native English country will be monolingual and may be using L2, as that is what is expected from them. But in a close, informal setting this proved to be wrong. This shows that whenever and wherever Indian students find a congenial and homely environment, they tend to CS, not bothering much about conforming to the code (English) which is expected from them in a classroom context.

6.2 Limitation of the study

This study has undertaken a qualitative analysis of informal CS conversation of Indian students studying in University of Oxford, UK instead of taking up a quantitative approach. This decision was taken because this study is confined to a limited number of participants (6 in GE and 2 in SR) and an analysis of the data collected from their responses in GE and SR. All the six participants were advanced level users of English who were either graduates or postgraduates from various streams. Their level in English was known before the study as they were a Band 6.5 and above of IELTS. As a result, during the course of their conversation larger chunks of conversation were dominated by good proficiency level in English. It is not known whether low level users of English would also CS with a lower frequency or would be more frequent in their CS. Also, a larger number of respondents, if taken, can provide more diversified data, reveal varying patterns, come up with a more representative gender divide and may also give varying pragmatic patterns. As data has been taken from informal conversation, it is more authentic because the one from formal conversation would not have provided the desired authentic CS data.

Apart from this, the present study has not taken into consideration phonetic, prosodic and acoustic features in CS as these involve a thorough understanding and knowledge of the sound system of both the languages. The present study has taken into consideration lexical cues rather than going to the level of morphemes or taking into consideration the loss of fluency and proficiency in English due to CS because the respondents were advanced level users of English. Beyond this, reasons of CS have also not been probed into as these have been widely researched in various contexts. It was for this reason that the present research avoided it and focused on the way the respondents used the language within an informal discourse environment.

6.3 Suggestions for future research

These flaws in the recent study can be rectified by creating a comparison between CS patterns among Indian students in native and non-native lands. This could be done in a classroom context or out of classroom context, which would allow them to observe the variations based on the context and culture. Also, to aptly replicate this study and expand the horizon of the research, focus groups can be formed and comparisons made for getting a better understanding of CS patterns among Indian users.

CS, which is also now a common phenomenon, can also be analysed in terms of TV ads, soap operas, Hindi and English songs sung by Indian singers, anchoring content on FM radio, informal chats of radio jockeys, TV anchors and public speakers, speeches of leaders and politicians, and interviews of actors and actresses. A syntactical, lexical, semantic and phonological analysis of CS, from ML to EL and vice versa can also be undertaken in the context of other Indian language users beyond Hindi (e.g. Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, Malyali and Telegu) because CS is now quite common among these users also.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

CUREC approval

Title: Code-switching in the Oxford Indian Society: An ethnomethodology of community practice.

Thank you for providing the additional information that was requested and for responding to my queries.

The above application (ref no: ED-CIA-19-122) has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application, you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Best of luck with your research study.

All the best,

Appendix B: Email to President of the society

Dear

I am writing to seek your help regarding my research for my Masters dissertation. I am a student of Applied Linguistics at the Department of Education and my MA dissertation is being supervised by Dr. Jessica do my research on Indian students residing in Oxford in which I will explore the ways in which native speakers of Hindi communicate in an informal setting.

The research will take place in an informal setting at Kellogg College Hub where the participants would be given a topics like Brexit and Experience in Oxford to discuss. The data would be collected through observation of discussion in a focus group. I intend to include 15-20 Indian students from an Indian community in Oxford who are interested in conducting the study. They would be analysed for over a period of 3 weeks. And their conversation would be video-taped for research purposes which would be followed by interview, questioning them about their utterances. The aim of the research is to analyse their patterns of communication.

The University has taken measures to ensure that all the data is used under the norms and guidelines underlined by the British Educational Association. It means that the participants have been considered as the foremost priority and their comfort has been taken into consideration by the ethical committee. At the commencement of the research all the participants would be asked to sign a consent form. Thereafter, all the participants would be kept pseudonymised during the research, I would like to assure that the collected data would remain confidential and would not be misused. Also, the video tapings would be deleted once the research ends.

Could you please forward these details to other members who would be interested in getting involved in the research? I would be happy to get in touch with the participants or if need be, to provide information about the study. I will be highly obliged if you could help me in this regard. I am hopeful of receiving a positive response from your end.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Appendix C: Information Sheet

Qualitative analysis of code-switching with reference to gender and pragmatic functions in Indian students at Oxford

In partnership with researchers at the University of Oxford, the Oxford Indian Society have agreed to take part in a study investigating patterns of code-switching in an informal context. We would like to invite you to be part of this study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important that you understand why the study is being done and what it will involve.

1. What is the purpose of this research?

This study aims to answer the question of how the patterns of code-switching are determined in an informal conversation among Indian students and their usage of language in general. Through this study, code-switched utterances will be analysed based on the pragmatic function and gender which will contribute towards the overall study on how often and why do Indian nationals code-switch.

2. Whoall have been invited to take part?

The study includes participants who are from an Indian background and are currently residing in the UK as international students. Anglo-Indians have been excluded from the study as their language patterns might differ from Indians.

3. Do I have to take part?

No, taking part is voluntary. You can ask questions about the study before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to participate, you are free to withdraw from the study at any given point of time without giving a reason by advising the researcher of your decision. For the research you will be required to devote up to 4 hours in total for the entire study which will be divided into:

Week 1: 1 hour

Week 2: 2 hours

Week 3: 1/2 (for 3 participants only)

All the research activities will be held at Kellogg College in a conference room or at the Kellogg Hub. In the initial session, a one hour-long meeting will be held: this first meeting will function as a pilot of sorts where all the interested participants will be asked to talk on a general topic. This will be carried forward in the second week, where participants will be assigned a new topic and asked to discuss the issues and share their personal experiences related to the topic. All the discussions will be videotaped and observed by the researcher for research purposes. In the 3rd week, three participants who frequently code-switched will be asked to partake in the interview about their utterances.

4. *What will happen to me if I take part in the research?*

If you are willing to partake in my research, you will be required to attend 3 meetings for group discussion which would be followed by interview with some specific participants who are willing to reflect back on their utterances. They will be asked reasons for code-switching during the discussion. All the conversation will be recorded for academic and research purposes. The study will be conducted in four phases; piloting (1 hr; Week 1) group discussions (2 hrs; Week 2) and stimulated recall and interview phase (1 hr; Week 3).

5. *Are there any potential risks in taking part?*

There is no potential risk while in taking part in this research.

6. *What happens to the data provided?*

The data you provide will be accessed by the researcher towards the completion of a Masters dissertation at the University of Oxford. The information provided by you forms a part of the study as the research data. Any research data from which you can be identified, is known as personal data which will be minimised as much as possible.

All the research data will be stored confidentially using USB drive, in a locked up almirah and encrypted files which can be only accessed by the researcher. All the responses will be pseudonymised to ensure safety of your personal details.

Personal data such as email addresses of the participants will be stored in an encrypted PDF file, not only this, all the emails will be password protected along with a two-step security pin which can be only accessed by the researcher.

However, besides the researcher the supervisor will have access to personal/sensitive / research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or auditing of the study.

We would like your permission to use direct quotes to depict the variation in language. However, the identity of the respondent will remain confidential with the researcher.

All research data will be stored for at least three years after publication or public release of the work of the research. We may retain and store personal data for an additional period of time as necessary for the purposes of the study, and for further research.

The research will be written up in a student thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and soft copy in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will probably be published with Wiley, *TESOL Quarterly* or *Sociolinguistics Journal*.

Will the research be published?

The research may be published towards the completion of the Masters Dissertation at the University of Oxford. It will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and soft copy in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be openly accessible.

7. *Who is organising and funding the research?*

The research has been organized and funded by the Department of Education and Kellogg College, University of Oxford.

8. *Who has reviewed this study?*

This study has been reviewed and received by ethics clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the researcher , who will do his/her best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how s/he/she intends to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner.

Chair, **Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics**

Committee; Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to participant's personal data, and as such will determine how participant's personal data is used in the study.

The University will process your child's personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest.

Further information about your rights with respect to your child's personal data is available

from <http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/>.

Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Appendix D Consent letter for participation

Declaration of Consent

Qualitative analysis of code-switching with reference to gender and pragmatic functions in Indian students at Oxford

I hereby declare that I am willing to be a part of the study and I have:

1. Read the participant information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study and receive satisfactory answers to questions.
2. I have understood that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or academic penalty.
3. I have understood that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
4. I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.
5. I consent to being video-recorded and being observed for study purposes.

Name of the participant_____	Email_____
Signature_____	Date_____
Name of the researcher _____	
Signature & Date_____	

Appedix E Invitation mail to participants

Dear (name of the participant),

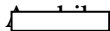
Thank you for agreeing to be a participant for my Masters Dissertation data collection which will be conducted in Kellogg College over a period of three weeks. I am really obliged.

Please find attached the information sheet for further details of the study. If you agree on continuing with my research, I would like to invite you for an informal chat session at Kellogg with some drinks and kick-knacks to share your experience as an international student at Oxford. I would be happy to know your convenient timing over the weekend (preferably each Saturday evening of week 2,3 and 4 of March 2019) to conduct the study.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Thank you.

Regards



Appendix F Mail from president to members

Research Opportunity with MSc student

is conducting research in an informal setting and requires 15-20 participants who are native Hindi speakers, with English as a second language. All the undergraduates, post-graduates or doctorals who are interested are welcome to participate in this activity.

The study would be conducted in Kellogg College Hub; it will be a casual chat with some nibbles and drinks.

Months: March- April (Tentatively)

Discussion topics: Experience at Oxford, Brexit

Place of meeting: Kellogg College Hub

Meeting: Twice a week

It would be a great opportunity to meet new people and a relaxing break from your busy schedule.

If interested contact get in touch with us through Facebook or email and we will get you in touch with

Appendix G Group Elicitation (Original data)

Pseudonyms

	AD
	DE
	PU
	DJ (Moderator)
	VA
	SU
<i>Researcher</i>	R

Focus Group Location: Kellogg College, 62 Meeting Room and Richardson Room

Date: 2nd June' 19

Number of Attendees: 6

Name of Transcriber: Researcher

Number of Tapes: 2

-----START OF THE CONVERSATION-----

R: Hello everyone! Thank you so much *ki aap sab aaj yaha par aaye*. Feel free, feel at home and you do not need to loosen your nerves on a certain topic, *apke jo man mein aaye aap uspe baat kar sakte hain*.

DJ: *Acha*

AD: (CROSS OVER TALK) *Acha* you are starting, okay. *Bolo*.

SU: Laughter

VA: *Abhi kya baat karein?* Worldcup?

DJ: *Bilkul!* *Shuru kartein hai. Koi dekh raha hai kya?*

VA: Highlights and all. (MISSING INFORMATION, NOT AUDIBLE)

AD: Dude just start!

DJ: *Han mein shuru kar diya hai.*

AD: Okay

DJ: Cricket *ke bare mein baat kar rhe hai aur kya chahiye bhai?*

AD: Anyways, *chalo*, let's discuss colleges.

DJ: *Han to...nahi nahi koi baat nahi matlab organic conversation kar rhe hai na. Cricket ke bare mein puch rahe the. Cricket ke baad hum jayenge kisi aur ke bare mein.*

DE: *Beech mein topic aise change karte rehna suddenly.*

DJ: Okay, so cricket (PAUSE) so how is it going?

VA: Indian team to Virat Kohli to Anushka to Bollywood. (LAUGHTER)

DJ: *Bilkul*, done! That's a good idea!

DJ: *Toh...ya*, cricket. (NOT AUDIBLE, MISSING INFO)

VA: Do you want them to win?

DJ: No, I mean like (PAUSE). I obviously, do not want them to win this time.

VA: They won last time, right?

DJ: In 2011 they won.

VA: *Acha, han*. Then Australia won.

DJ: *Kya hua?*

AD: (OVERLAP) Did you just say you don't want India to win?

DJ: I did say that.

AD: What the ff..ucckk! What? (LAUGHTER) *Tum kya Pakistan ko jitana chahte ho?*

DJ: *Nahi*. (OVERLAP)

VA: Pakistan *to nahi hoga*, anyway.

DJ: *Nahi*, I want Sri Lanka to win. I want Sri Lanka to win. (CROSS OVER TALK)

VA: *Han*, that would be good still.

DJ: That would be a good ... (HESITATION) (NOT AUDIBLE) (FUMBLED WORDS)

SU: I am like, why?

DJ: I just don't like the...the current image of the Indian team. I don't like it!

VA: Yeah, thought the same. Umm... it's like... (OVERLAP)

SU: I know Dravid better looking *tha* but like what is wrong with the Indian team? (OVERLAP)

AD: (OVERLAP) No *yar*, (MISSING INFORMATION) *ye kya hai yar? Kisi ko uske basis pe kyon judge kar rahe ho?*

SU: I just said better looking.

AD: *Nahi, nahi* (DISAGREEMENT) (OVERLAP)

DJ: Cheating *hai* boss. *Nahi*, but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive. (MISSING INFORMATION; PAUSE) Which is fair, if your personality is aggressive then that's good but like why are you being aggressive? Just to prove a point (NOT AUDIBLE)...productive or like worth presuming?

Du: *Apko koi idea hai?*

DE: (CROSS TALK) No idea! (NOT AUDIBLE)

VA: They get paid more than ... (OVERLAP)

DJ: Yes, *han*, of course I mean it's like cricket is the only sport in the country.

VA: Exacty! Because I think Navjot Singh Sidhu or someone they said that they want to test whatever they used to play, while they paid so well and instead of getting paid like Rs. 50 per day or like Rs. 250 they got Rs. 200 because they wanted the audience

as compared to if you see now.

DJ: *Nahi, aap ye dekh lo* Sushil Kumar. Anybody knows about him?

AD: (OVERLAP) I don't know anything about cricket. I don't know anything about any sports.

DJ: *Koi baatnahi, Sushil Kumar ko dekhlijiye. He...banda world champion rehchukahai, theekhai. World champion of wrestling matlabUsbeki, Kazaki, Ruski, Japan. Pure duniya se jo log aate hain Kenya weniya se sab logon ko unke desh mein ja ke haraya hai and he became the world champion. Aaj pata hai vo kya kar raha hai? He is clerk in a... railway. He is a railway clerk! Soch ke dekhiye. Dekhiye jo bhi kaho kitne desh khelte hai cricket yar. Subcontinent ko nikal do, criket ka market hai kya?* (OVERLAP)

VA: They were having a tough time choosing ten teams for world cup.

DJ: There you go then. Ten teams *me se char*, well *teen*, they are from the sub-continent. Well, actually *char* Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.

VA: And Afganistan.

DJ: Okay, Afganistan. *Theek hai*. Five out of the fucking ten teams are from South Asia. (PAUSE) Like what does that tell you? People watch cricket. (HESITATION) *Matlab*, it's a...I am not a disrespect to the sport but like *dekho bhaiya aur behino yeh hain cheezein*. National game *to hockey hai bhaiya*.

VA: It's not anymore.

DJ: Cricket band *ho gaya hai?*

AD: Laughter

VA: There is nothing right now.

AD: What? (SURPRISE)

VA: Hockey is not there anymore, I am pretty sure.

DJ: *Mughe nahi pata lekin jahan tak mein janta hu ...*

SU: (OVERLAP) Fake news bro! WhatsApp news? (LAUGHTER)

(EVERYONE TALKING TOGETHER) (NOT AUDIBLE)

VA: What are the national things? What are national birds?

AD: I did know we did not have a national bird but now we do not even have a national sport.

DJ: *Aajkal jo ladkiyan kar rahi hai.* You have seen, what's her name? (THINKING)

SU: Saina Nehiwal?

DJ: *Nahi, nahi.* Saina Nehiwal *nahi yar.*

VA: PV Sindhu?

DJ: (PAUSE) *Nahi, nahi.*

SU: *Humne nahi suna Oxford aake but Dwijesh ne sun rakha hai sab.*

DJ: *Nahi yar bhagti jo thi.*

AD: You mean Priyanka Chopra *wali* movie?

VA: Marie Kom.

AD: *Acha nahi vo to boxing me thi.*

DJ: I have to look this up, it's a shame on me.

SU: *Jo bhagti thi.*

DJ: *Jo abhi bhagti hai,* not PT Usha *jo bhagti thi.*

VA: Oh! Someone who won the 800 *abhi*?

DJ: *Han.*

VA: Yes, I don't know her name

DE: I mean whatever I guess *sab se zyada* popular *hai* India *mein* so they have more funding like what can you do? Like others, else their passion is their sports but part-time they have to do other jobs. PhD *walon ko bhi* job *nahi milega* so we also have to

become railway clerk and part-time do math. (OVERLAP)

DJ: Hema Das! *Uske bare mein koi janta hai?*

SU: *Nahi yar.*

DJ: Nobody? No one? *Koi nahi janta Hema Das ke bare mein?* (EMPHASIS) This is...I mean come on! She is the one who won the gold medal. This is the first time in the history of Indian athletics where India has won a gold medal in athletics women. It's a woman from one of the scheduled caste areas of India. She has worked her way up and she is from one of the rural areas and now she broke the record. Hema Das! *Koi jeeta hai, koi kuch nahi bolta hai.*

DE: News *me aata bhi hai ye?* How do you come to know?

AD: (LAUGHTER)

VA & DJ: *Aata hai* (SIMULTANESOUSLY SPEAKING)

DJ: *Are aata hai, bilkul aata hai Bhaiya. Jab vo jeete thi aaya tha news mein. Mein Delhi mein tha.*

VA: But it wasn't talked about.

DJ: *Bilkul* talked about *nahi hai.*

DE: You mean, *kuch cheezein zyada popular rehti hai na.*

AD: I don't know about any sports

DJ: You know who Virat Kholi is?

AD: *Han* that's true. Good point!

VA: Oh by the way, hockey is not the national sport of India.

DJ: What is it? There is no national sport?

VA: We don't have any national sport.

DJ: Carom board *nahi hai?* Chess *nahi hai?* (LAUGHTER)

DE: How did this happen?

VA: I don't know man!

DJ: *Ye to sports hai, India to...matlab* sports in India is what pays. What pays is cricket.

VA: (OVERLAP) Cricket and Bollywood.

DJ: Yeah, cricket because Mumbai loves cricket. Mumbai is the money state. So, Mumbai is the money state. (PAUSE; SILENCE)

It's ridiculous, I mean.

SU: What do you guys think about (HESITATION) the elections like moving on?

DJ: *Han! Abhi to kya hai main baat ye hai ki bhaiya us ko aur votes mile hai.* He is more popular than he was.

AD: No, he won more seats than more votes.

DJ: *Jo bhi hai,* seats.

AD: There is a difference (EMPHASIS) They actually got more seats.

DJ: *Thek hai.*

VA: You finally said something after sports.

AD: *Han!* Because I do not know anything about fucking sports. (RISE IN PITCH)

DJ: *Jo bhi hai.* He is stronger than he was in 2014. (ALL TALKING TOGETHER; NOT COMPREHENSIBLE)

VA: Was he?

AD: Rahul Gandhi was their prime ministerial candidate.

DJ: But the thing is, Rahul Gandhi *to bas unka peon hai. Sachi jo malika hai vo matlab...kaun hai ye?*

AD: *Matlab,* peon *to* Manmohan Singh *tha vo uska beta hai bichare ko bhadane ki koshish kar rahi hai thoda ho nahi pa raha.*

DJ: *Nahi badhane ki koshish nahi.* She doesn't give two shits! She is there to maintain

hold on if she has Rahul Gandhi.

AD: For her family, I am sure not for herself. *Ab to uski umar ho gayi hai.*

DJ: *Umar uske koi farak nahi padhta usko.*

AD: The point being, Modi was a support not because people are very pro-BJP or pro-Modi or they enjoy demonetization. Let me complete, or they enjoy GST but because they have no other option.

DJ: People are pro-India

SU: No, but like...if you think about it who is the other leader? (ARGUMENT)

AD: I am not pro-BJP or pro-Congress. I am nothing but literally *eske alawa koi aur option hi nahi hai.*

DJ: But you are pro-India right? And Modi... (CUT OFF)

AD: I am not in agreement with everything that Modi does, especially the things he has been doing for last three months.

DJ: *Bilkul, bilkul.*

AD: *Batao* (NOT AUDIBLE) *badal the*, to anti-missile technology at its peak.

DJ: First of all, he is a politician. *Theek hai?* He is a politician who is speaking to a very specific demographic. You have to use a certain kind of weapon. Don't, don't expect politician, especially in this context, you know to say that I have to *matlab* scientifically marinated *hona chahiye*. He is not! He is trying to speak to a certain sub-section of the people and he is working.

VA: He has been ridiculed also.

DJ: No, he doesn't care about being ridiculed; he is the most powerful man in India at the moment. That's a fact! *Theek hai?* To ridicule *karenge*, the academics will do it regardless because nationalism *ka kya hai*. He is a nationalist.

DE: Whatever is happening at the Indian Science Congress, they should be ridiculed about all the bullshit they say and promote.

AD: I don't think I completely agree with what you said about him. He is appealing to a very specific demographic just because people might not be educated enough or might not have access to the best resources in the world, this is stupid. And my case in point being umm...a friend of mine on the day of elections, *jab Delhi mein elections the*. He was umm *aise* auto rickshaw *le ke kahin ja raha tha* and he was talking to the auto-rickshaw *wala tab to sabke vote ka sign laga hua tha*. They initiated a conversation and if you strictly look at *kaam ke basis pe* AAP has done a lot of things for people. They have increased the RS policy in healthcare, they have opened new schools, they have (PAUSE) actually tried to bridge the gap between government education and private education. They have done a lot of work and people even in the most, *jo wo wali class hoti hai na* umm the people that you say Modi appeals to... they also know that but yet AAP does not have someone who can lead the country. They do not see a leader.

VA: So there is ... (PAUSE; CUT OFF BY AD; OVERLAP)

AD: My point being *jab Modi aise bolta hai* I don't think he is appealing to a key demographic, I think he is too high in his head right now, at least he was during the election wave. (SILENCE IN THE ROOM)

DJ: He has to be *na* because he is performing. When you are performing your certain identity to gun votes, you cannot be...that's the exact point. Manmohan Singh was a timid Prime Minister. *Theek hai?*

AD: He was an excellent finance minister.

DJ: *Han, bilkul, bilkul* he was. Not discouraging in anyway. He was a brilliant man but he wasn't fit for the job. *Theek hai?* Modi is someone who knows the art of politics in India especially. He knows what he needs to say and what he needs to do to gun votes. *Ek baat mein kahunga Modi ke bare mein*, just one thing *ki chahe*, if you respect him or not, if you disagree with him or not, the thing is, the one thing he does is, he acknowledges people. *Jaise ki Balochistan mein, aaj Pakistan mein jo Baluchi hai* which makes up 40% of the country which nobody talks about. *Balochistan mein aaj ki tareek mein* log against the military *hain* where they have rallies against Pakistan where they are waving Indian flag saying "*Abki baar Modi sarkar*". *Balochistan mein ye ho raha hai*. *Balochistan mein vo ye bol rahe hain ki bhaiya*

hume refugee status *de do bhaiya* we love Modi. They are saying all these things and Modi in one of his rallies is saying “*Balochistan ke mere bhaiyon aur behno*”. “*Jis dharti pe mein kabhi gaya nahi hu*, you know, “*vo mughe keh rahe hain*”. But he does that, he says it. *Vo Public ke liye aake bolta hai ki log mere bare mein bol rahe hain*. This is something no academic, no politician from Congress has ever done. “*Agar aap sarkon pe dekhoge*” he says “*Aapka ye chokidar chaukana hai*”. BBC did this research thing where they were going around the cities in Mumbai and they were talking to these people who were in these fields, *chokidaron se baat kartein hai*, how do you feel? And one woman especially, “*Modi sahab ne humein recognise kiya hai*”. “*Modi sahab ne humko bola hai...humare position ko*”, he has pushed it up. She is feeling that way. You have to acknowledge that. *Agar aap acknowledge nahi karenge* to then of course people will feel left out and people *ko lagega ab kya karenin*. And of course if someone comes up as Modi saying “*Mere bhaiyon aur beheno*” in my language, *theek hai?* Then what do you expect? Of course people want to respond.

SU: Well, I see that differently the way you see it is completely different. Like firstly, addressing her point. *Esne bola ki apne kafi kaam kiya hai*, which is true! But if you go deep into that, *tumhe yeh bhi samaj hogi ki* the targets which they set at the end of five years, I mean they are far from achieving those targets.

AD: Yeah, true.

SU: And they have drastically underperformed on what they have promised which BJP captured upon. They have always promised something and they have delivered. *Theek hai?* *To esliye kya ho gaya hai ki* like even if you compare Delhi’s progress over the past four years versus India’s progress on a macro level. *To India ke progress kafi aage hai* like that way. Even if you compare state by state *to Gujarat mein jitni progress hui hai 2004- 2010 ke beech mein* is much more than the progress which Delhi saw over the past four years. So I think, that is one of the reasons why BJP power *mein aa raha hai baar baar*. And coming to Modi’s point, that *chokidar* dialogue, dude I think...he meant *ke chokidari* from a broader level.

DJ: *Maine pura speech nahi dekha*. I just saw the small clips.

SU: And while it sounds very nice *ke vo keh raha hai ke jaise aap ko lag raha hai ke vo chokidar ko acknowledge kar raha hai*. *Vo keh raha hai “mere Balochistan ke*

bhaion beheno. It sounds nice, it sounds fancy. But *agar aap ye international level pe dekhoge* so he is trying to indirectly attack Pakistan through his dialogue which can be very dangerous if you consider it from a foreign affairs perspective. Especially *vo humare territory ke log nahi hai vo kisi aur desh ke territory ke andar aate hain aur unki foreign policy jo bhi kehti hai ki hum log abhi refugees nahi le sakte* is more of a divide which I feel. As a Prime Minister, he shouldn't technically be going around that field and not talk more about as much as possible. But anyway, umm like obviously *humein bhi pata hai ki ye vote bank politics ban jata hai* at the end of the day *toh* it comes out with a lot of umm (PAUSE) (LOOKING FOR THE RIGHT WORD) balancing in terms of *kya desh ke liye acha hai aur kya society ke liye acha hai*. That is where people chose, they right now see the progress *jo BJP ne ki hai* on a macro level which no other party is doing. I think, *ek leader hai Modi ke form mein jo logon ko pasand aa raha hai jo logon ko appeal ho raha hai* like he can reach out to the people.

VA: And that is what AAP lacked. So, it's not the fact oh that they don't have a leader that doesn't mean that they should loose. If they do not have a leader so they do not have anyone to look upto.

AD: Yeah, that's what happened in the first place, right? *Ki* in politics voters should see a leader which BJP has and others parties don't.

DJ: *Han, bilkul. Lekin*, also, BJP wins because Modi is like a bulldog essentially. *Aur kya hai*, he has got this strong man image. And that is what essentially is seen. *Jo voting jis tarike se ho raha hai desh mein* basic people are reacting *ki bhaiya hum ko ek strong image chahiye*. We have felt ignored, we have felt like you know *humara koi...* because he is pushing the identity of India more than anything else. Or make Indian campaign, whether you like it or not, stand up for the national anthem in the theatres. He is pushing the idea of being Indian. That is comforting to somebody who has never had anything else to catch onto because the Congress government has also been a very secular kind of (PAUSE) not a nationalistic kind of government. It's been a kind of a secular government, whereas with the BJP you are bringing in that nationalism which is catering to a very specific sphere. (CROSS TALK)

VA: The Hindutwa...

DE: *Apan discuss kar rahe hain* but I don't think BJP has a very Indian approach the nationalism is so far seen to be more of a Hindu nationalism, you say everybody feels acknowledged or accepted but they are anti-signs, anti-muslims, man on fruits.

DJ: Not anti-muslim, anti-muslim is a pretty much generalisation. So, you have to appreciate something, the Daudi Bohra community in Gujrat in MP are tremendous Modi supporters. The Gujjar muslims in the valley of Kashmir are Modi and BJP supporters. It is not muslims! It is a very specific sector of Islam which, yes, I will acknowledge that is the largest sector of Islam but it is important in these kind of discussions, who we are talking about. We are talking about a certain sect in places like Hyderabad, in places like Kerala today who are very much anti-Modi and they have reasons to be anti-Modi - okay? But it is not simply a question of right and left anymore. *Theek hai. Kyonki kya hota hai*, if you look at Kerala, I am speaking about my own personal context. I am Malyali – okay? Kerala *mein aaj* you have on a daily monthly basis extremism on the left wing from the communist party where they come to people's homes, rape women, kill people, kill children all of the things over here. The right wing Hindu's are doing that the media is (HESITATION) that..that the media is putting forward. I don't want to say promoting. You have to appreciate the entire picture, okay. It is not simply *ki* right wing elements *aa rahe hain*, *ye* right wing elements *hamesha se the. Enko ye mauka mila hai* through Modi *ki bolne ka ki hum hain yaha pe* and it is okay to be Hindu. *Ek bahut hi zaroori sawal hai ki kyon aisa ho raha hai? Kyon logon ko lag raha hai ki ye* I am somehow weaker or I have not been acknowledged because I can't say I am a Hindu in my own country. Why does a person say "*Jai shree Ram or Bharat mata ki jai*", why is that person considered a nationalist? Because I said *Bharat*.

SU: *Etni baat ho gayi lekin zero India mein invent hua tha, humare Arya Bhatt ji ne kiya tha aur jo Math specialist the aur humare room mein do aur hai. Aap log kya invent kar rahe ho aaj kal?*

DE: *Kya invent kar raha hu, mein to so raha hu aajkal.* (LAUGHTER) She is doing some theory.

SU: *Kaunsa theorem hai ye? Purba theorem?*

DJ: *Aap mein se kaun Srinivasan Ramanujan jaise banana chahenge?*

DE: *Mein to nahi hu.*

DE: My name is Deepak, I am from Chattisgarh, Orrisa. I am at St. Cross College doing my DPhil in Math, 1st year and like he was asking. What do I do umm so(HESITATION) my... like the research group comes under the number theory department so...mostly geometry and number theory (PAUSE, THINKING). What I work on basically is something called this class of numbers which are called periods umm and how did this name come about right? It means something recurring, for example, you have planets which revolve in a fixed time? (CONFUSED) (LAUGHTER) Yeah, *theek hai*. Like there is same thing like which revolve around in the same time, you can compute it through some integrals of their optical or orbit or whatever. So, similar things, so periods are numbers which are defined as integrals of some natural functions umm (PAUSE) then, what happens is that these numbers are used everywhere in geometry and in theoretical physics when you are computing primal aptitudes or when you have high energy physics to in the collides or somerite and they are doing lots of experiments so they want to know what numbers come up and they compute the probabilities or whatever and you always get these periods. There are various conjectures to this, some of them are class of numbers and then if you just want to understand the structure of these class of numbers. That's what my group does, I am not sure if it was very... (PAUSE) (OVERLAP)

SU: Class of numbers me *kya aata hai?*

DE: Yeah, so I can give you a lot of examples like periods have rational numbers, it has all algebraic numbers. So, algebraic numbers are those which are like... (INTERRUPTION)

PU: I am sure *kisi ko algebraic numbers pata nahi hai.*

(PU & DE SPEAK TOGETHER)

DE: For example, $x^2 - 2 = 0$ is a polynomial and $\sqrt{2}$ is the root of this polynomial so these are called algebraic numbers. Now for this class of numbers, we already have (NOT AUDIBLE) *venyvelder* theory it is called Gable

theory so people want to study extensions, right. So periods is something which extends so this is the next aa... which you want to study after the algebraic numbers. So, like I said these examples are integrals of rational functions. For example, laurets is defined as the integral one of x, so lore is there and other trigonometric functions are there. Exponential is not that...so when you define the integral of rational function, one or an x, right. Exponential is when you define the inverse of this.

AD: (OVERLAP) Inverse of law

DE: Yeah, so it is its own integral but that's easier to identify, it is not a polynomial. So, periods you restrict two functions which are defined as integrals of rational functions. Like the ratio of polynomials so that's why it's not there. (NOT AUDIBLE) (MURMURING)

SU: *Kuch to samajh aaya.*

PU: (OVERLAP) *Etne sara ka zaroor itna hi tha.*

DE: Well, I had to explain something. I...I...the serious thing is like multiples you can get the values. So, periods are almost everywhere you just might not notice, oh you might not know but it's actually that is everywhere. That is the question.

SU: *Aur aap kya kar rahe ho?*

PU: I think, mathematical talk *nahi ho payenge.* (LAUGHTER)

SU: *Theek hai, aap kya kar rahe ho?* (TO ADD)

DJ: She is doing computer science?

AD: *Tum bolo?* I am doing Maths.

DE: (INTERRUPTION) But are you majoring in Math?

PU: Ideally, I am also in the Math department.

DE: She is doing something at the department.

AD: Matlab I am an engineer by background.

SU: *Kahan se?*

AD: IIT Delhi.

SU: OHH!

AD: And it is my first year DPhil. It's umm computational and mathematical biology and what I am working on right now is you know... ummm...*bachpan mein humein vaccines lagti hain bahut sari aise to phir* there was a time *jab log polio, chalo polio to waise ab eradicate ho gaya hai.* There was a time *jab log small pox se mar jate the* and all that, *theek hai? Toh ye sare* umm viral diseases which eventually led to the death and people eventually made vaccines. *Toh* similarly, cancer *kya hota hai.* It

starts from a tumor and tumor *mein kya hota hai ki* our body, *humara jo* immune system *hai*, it is constantly battling a lot of tumors. That is a tumor which our body is unable to fight leads to cancer. So, the overall idea behind my project is to develop tumor vaccines and umm... *usme* the part that I am trying to model the mathematical modeling and then setting up of the model etc is this part *ki humara jo* immune system *hota hai uska ek* umm *ankein dekhne wala ek* molecule *hota hai*, there are lot of molecules involved. One of which is T cells *to suna hoga? Toh* T cells are the one which actually kills these tumors. Toh T-cells are blind, they need someone else to see that thing for them. *Toh fir kya hota hai ki jo* pure mechanism *hoti hai* for this another model that you want to see a tumor, *usme kya hota hai ki* they become extra smart. *Yar*, I am trying to really tone it down so that everyone understands.

SU: *Bahut* clear *hai*.

PU: *Ense* to better *hai*.

DE: Yeah, definitely I am terrible at it.

AD: Anyways, so basically *uska jo pura*, I am trying to device a way so that *jo* m...mechanism *ye* tumors employ *karte hai* to hide themselves *taki vo* overcome *kare taki* they can be seen and the process of vaccines can take place.

DJ: So casually you are curing cancer

AD: Yeah!

SU: Emse mathematical modelling *kahan pe aata hai?*

AD: *Yar* mathematical modeling, see because *tumhare* pure body *mein* *bahut sare* molecules involved *hai aur tum seedha aise koi bhi* random *cheez uthake uske tum sau logon ke andar daal ke* hit and trial *nahi kar sakte*. So we need to have like a rough idea of what is going to happen. You need to develop artificially of what is going to happen. *Toh* you do all that and then you get positive results than you actually get an approval and do it at a clinical stage. *Toh* I have partnered with this pharma company called Roche and umm they basically provide me with all the raw data to get my model setup, once I have predictable results then we will do the physical trials.

SU: Nice!

DE: You prepare vaccines on a generic level. I thought there are different kinds of cancer.

PU: I think there are... (INTERRUPTION; OVERLAP)

AD: Yeah, of course! *Yeh maine bahut hi, bahut hi tumhari tarah nahi, logon ko sab samajhaayees liye samjhaya hai ek dum broad terms mein.* We can discuss the specifications. It will be different for every cancer and it won't be the same.

PU: I think you are doing a very precise area and not...that much (PAUSE)

AD: No, it's like umm immunology. *Abhi cancer treatment ke liye, we have chemotherapy and eventually chemotherapy mein ek point tak kam ho sakta hai* and then nothing happens. You become resistant to chemotherapy but chemotherapy is basically like I said, going back *jaise virus ko treat kiya waise hi tumor.*

DE: How come you are in the engineering department?

AD: I am an engineer by background and I am in Maths department, I am on the fourth floor but obviously not in a pure science wing.

DE: So you also have an office at the math department?

AD: *Han* that's what I said *na*, fourth floor!

PU: *Nahi* he wasn't there that time.

AD: *Abhi phir se bola maine.*

PU: Oh, okay. *Phir to maine bhi miss kiya hai.*

DJ: *Kisi ne yaha pe aakar kabhi chole bhature khayein?*

AD: *Han! Yaha pe kahin milte nahi hai Oxford mein. Han maine khaye hain.*
(EMPHASIS)

DJ: *Kahan pe?*

AD: *Hum logon ne banaye hain* from scratch.

DJ: *Kamal hai, kaise yaar?*

DE: (CROSSTALK) You made it?

AD: I have friends who are very good cooks and plus London *mein milte hain.*
Anyways.

PU: *Ab kiski turn hai?*

DJ: *Mera Modi ka bhashan ho gaya hai.* (EMPHASIS)

PU: Okay, I am from Kolkata but I have been living in Chennai for last five years
(PAUSE).

DJ: *Aapko Tamil aati hai?*

PU: *Kuch bhi bolna nahi aata sirf ye bolna aata hai ki* I don't know Tamil. *Ye bahut helpful hai, kabhi bhi ghar se bahar jao aur bolo* I don't know Tamil.

DJ: *Bilkul, bilkul.*

PU: And I am from St Hugh's first year in Maths. I don't go to college.

DJ: St Hugh's *kahan hai?*

AD: *Ye edhar peeche, north mein hai.*

DJ: Oh, okay.

PU: *Kyonki uska charon taraf char door hai.*

DJ: *Han, han* exactly.

PU: Which is obvious but *theek hai*. Umm..okay, math *mein jana chahiye kya?* I am officially in two groups, one is stochastic analysis and another is math finance but *mein* Math finance *ko favour karti hu*, a disclaimer. So, what I am doing is... I will try to explain it in a better way. Better than you! So basically, *bachpan se hum sab integration kiya hai bahut sara* and basically everything is wrong. *Jo bhi humne kiya bhi hai vo sab kuch galat hai.*

DJ: *Hain?*

AD: *Jaise, jaise padhte ho pata chalta hai, ye bhi galat tha.*

DJ: *Maine to kabhi socha bhi nahi.* I dodged upon that.

PU: *Nahi*, integration normally *kya hota hai?* Like *ek acha sa function hota hai* and then we usually try to find *ki uska* area under the part *kya hai*. And *hum* usually *kaise karte hain ki usko* rectangle mein divide *kareng*e *aur phir* rectangle *ka* area *aur phir dekhte hai ki* rectangle *kaun kaun chordta hai* but apparently if you do not have such a nice function like x^2 in a straight line, it basically tells that it does not converge. *Jitna alag alag* rectangles *rehta hai us par* depend *karke alag alag* results *aata hai* and the result varies from minus infinity to plus infinity. Like, *kuch bhi ho sakta hai*. I can give you a function you will be able to solve it based on that.

DJ: Friends, I think we have started digressing and started talking more about our academics. Can we call off the conversation here?

PU: I am sorry, I didn't realise that.

DJ: That's okay, *chalta hai*. So friends it was nice chatting with you. Thanks for being so supportive.

R: Thank you all for sparing your time. *Main janti hu ki aap log bahut busy rehte ho, phir bhi aap aye meri madad kare, iske liye main bahut thankful hu.*

Appendix H Group Elicitation (with Translation)

-----START OF THE CONVERSATION-----

R: Hello everyone! Thank you so much *ki aap sab aaj yaha par aaye*. Feel free, feel at home and you do not need to loosen your nerves on a certain topic, *apke jo man mein aaye aap uspe baat kar sakte hain*.

{R: Hello everyone! Thank you so much for coming here today. Feel free, feel at home and you do not need to loosen your nerves on a certain topic, you can speak on any topic that comes to your mind }

DJ: *Acha*

{DJ: Okay }

AD: (CROSS OVER TALK) *Acha* you are starting, okay. *Bolo*.

{AD: (CROSS OVER TALK) Okay you are starting, okay. Start speaking. }

SU: Laughter

VA: *Abhi kya baat karein? Worldcup?*

{VA: What should we talk about now? Worldcup? }

DJ: *Bilkul! Shuru kartein hai. Koi dekh raha hai kya?*

{DJ: Yes! Let us start. Is someone looking at us? }

VA: Highlights and all. (MISSING INFORMATION, NOT AUDIBLE)

AD: Dude just start!

DJ: *Han mein shuru kar diya hai*.

{DJ: Yes, I have started. }

AD: Okay

DJ: *Cricket ke bare mein baat kar rhe hai aur kya chahiye bhai?*

{DJ: We are talking about cricket, what else do you want brother? }

AD: Anyways, *chalo*, let's discuss colleges.

{AD: Anyways, come on, let's discuss colleges. }

DJ: *Han to...nahi nahi koi baat nahi matlab organic conversation kar rhe hai na*.

Cricket *ke bare mein puch rahe the*. Cricket *ke baad hum jayenge kisi aur ke bare mein*.

{DJ: Yes then...No, no never mind, I mean let us go in for organic conversation. We were talking about Cricket. After Cricket we will talk on some other topic.}

DE: *Beech mein topic aise change karte rehna* suddenly.

{DE: Do keep changing the topic in the midst suddenly.}

DJ: Okay, so cricket (PAUSE) so how is it going?

VA: Indian team to Virat Kholi to Anushka to Bollywood. (LAGUHTER)

DJ: *Bilkul*, done! That's a good idea!

{Absolutely, done! That's a good idea!}

DJ: *Toh...ya*, cricket. (NOT AUDIBLE, MISSING INFO)

{ DJ: Then...yes, cricket. }

VA: Do you want them to win?

DJ: No, I mean like (PAUSE). I obviously, do not want them to win this time.

VA: They won last time, right?

DJ: In 2011 they won.

VA: *Acha, han*. Then Australia won.

{VA: Okay, yes. Then Australia won.}

DJ: *Kya hua?*

{DJ: What happened?}

AD: (OVERLAP) Did you just say you don't want India to win?

DJ: I did say that.

AD: What the ff..ucckk! What? (LAUGHTER) *Tum kya Pakistan ko jitana chahte ho?*

{AD: What the ff..ucckk! What? (LAUGHTER) Do you wish Pakistan to win?}

DJ: *Nahi*. (OVERLAP)

{DJ: No.}

VA: Pakistan *to nahi hoga*, anyway.

{VA: Anyway, it will not be Pakistan.}

DJ: *Nahi*, I want Sri Lanka to win. I want Sri Lanka to win. (CROSS OVER TALK)

{DJ: No, I want Sri Lanka to win. I want Sri Lanka to win.}

VA: *Han*, that would be good still.

{VA: Yes, that would be good still.}

DJ: That would be a good ... (HESITATION) (NOT AUDIBLE) (FUMBLED WORDS)

SU: I am like, why?

DJ: I just don't like the...the current image of the Indian team. I don't like it!

VA: Yeah, thought the same. Umm... it's like... (OVERLAP)

SU: I know Dravid better looking *tha* but like what is wrong with the Indian team? (OVERLAP)

{SU: I know Dravid was better looking but like what is wrong with the Indian team?}

AD: (OVERLAP) No *yar*, (MISSING INFORMATION) *ye kya hai yar? Kisi ko uske basis pe kyon judge kar rahe ho?*

{AD: No friends, what is this? Why are you judging someone on the basis of that?}

SU: I just said better looking.

AD: *Nahi, nahi* (DISAGREEMENT) (OVERLAP)

{AD: No, no.}

DJ: Cheating *hai* boss. *Nahi*, but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive. (MISSING INFORMATION; PAUSE) Which is fair, if your personality is aggressive then that's good but like why are you being aggressive? Just to prove a point (NOT AUDIBLE)...productive or like worth presuming?

{It is cheating boss. No, but I just feel like Virat is really aggressive and unnecessarily

aggressive like trying to prove a point like we can be aggressive. Which is fair, if your personality is aggressive then that's good but like why are you being aggressive? Just to prove a point ...productive or like worth presuming?}

Du: *Apko koi idea hai?*

{Do you have any idea}

DE: (CROSS TALK) No idea! (NOT AUDIBLE)

VA: They get paid more than ... (OVERLAP)

DJ: Yes, *han*, of course I mean it's like cricket is the only sport in the country.

{Yes, yes, of course I mean it's like cricket is the only sport in the country.}

VA: Exactly! Because I think Navjot Singh Sidhu or someone they said that they want to test whatever they used to play, while they paid so well and instead of getting paid like Rs. 50 per day or like Rs. 250 they got Rs. 200 because they wanted the audience as compared to if you see now.

DJ: *Nahi, aap ye dekh lo* Sushil Kumar. Anybody knows about him?

{No, look at Sushil Kumar. Anybody knows about him?}

AD: (OVERLAP) I don't know anything about cricket. I don't know anything about any sports.

DJ: *Koi baatnahi*, Sushil Kumar *ko dekhlijiye*. He...*banda* world champion *rehchukahai, theekhai*. World champion of wrestling *matlab* *Usbeki, Kazaki, Ruski*, Japan. *Pure duniya se jo log aate hain Kenya wanya se sab logon ko unke desh mein ja ke haraya hai* and he became the world champion. *Aaj pata hai vo kya kar raha hai?* He is clerk in a... railway. He is a railway clerk! *Soch ke dekhiye. Dekhiye jo bhi kaho kitne desh khelte hai cricket yar. Subcontinent ko nikal do, cricket ka market hai kya?* (OVERLAP)

{No problem, look at Sushil Kumar. He...has been a world champion, alright? World champion of wrestling means he has defeated the Usbekies, the Kazakis, the Russians and the Japanese, even the Kenians in their own country and became the world champion. Do you know what he is doing today? He is a clerk in the railway. He is a railway clerk! Just think about it! Look, whatever you say, how many countries play cricket, friends? If we exclude the subcontinent, is there a market beyond it for cricket?}

VA: They were having a tough time choosing ten teams for world cup.

DJ: There you go then. Ten teams *me se char*, well *teen*, they are from the sub-continent. Well, actually *char* Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.

{DJ: There you go then. Four out of the ten teams, well three, they are from the sub-continent. Well, actually four Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.}

VA: And Afganistan.

DJ: Okay, Afganistan. *Theek hai*. Five out of the fucking ten teams are from South Asia. (PAUSE) Like what does that tell you? People watch cricket. (HESITATION) *Matlab*, it's a...I am not a disrespect to the sport but like *dekho bhaiya aur behino yeh hain cheezein*. National game *to* hockey *hai bhaiya*.

{DJ: Okay, Afganistan. Okay. Five out of the fucking ten teams are from South Asia. Like what does that tell you? People watch cricket. That means, it's a...I am not a disrespect to the sport but like see my brothers and sisters, this is a fact. Brothers, our national game is hockey.}

VA: It's not anymore.

DJ: Cricket band *ho gaya hai?*

{DJ: Have people stopped playing cricket?}

AD: Laughter

VA: There is nothing right now.

AD: What? (SURPRISE)

VA: Hockey is not there anymore, I am pretty sure.

DJ: *Mughe nahi pata lekin jahan tak mein janta hu ...*

{DJ: I don't know but as far as my knowledge goes ... }

SU: (OVERLAP) Fake news bro! WhatsApp news? (LAUGHTER)

(EVERYONE TALKING TOGETHER) (NOT AUDIBLE)

VA: What are the national things? What are national birds?

AD: I did know we did not have a national bird but now we do not even have a national sport.

DJ: *Aajkal jo ladkiyan kar rahi hai*. You have seen, what's her name? (THINKING)

{DJ: What the girls are doing today. You have seen, what's her name?}

SU: Saina Nehiwal?

DJ: *Nahi, nahi.* Saina Nehiwal *nahi yar.*

{DJ: No, no. Not Saina Nehiwal friend.}

VA: PV Sindhu?

DJ: (PAUSE) *Nahi, nahi.*

{DJ: No, no.}

SU: *Humne nahi suna Oxford aake but Dwijesh ne sun rakha hai sab.*

{SU: *Humne nahi suna Oxford aake but Dwijesh ne sun rakha hai sab.*}

DJ: *Nahi yar bhagti jo thi.*

{DJ: *Nahi yar bhagti jo thi.*}

AD: You mean Priyanka Chopra *wali* movie?

{AD: You mean that movie of Priyanka Chopra?}

VA: Marie Kom.

AD: *Acha nahi vo to boxing me thi.*

{AD: Okay, no she was into boxing.}

DJ: I have to look this up, it's a shame on me.

SU: *Jo bhagti thi.*

{SU: The one who used to run.}

DJ: *Jo abhi bhagti hai,* not PT Usha *jo bhagti thi.*

{DJ: The one who runs now, not PT Usha, who used to run.}

VA: Oh! Someone who won the 800 *abhi*?

{VA: Oh! Someone who won the 800 just recently?}

DJ: *Han.*

{DJ: yes.}

VA: Yes, I don't know her name

DE: I mean whatever I guess *sab se zyada popular hai India mein* so they have more funding like what can you do? Like others, else their passion is their sports but part-time they have to do other jobs. PhD *walon ko bhi job nahi milega* so we also have to become railway clerk and part-time do math. (OVERLAP)

{DE: I mean whatever I guess it is the most popular sport in India; so they have more funding like what can you do? Like others, else their passion is their sports but part-time they have to do other jobs. Even the PhD holders will not get jobs, so we also have to become railway clerk and part-time do math. }

DJ: Hema Das! *Uske bare mein koi janta hai?*

{DJ: Hema Das! Does anyone know about her? }

SU: *Nahi yar.*

{SU: No friend. }

DJ: Nobody? No one? *Koi nahi janta Hema Das ke bare mein?* (EMPHASIS) This is...I mean come on! She is the one who won the gold medal. This is the first time in the history of Indian athletics where India has won a gold medal in athletics women. It's a woman from one of the scheduled caste areas of India. She has worked her way up and she is from one of the rural areas and now she broke the record. Hema Das! *Koi jeeta hai, koi kuch nahi bolta hai.*

{DJ: Nobody? No one? No one knows about Hema Das? This is...I mean come on! She is the one who won the gold medal. This is the first time in the history of Indian athletics where India has won a gold medal in athletics women. It's a woman from one of the scheduled caste areas of India. She has worked her way up and she is from one of the rural areas and now she broke the record. Hema Das! She won but no one said anything. }

DE: News *me aata bhi hai ye?* How do you come to know?

{Does it ever come in the news? How do you come to know? }

AD: (LAUGHTER)

VA & DJ: *Aata hai* (SIMULTANESOUSLY SPEAKING)

{It does }

DJ: *Are aata hai, bilkul aata hai Bhaiya. Jab vo jeete thi aaya tha news mein. Mein*

Delhi *mein tha*.

{Yes, it does, definitely it does, dear. When she won I was in Delhi at time.}

VA: But it wasn't talked about.

DJ: *Bilkul* talked about *nahi hai*.

{Of course, it has not been talked about.}

DE: You mean, *kuch cheezein zyada popular rehti hai na*.

{You mean, certain things are more popular.}

AD: I don't know about any sports

DJ: You know who Virat Kohli is?

AD: *Han* that's true. Good point!

{Yes, that's true. Good point!}

VA: Oh by the way, hockey is not the national sport of India.

DJ: What is it? There is no national sport?

VA: We don't have any national sport.

DJ: Carom board *nahi hai*? Chess *nahi hai*? (LAUGHTER)

{It is not carom board? It is not chess?}

DE: How did this happen?

VA: I don't know man!

DJ: *Ye to sports hai*, India *to...matlab* sports in India is what pays. What pays is cricket.

{This is sports, in India ... means sports in India is what pays. What pays is cricket.}

VA: (OVERLAP) Cricket and Bollywood.

DJ: Yeah, cricket because Mumbai loves cricket. Mumbai is the money state. So, Mumbai is the money state. (PAUSE; SILENCE)

It's ridiculous, I mean.

SU: What do you guys think about (HESITATION) the elections like moving on?

DJ: *Han! Abhi to kya hai main baat ye hai ki bhaiya us ko aur votes mile hai.* He is more popular than he was.

{Yes! What has happened is, dear, he has got more votes. He is more popular than he was.}

AD: No, he won more seats than more votes.

DJ: *Jo bhi hai,* seats.

{Whoever it is, seats.}

AD: There is a difference (EMPHASIS) They actually got more seats.

DJ: *Thek hai.*

{It is okay.}

VA: You finally said something after sports.

AD: *Han!* Because I do not know anything about fucking sports. (RISE IN PITCH)

{Yes! Because I do not know anything about fucking sports.}

DJ: *Jo bhi hai.* He is stronger than he was in 2014. (ALL TALKING TOGETHER; NOT COMPREHENSIBLE)

{Whatever it is. He is stronger than he was in 2014.}

VA: Was he?

AD: Rahul Gandhi was their prime ministerial candidate.

DJ: But the thing is, Rahul Gandhi *to bas unka peon hai. Sachi jo malika hai vo matlab...kaun hai ye?*

{But the thing is, Rahul Gandhi is just a peon. The real queen is, I mean ... who is she, I forget?}

AD: *Matlab,* peon *to* Manmohan Singh *tha vo uska beta hai bichare ko bhadane ki koshish kar rahi hai thoda ho nahi pa raha.*

{I mean, Manmohan Singh was the peon. He (Rahul) is her son whom she is trying to promote but it isn't happening.}

DJ: *Nahi badhane ki koshish nahi.* She doesn't give two shits! She is there to maintain hold on if she has Rahul Gandhi.

{No, it is not an attempt to tie him. She doesn't give two shits! She is there to maintain hold on if she has Rahul Gandhi.}

AD: For her family, I am sure not for herself. *Ab to uski umar ho gayi hai.*

{For her family, I am sure not for herself. Now she has grown old.}

DJ: *Umar uske koi farak nahi padhta usko.*

{Age does not bother her, she damn cares.}

AD: The point being, Modi was a support not because people are very pro-BJP or pro-Modi or they enjoy demonetization. Let me complete, or they enjoy GST but because they have no other option.

DJ: People are pro-India

SU: No, but like...if you think about it who is the other leader? (ARGUMENT)

AD: I am not pro-BJP or pro-Congress. I am nothing but literally *eske alawa koi aur option hi nahi hai.*

{I am not pro-BJP or pro-Congress. I am nothing but literally there is no option.}

DJ: But you are pro-India right? And Modi... (CUT OFF)

AD: I am not in agreement with everything that Modi does, especially the things he has been doing for last three months.

DJ: *Bilkul, bilkul.*

{Definitely, definitely.}

AD: *Batao* (NOT AUDIBLE) *badal the*, to anti-missile technology at its peak.

{Tell me, weren't there clouds (of war), to anti-missile technology at its peak.}

DJ: First of all, he is a politician. *Theek hai?* He is a politician who is speaking to a very specific demographic. You have to use a certain kind of weapon. Don't, don't expect politician, especially in this context, you know to say that I have to *matlab* scientifically marinated *hona chahiye*. He is not! He is trying to speak to a certain sub-section of the people and he is working.

{First of all, he is a politician. Do you agree? He is a politician who is speaking to a very specific demographic. You have to use a certain kind of weapon. Don't, don't expect politician, especially in this context, you know to say that, I mean I have to be scientifically marinated. He is not! He is trying to speak to a certain sub-section of the people and he is working.}

VA: He has been ridiculed also.

DJ: No, he doesn't care about being ridiculed; he is the most powerful man in India at the moment. That's a fact! *Theek hai? To* ridicule *karenge*, the academics will do it regardless because nationalism *ka kya hai*. He is a nationalist.

{No, he doesn't care about being ridiculed; he is the most powerful man in India at the moment. That's a fact! Do you agree? They will ridicule him, the academics will do it regardless because what do they care about nationalism. He is a nationalist.}

DE: Whatever is happening at the Indian Science Congress, they should be ridiculed about all the bullshit they say and promote.

AD: I don't think I completely agree with what you said about him. He is appealing to a very specific demographic just because people might not be educated enough or might not have access to the best resources in the world, this is stupid. And my case in point being umm...a friend of mine on the day of elections, *jab Delhi mein* elections *the*. He was umm *aise* auto rickshaw *le ke kahin ja raha tha* and he was talking to the auto-rickshaw *wala tab to sabke vote ka sign laga hua tha*. They initiated a conversation and if you strictly look at *kaam ke basis pe* AAP has done a lot of things for people. They have increased the RS policy in healthcare, they have opened new schools, they have (PAUSE) actually tried to bridge the gap between government education and private education. They have done a lot of work and people even in the most, *jo wo wali class hoti hai na* umm the people that you say Modi appeals to... they also know that but yet AAP does not have someone who can lead the country. They do not see a leader.

{I don't think I completely agree with what you said about him. He is appealing to a very specific demographic just because people might not be educated enough or might not have access to the best resources in the world, this is stupid. And my case in point being umm...a friend of mine on the day of elections, when there were elections in Delhi. He was umm ... had hired an auto rickshaw to go somewhere and he was talking to the auto-rickshaw driver, at that time everyone had a mark of the indelible ink on their forefinger which indicated that they had cast their vote by then. They initiated a conversation and if you strictly look at work, on the basis of that AAP has done a lot of things for people. They have increased the RS policy in healthcare, they

have opened new schools, they have (PAUSE) actually tried to bridge the gap between government education and private education. They have done a lot of work and people even in the most, that class of ... umm ... the people that you say Modi appeals to... they also know that but yet AAP does not have someone who can lead the country. They do not see a leader. }

VA: So there is ... (PAUSE; CUT OFF BY AD; OVERLAP)

AD: My point being *jab Modi aise bolta hai* I don't think he is appealing to a key demographic, I think he is too high in his head right now, at least he was during the election wave. (SILENCE IN THE ROOM)

{My point being, when Modi speaks like this, I don't think he is appealing to a key demographic, I think he is too high in his head right now, at least he was during the election wave. }

DJ: He has to be *na* because he is performing. When you are performing your certain identity to gun votes, you cannot be...that's the exact point. Manmohan Singh was a timid Prime Minister. *Theek hai?*

{He has to be, you know, because he is performing. When you are performing your certain identity to gun votes, you cannot be...that's the exact point. Manmohan Singh was a timid Prime Minister. Is that okay? }

AD: He was an excellent finance minister.

DJ: *Han, bilkul, bilkul* he was. Not discouraging in anyway. He was a brilliant man but he wasn't fit for the job. *Theek hai?* Modi is someone who knows the art of politics in India especially. He knows what he needs to say and what he needs to do to gun votes. *Ek baat mein kahunga Modi ke bare mein*, just one thing *ki chahe*, if you respect him or not, if you disagree with him or not, the thing is, the one thing he does is, he acknowledges people. *Jaise ki Balochistan mein, aaj Pakistan mein jo Baluchi hai* which makes up 40% of the country which nobody talks about. *Balochistan mein aaj ki tareek mein* log against the military *hain* where they have rallies against Pakistan where they are waving Indian flag saying “*Abki baar Modi sarkar*”. *Balochistan mein ye ho raha hai*. *Balochistan mein vo ye bol rahe hain ki bhaiya hume* refugee status *de do bhaiya* we love Modi. They are saying all these things and Modi in one of his rallies is saying “*Balochistan ke mere bhaiyon aur behno*”. “*Jis dharti pe mein kabhi gaya nahi hu*, you know, “*vo mughe keh rahe hain*”. But he does that, he says it. *Vo Public ke liye aake bolta hai ki log mere bare mein bol rahe hain*. This is something no academic, no politician from Congress has ever done. “*Agar aap*

sarkon pe dekhoge” he says “*Aapka ye chokidar chaukana hai*”. BBC did this research thing where they were going around the cities in Mumbai and they were talking to these people who were in these fields, *chokidaron se baat kartein hai*, how do you feel? And one woman especially, “*Modi sahab ne humein recognise kiya hai*”. “*Modi sahab ne humko bola hai...humare position ko*”, he has pushed it up. She is feeling that way. You have to acknowledge that. *Agar aap acknowledge nahi karenge* to then of course people will feel left out and people *ko lagega ab kya karenin*. And of course if someone comes up as Modi saying “*Mere bhaiyon aur beheno*” in my language, *theek hai?* Then what do you expect? Of course people want to respond.

{ Yes, definitely, definitely, he was. Not discouraging in anyway. He was a brilliant man but he wasn't fit for the job. Is that okay? Modi is someone who knows the art of politics in India especially. He knows what he needs to say and what he needs to do to gun votes. I will say one thing about Modi, just one thing that whatever it is, if you respect him or not, if you disagree with him or not, the thing is, the one thing he does is, he acknowledges people. Just as in Balochistan, today the Baluchis who are there in Pakistan, they make up 40% of the country which nobody talks about. In the present time the people of Balochistan are against the military where they have rallies against Pakistan where they are waving Indian flag saying “Let it be Modi government this time”. This is what is happening in Balochistan. People of Balochistan are saying that they should be given refugee status; we love Modi. They are saying all these things and Modi in one of his rallies is saying “My brothers and sisters of Balochistan”. This is what the people of the land where I have never been to are saying, you know. But he does that, he says it. He comes to public meetings and says that people are talking about me in this manner. This is something no academic, no politician from Congress has ever done. “If you look around” he says, “Your watchman is vigilant” } BBC did this research thing where they were going around the cities in Mumbai and they were talking to these people who were in these fields, they spoke to the guards as to how they feel? And one woman especially, “ Mr Modi has recognised us”. “Mr Modi has told us...he has recognised our position”, he has pushed it up. She is feeling that way. You have to acknowledge that. If you will not acknowledge then of course people will feel left out and people will be in a dilemma about what to do. And of course if someone comes up as Modi saying “My dear brothers and sisters ...” in my language, it is okay? Then what do you expect? Of course people want to respond.... }

SU: Well, I see that differently the way you see it is completely different. Like firstly, addressing her point. *Esne bola ki apne kafi kaam kiya hai*, which is true! But if you go deep into that, *tumhe yeh bhi samaj hogi ki* the targets which they set at the end of five years, I mean they are far from achieving those targets.

{ Well, I see that differently the way you see it is completely different. Like firstly, addressing his point. He said that Modi has done a lot of work, which is true! But if you go deep into that, you also must have understood that the targets which they set at

the end of five years, I mean they are far from achieving those targets. }

AD: Yeah, true.

SU: And they have drastically underperformed on what they have promised which BJP captured upon. They have always promised something and they have delivered. *Theek hai? To esliye kya ho gaya hai ki* like even if you compare Delhi's progress over the past four years versus India's progress on a macro level. *To India ke progress kafi aage hai* like that way. Even if you compare state by state *to Gujarat mein jitni progress hui hai 2004- 2010 ke beech mein* is much more than the progress which Delhi saw over the past four years. So I think, that is one of the reasons why BJP power *mein aa raha hai baar baar*. And coming to Modi's point, that *chokidar* dialogue, dude I think...he meant *ke chokidari* from a broader level.

{And they have drastically underperformed on what they have promised which BJP captured upon. They have always promised something and they have delivered. Is that okay? So what has happened is that like even if you compare Delhi's progress over the past four years versus India's progress on a macro level. India has progressed and gone far ahead like that way. Even if you compare state by state then the progress in Gujarat during 2004- 2010 is much more than the progress which Delhi saw over the past four years. So I think, that is one of the reasons why BJP is coming back to power again and again. And coming to Modi's point, that term related to the guards, dude I think...he meant it from a broader level. }

DJ: *Maine pura speech nahi dekha*. I just saw the small clips.

{I haven't heard his full speech. I just saw the [sic.] small clips. }

SU: And while it sounds very nice *ke vo keh raha hai ke jaise aap ko lag raha hai ke vo chokidar ko acknowledge kar raha hai. Vo keh raha hai "mere Balochistan ke bhaion beheno*. It sounds nice, it sounds fancy. But *agar aap ye international level pe dekhoge* so he is trying to indirectly attack Pakistan through his dialogue which can be very dangerous if you consider it from a foreign affairs perspective. Especially *vo humare territory ke log nahi hai vo kisi aur desh ke territory ke andar aate hain aur unki foreign policy jo bhi kehti hai ki hum log abhi refugees nahi le sakte* is more of a divide which I feel. As a Prime Minister, he shouldn't technically be going around that field and not talk more about as much as possible. But anyway, umm like obviously *humein bhi pata hai ki ye vote bank politics ban jata hai* at the end of the day *toh* it comes out with a lot of umm (PAUSE) (LOOKING FOR THE RIGHT WORD) balancing in terms of *kya desh ke liye acha hai aur kya society ke liye acha*

hai. That is where people chose, they right now see the progress *jo BJP ne ki hai* on a macro level which no other party is doing. I think, *ek leader hai Modi ke form mein jo logon ko pasand aa raha hai jo logon ko appeal ho raha hai* like he can reach out to the people.

{And while it sounds very nice that he is addressing the guards and acknowledging their services, and you also feel impressed by what he is saying. He is saying, “My dear brothers and sisters from Balochistan ...”. It sounds nice, it sounds fancy. But if you look at it at the international level, so he is trying to indirectly attack Pakistan through his dialogue which can be very dangerous if you consider it from a foreign affairs perspective. Especially, they are not people of our territory, they come under the territory of some other nation. Whatever the foreign policy says that we cannot take refugees, it is more of a divide which [sic.]I feel. As a Prime Minister, he shouldn’t technically be going around that field and not talk more about as much as possible. But anyway, umm like obviously we also know that it is vote bank politics, at the end of the day so it comes out with a lot of umm (PAUSE) (LOOKING FOR THE RIGHT WORD) balancing in terms of what is good for the country and what is good for the society. That is where people chose, they right now see the progress that BJP has made on a macro level which no other party is doing [sic.]. I think, there is one leader in the form of Modi who is being liked by people and who is appealing to people, like he can reach out to the people. }

VA: And that is what AAP lacked. So, it’s not the fact oh that they don’t have a leader that doesn’t mean that they should loose. If they do not have a leader so they do not have anyone to look upto.

AD: Yeah, that’s what happened in the first place, right? *Ki* in politics voters should see a leader which BJP has and others parties don’t.

{Yeah, that’s what happened in the first place, right? That in politics voters should see a leader which BJP has and others parties don’t. }

DJ: *Han, bilkul. Lekin*, also, BJP wins because Modi is like a bulldog essentially. *Aur kya hai*, he has got this strong man image. And that is what essentially is seen. *Jo voting jis tarike se ho raha hai desh mein* basic people are reacting *ki bhaiya hum ko ek strong image chahiye*. We have felt ignored, we have felt like you know *humara koi*...because he is pushing the identity of India more than anything else. Or make Indian campaign, whether you like it or not, stand up for the national anthem in the theatres. He is pushing the idea of being Indian. That is comforting to somebody who has never had anything else to catch onto because the Congress government has also been a very secular kind of (PAUSE) not a nationalistic kind of government. It’s been a kind of a secular government, whereas with the BJP you are bringing in that

nationalism which is catering to a very specific sphere. (CROSS TALK)

{Yes, definitely. But also, BJP wins because Modi is like a bulldog essentially. What else is he? He has got this strong man image. And that is what essentially is seen. The kind of voting that is happening in the country that indicates that basic people are reacting that they need a person with a strong image. We have felt ignored, we have felt like you know that our someone ...because he is pushing the identity of India more than anything else. Or make Indian campaign, whether you like it or not, stand up for the national anthem in the theatres. He is pushing the idea of being Indian. That is comforting to somebody who has never had anything else to catch onto because the Congress government has also been a very secular kind of not a nationalistic kind of government. It's been a kind of a secular government, whereas with the BJP you are bringing in that nationalism which is catering to a very specific sphere.}

VA: The Hindutwa...

DE: *Apan discuss kar rahe hain* but I don't think BJP has a very Indian approach the nationalism is so far seen to be more of a Hindu nationalism, you say everybody feels acknowledged or accepted but they are anti-signs, anti-muslims, man on fruits.

{We are discussing but I don't think BJP has a very Indian approach the nationalism is so far seen to be more of a Hindu nationalism, you say everybody feels acknowledged or accepted but they are anti-signs, anti-muslims, man on fruits.}

DJ: Not anti-muslim, anti-muslim is a pretty much generalisation. So, you have to appreciate something, the Daudi Bohra community in Gujrat in MP are tremendous Modi supporters. The Gujjar muslims in the valley of Kashmir are Modi and BJP supporters. It is not muslims! It is a very specific sector of Islam which, yes, I will acknowledge that is the largest sector of Islam but it is important in these kind of discussions, who we are talking about. We are talking about a certain sect in places like Hyderabad, in places like Kerala today who are very much anti-Modi and they have reasons to be anti-Modi - okay? But it is not simply a question of right and left anymore. *Theek hai. Kyonki kya hota hai*, if you look at Kerala, I am speaking about my own personal context. I am Malyali - okay? Kerala *mein aaj* you have on a daily monthly basis extremism on the left wing from the communist party where they come to people's homes, rape women, kill people, kill children all of the things over here. The right wing Hindu's are doing that the media is (HESITATION) that..that the media is putting forward. I don't want to say promoting. You have to appreciate the entire picture, okay. It is not simply *ki* right wing elements *aa rahe hain*, *ye* right wing elements *hamesha se the. Enko ye mauka mila hai* through Modi *ki bolne ka ki hum hain yaha pe* and it is okay to be Hindu. *Ek bahut hi zaroori sawal hai ki kyon aisa ho*

raha hai? Kyon logon ko lag raha hai ki ye I am somehow weaker or I have not been acknowledged because I can't say I am a Hindu in my own country. Why does a person say "Jai shree Ram or Bharat mata ki jai", why is that person considered a nationalist? Because I said Bharat.

{Not anti-muslim, anti-muslim is a pretty much generalisation. So, you have to appreciate something, the Daudi Bohra community in Gujrat in MP are tremendous Modi supporters. The Gujjar muslims in the valley of Kashmir are Modi and BJP supporters. It is not muslims! It is a very specific sector of Islam which, yes, I will acknowledge that is the largest sector of Islam but it is important in these kind of discussions, who we are talking about. We are talking about a certain sect in places like Hyderabad, in places like Kerala today who are very much anti-Modi and they have reasons to be anti-Modi - okay? But it is not simply a question of right and left anymore. That is okay. Because what happens is, if you look at Kerala, I am speaking about my own personal context. I am Malyali – okay? Today in Kerala you have on a daily monthly basis extremism on the left wing from the communist party where they come to people's homes, rape women, kill people, kill children all of the things over here. The right wing Hindu's are doing that the media is that..that the media is putting forward. I don't want to say promoting. You have to appreciate the entire picture, okay. It is not simply that right wing elements are coming, these right wing elements were always there. The only thing is that they have got a chance through Modi, they are there because of him and it is okay to be Hindu. There is one very important question that comes to mind. Why is this happening? Why do the people feel that they are somehow weaker or they have not been acknowledged because they can't say that they are Hindus in their own country. Why does a person say "Praise be to Lord Ram or Praise be to India", why is that person considered a nationalist? Because I said India. }

SU: *Etni baat ho gayi lekin zero India mein invent hua tha, humare Arya Bhatt ji ne kiya tha aur jo Math specialist the aur humare room mein do aur hai. Aap log kya invent kar rahe ho aaj kal?*

{We have talked so much about so many other things but do you know that zero was invented in India, our Arya Bhatt invented it and he was a Math specialist [sic.] and in our room we have two more. What are you people inventing these days?}

DE: *Kya invent kar raha hu, mein to so raha hu aajkal. (LAUGHTER) She is doing some theory.*

{What am I inventing these days, I am sleeping these days. She is doing some theory. }

SU: *Kaunsa theorem hai ye? Purba theorem?*

{Which theorem is that? Purba theorem?}

DJ: *Aap mein se kaun Srinivasan Ramanujan jaise banana chahenge?*

{Who out of the two of you wants to be like Srinivasan Ramanujan?}

DE: *Mein to nahi hu.*

{At least not I.}

DE: My name is Deepak, I am from Chattisgarh, Orrisa. I am at St. Cross College doing my DPhil in Math, 1st year and like he was asking. What do I do umm so(HESITATION) my... like the research group comes under the number theory department so...mostly geometry and number theory (PAUSE, THINKING). What I work on basically is something called this class of numbers which are called periods umm and how did this name come about right? It means something recurring, for example, you have planets which revolve in a fixed time? (CONFUSED) (LAUGHTER) Yeah, *theek hai*. Like there is same thing like which revolve around in the same time, you can compute it through some integrals of their optical or orbit or whatever. So, similar things, so periods are numbers which are defined as integrals of some natural functions umm (PAUSE) then, what happens is that these numbers are used everywhere in geometry and in theoretical physics when you are computing primal aptitudes or when you have high energy physics to in the collides or somerite and they are doing lots of experiments so they want to know what numbers come up and they compute the probabilities or whatever and you always get these periods. There are various conjectures to this, some of them are class of numbers and then if you just want to understand the structure of these class of numbers. That's what my group does, I am not sure if it was very... (PAUSE)

(OVERLAP)

{My name is Deepak, I am from Chattisgarh, Orrisa. I am at St. Cross College doing my DPhil in Math, 1st year and like he was asking. What do I do umm so my... like the research group comes under the number theory department so...mostly geometry and number theory. What I work on basically is something called this class of numbers which are called periods umm and how did this name come about right? It means something recurring, for example, you have planets which revolve in a fixed time? Yeah, that is okay. Like there is same thing like which revolve around in the same time, you can compute it through some integrals of their optical or orbit or whatever. So, similar things, so periods are numbers which are defined as integrals of some natural functions umm (PAUSE) then, what happens is that these numbers are used everywhere in geometry and in theoretical physics when you are computing primal aptitudes or when you have high energy physics to in the collides or somerite and they are doing lots of experiments so they want to know what numbers come up and they compute the probabilities or whatever and you always get these periods.

There are various conjectures to this, some of them are class of numbers and then if you just want to understand the structure of these class of numbers. That's what my group does, I am not sure if it was very...}

SU: Class of numbers me *kya aata hai?*

{What comes in class of numbers?}

DE: Yeah, so I can give you a lot of examples like periods have rational numbers, it has all algebraic numbers. So, algebraic numbers are those which are like...

(INTERRUPTION)

PU: I am sure *kisi ko* algebraic numbers *pata nahi hai.*

(PU & DE SPEAK TOGETHER)

{I am sure someone does not know what are algebraic numbers.}

DE: For example, $x^2 - 2 = 0$ is a polynomial and $\sqrt{2}$ is the root of this polynomial so these are called algebraic numbers. Now for this class of numbers, we already have (NOT AUDIBLE) *venyvelder* theory it is called Gable theory so people want to study extensions, right. So periods is something which extends so this is the next aa... which you want to study after the algebraic numbers. So, like I said these examples are integrals of rational functions. For example, *laurets* is defined as the integral one of x , so *lore* is there and other trigonometric functions are there. Exponential is not that...so when you define the integral of rational function, one or an x , right. Exponential is when you define the inverse of this.

AD: (OVERLAP) Inverse of law

DE: Yeah, so it is its own integral but that's easier to identify, it is not a polynomial. So, periods you restrict two functions which are defined as integrals of rational functions. Like the ratio of polynomials so that's why it's not there. (NOT AUDIBLE)

(MURMURING)

SU: *Kuch to samajh aaya.*

{At least I understood something.}

PU: (OVERLAP) *Etne sara ka zaroor itna hi tha.*

{All that definitely leads to just this much. }

DE: Well, I had to explain something. I...I...the serious thing is like multiples you can get the values. So, periods are almost everywhere you just might not notice, oh you might not know but it's actually that is everywhere. That is the question.

SU: *Aur aap kya kar rahe ho?*

{And what are you doing?}

PU: I think, mathematical talk *nahi ho payenge*. (LAUGHTER)

{I think mathematical talk is not possible.}

SU: *Theek hai, aap kya kar rahe ho?* (TO ADD)

{Okay, what are you doing?}

DJ: She is doing computer science?

AD: *Tum bolo?* I am doing Maths.

{You speak? I am doing Maths.}

DE: (INTERRUPTION) But are you majoring in Math?

PU: Ideally, I am also in the Math department.

DE: She is doing something at the department.

AD: Matlab I am an engineer by background.

SU: *Kahan se?*

{Where from?}

AD: IIT Delhi.

SU: OHH!

AD: And it is my first year DPhil. It's umm computational and mathematical biology and what I am working on right now is you know... ummm...*bachpan mein humein vaccines lagti hain bahut sari aise to phir there was a time jab log polio, chalo polio to waise ab eradicate ho gaya hai*. There was a time *jab log small pox se mar jate the* and all that, *theek hai? Toh ye sare umm viral diseases which eventually led to the death and people eventually made vaccines. Toh similarly, cancer kya hota hai*. It starts from a tumor and tumor *mein kya hota hai ki our body, humara jo immune system hai*, it is constantly battling a lot of tumors. That is a tumor which our body is unable to fight leads to cancer. So, the overall idea behind my project is to develop tumor vaccines and umm... *usme* the part that I am trying to model the mathematical modeling and then setting up of the model etc is this part *ki humara jo immune system hota hai uska ek umm ankein dekhne wala ek molecule hota hai*, there are lot of molecules involved. One of which is T cells *to suna hoga? Toh T cells are the one which actually kills these tumors. Toh T-cells are blind, they need someone else to see that thing for them. Toh fir kya hota hai ki jo pure mechanism hoti hai for this another model that you want to see a tumor, usme kya hota hai ki they become extra smart. Yar, I am trying to really tone it down so that everyone understands.*

{AD: And it is my first year DPhil. It's umm computational and mathematical biology and what I am working on right now is you know... ummm...during our childhood

days we used to get numerous vaccines, there was a time when people started having polio, well polio has been eradicated now. There was a time when people used to die out of small pox and all that, alright? So, all these umm viral diseases which eventually led to the death and people eventually made vaccines. So similarly, cancer, what is cancer? It starts from a tumor and what happens in tumor to our body, our immune system, it is constantly battling a lot of tumors. That is a tumor which our body is unable to fight leads to cancer. So, the overall idea behind my project is to develop tumor vaccines and umm... in that the part that I am trying to model the mathematical modeling and then setting up of the model etc is this part that within our immune system we have one umm eye visioning molecule, there are lot of molecules involved. One of which is T cells which you might have heard of? So, T cells are the one which actually kills these tumors. So, T-cells are blind, they need someone else to see that thing for them. So what happens is that the entire mechanism for this another model that you want to see a tumor, what happens in this is that they become extra smart. Friends, I am trying to really tone it down so that everyone understands. }

SU: *Bahut clear hai.*

{It is very clear. }

PU: *Ense to better hai.*

{It is better than this. }

DE: Yeah, definitely I am terrible at it.

AD: Anyways, so basically *uska jo pura*, I am trying to device a way so that *jo m...mechanism ye tumors employ karte hai* to hide themselves *taki vo overcome kare taki* they can be seen and the process of vaccines can take place.

{Anyways, so basically the whole of it, I am trying to device a way so that the *m...mechanism that these tumors employ to hide themselves so that they can overcome and they can be seen and the process of vaccines can take place.* }

DJ: So casually you are curing cancer

AD: Yeah!

SU: Emse mathematical modelling *kahan pe aata hai?*

{Where does Emse mathematical modelling come? }

AD: *Yar* mathematical modeling, see because *tumhare pure body mein bahut sare* molecules involved *hai aur tum seedha aise koi bhi random cheez uthake uske tum sau logon ke andar daal ke hit and trial nahi kar sakte.* So we need to have like a rough idea of what is going to happen. You need to develop artificially of what is going to happen. *Toh* you do all that and then you get positive results than you actually get an approval and do it at a clinical stage. *Toh* I have partnered with this pharma company called Roche and umm they basically provide me with all the raw

data to get my model setup, once I have predictable results then we will do the physical trials.

{Friend mathematical modeling, see because in your pure body many molecules are involved and you cannot put any random thing in hundred people and go for a hit and trial. So we need to have like a rough idea of what is going to happen. You need to develop artificially of what is going to happen. So you do all that and then you get positive results than you actually get an approval and do it at a clinical stage. So I have partnered with this pharma company called Roche and umm they basically provide me with all the raw data to get my model setup, once I have predictable results then we will do the physical trials. }

SU: Nice!

DE: You prepare vaccines on a generic level. I thought there are different kinds of cancer.

PU: I think there are... (INTERRUPTION; OVERLAP)

AD: Yeah, of course! *Yeh maine bahut hi, bahut hi tumhari tarah nahi, logon ko sab samajhaayees liye samjhaya hai ek dum broad terms mein.* We can discuss the specifications. It will be different for every cancer and it won't be the same.

{Yeah, of course! I have tried to explain you things in broad terms, in very simple words so that you people can understand. We can discuss the specifications. It will be different for every cancer and it won't be the same. }

PU: I think you are doing a very precise area and not...that much (PAUSE)

AD: No, it's like umm immunology. *Abhi cancer treatment ke liye, we have chemotherapy and eventually chemotherapy mein ek point tak kam ho sakta hai* and then nothing happens. You become resistant to chemotherapy but chemotherapy is basically like I said, going back *jaise virus ko treat kiya waise hi tumor.*

{No, it's like umm immunology. Now for cancer treatment, we have chemotherapy and eventually chemotherapy can also work upto a point and then nothing happens. You become resistant to chemotherapy but chemotherapy is basically like I said, going back, just as we treated virus, so do we treat tumor. }

DE: How come you are in the engineering department?

AD: I am an engineer by background and I am in Maths department, I am on the fourth floor but obviously not in a pure science wing.

DE: So you also have an office at the math department?

AD: *Han* that's what I said *na*, fourth floor!

{Yes, that's what I said dear, fourth floor! }

PU: *Nahi* he wasn't there that time.

{No, he wasn't there that time. }

AD: *Abhi phir se bola maine.*

{I just said that.}

PU: Oh, okay. *Phir to maine bhi miss kiya hai.*

{Oh, okay. Then even I missed it.}

DJ: *Kisi ne yaha pe aakar kabhi chole bhature khayein?*

{Has anyone come here to eat *chola bhature*?}

AD: *Han! Yaha pe kahin milte nahi hai Oxford mein. Han maine khaye hain.*

(EMPHASIS)

{Yes! We don't get them in Oxford. Yes, I have eaten. }

DJ: *Kahan pe?*

{Where did you have it?}

AD: *Hum logon ne banaye hain* from scratch.

{We people made it ourselves from scratch}

DJ: *Kamal hai, kaise yaar?*

{It is amazing friend, how did you make it?}

DE: (CROSSTALK) You made it?

AD: I have friends who are very good cooks and plus London *mein milte hain.*

Anyways.

{I have friends who are very good cooks and plus they are available in London. Anyways.}

PU: *Ab kiski turn hai?*

{Now whose turn is it?}

DJ: *Mera Modi ka bhashan ho gaya hai.* (EMPHASIS)

{My Modi lecture is over.}

PU: Okay, I am from Kolkata but I have been living in Chennai for last five years

(PAUSE).

DJ: *Aapko Tamil aati hai?*

{Do you know Tamil?}

PU: *Kuch bhi bolna nahi aata sirf ye bolna aata hai ki* I don't know Tamil. *Ye bahut helpful hai, kabhi bhi ghar se bahar jao aur bolo* I don't know Tamil.

{I cannot talk in Tamil. I just know how to say, "I don't know Tamil." This is quite helpful. Whenever you go out of home you can say, "I don't know Tamil."}

DJ: *Bilkul, bilkul.*

{Definetly, definetly.}

PU: And I am from St Hugh's first year in Maths. I don't go to college.

DJ: St Hugh's *kahan hai*?

{Where is St Hugh's?}

AD: *Ye edhar peeche, north mein hai.*

{It is just behind, in the north.}

DJ: Oh, okay.

PU: *Kyonki uska charon taraf char door hai.*

{Because it has four doors in all four directions.}

DJ: *Han, han* exactly.

{Yes, yes exactly.}

PU: Which is obvious but *theek hai*. Umm..okay, math *mein jana chahiye kya?* I am officially in two groups, one is stochastic analysis and another is math finance but *mein* Math finance *ko favour karti hu*, a disclaimer. So, what I am doing is... I will try to explain it in a better way. Better than you! So basically, *bachpan se hum sab integration kiya hai bahut sara* and basically everything is wrong. *Jo bhi humne kiya bhi hai vo sab kuch galat hai.*

{Which is obvious but it is okay. Umm..okay, should one go in for maths? I am officially in two groups, one is stochastic analysis and another is math finance but I favour Math finance, a disclaimer. So, what I am doing is... I will try to explain it in a better way. Better than you! So basically, right from our childhood we have done a lot of integration and basically everything is wrong. Whatever we have done, it is all wrong.}

DJ: *Hain?*

{DJ: What?}

AD: *Jaise, jaise padhte ho pata chalta hai, ye bhi galat tha.*

{AD: As you go on reading you get to know that even this is wrong.}

DJ: *Maine to kabhi socha bhi nahi.* I dodged upon that.

{ DJ: I never even thought of it. I dodged upon that }

PU: *Nahi*, integration normally *kya hota hai?* Like *ek acha sa function hota hai* and then we usually try to find *ki uska* area under the part *kya hai*. And *hum* usually *kaise karte hain ki usko* rectangle mein divide *karenge aur phir* rectangle *ka* area *aur phir dekhte hai ki* rectangle *kaun kaun chordta hai* but apparently if you do not have such a nice function like x^2 in a straight line, it basically tells that it does not converge. *Jitna alag alag* rectangles *rehta hai us par* depend *karke alag alag* results *aata hai*

and the result varies from minus infinity to plus infinity. Like, *kuch bhi ho sakta hai*. I can give you a function you will be able to solve it based on that.

{PU: No, what is integration normally? Like is has a specific and then we usually try to find what its area is under the part. And what we do usually is that we divide it into rectangle, thereafter the area of the rectangle and then see which area gets divided into rectangles but apparently if you do not have such a nice function like x square in a straight line, it bascially tells that it does not converge. The results will depend on the number of rectangles, the more differently we have the rectangles, the more will the results vary from minus infinity to plus infinity. Like, anything can happen. I can give you a function you will be able to solve it based on that. }

DJ: Friends, I think we have started digressing and started talking more about our academics. Can we call off the conversation here?

PU: I am sorry, I didn't realise that.

DJ: That's okay, *chalta hai*. So friends it was nice chatting with you. Thanks for being so supportive.

{ DJ: That's okay, it is fine. So friends it was nice chatting with you. Thanks for being so supportive. }

R: Thank you all for sparing your time. *Main janti hu ki aap log bahut busy rehte ho, phir bhi aap aye meri madad kare, iske liye main bahut thankful hu.*

{R: Thank you all for sparing your time. I know that you all have a very busy schedule, despite which you came to help me. I am very thankful to you for this. }

Appendix I Stimulated Recall (DJ (M))

R: So, I have taken utterances from what you talked about yesterday. I have picked up two of the utterances from your conversation which I would like you to have a look at and based on that, I will question you about your conversation. Hope that is fine with you?

DJ: Do you want me to watch them?

R: Ummm....yes!

R: And, before we start, I would like to ask whether you are aware of the term code-switching?

DJ: So, in a single umm... in a single interaction or in a single dialogue a person switches between one language, a predominant language so to speak from Hindi to English or vice versa.

R: Okay! Yes, you are right.

Oh sorry! Yeah, yeah sure, have a look.

VIDEO PLAYING

R: Okay, so that is the first one.

And the another one...

DJ: Okay, samajh nahi aaya mein bola kya?

R: Mein batati hu. So, the first one was "Nahi, nahi interest tha toh just because...". I think, - I think you were talking about...amm....

DJ: Film and anthropology

R: Yes, film and anthropology when you said "Nahi, nahi interest tha toh just because America mein azadi milti hai toh you can pursue whatever you want". This was your first code-switch. And, the second one was "Lekin paisa bahut kama lenge aise because they are doing a prequel as well"

DJ: Okay, right

R: So, the first thing is, do you think you were comfortable talking in this environment?

DJ: Yes, yes! I would definitely say that. I mean I- I...if I can say that about myself that I was kind of person on many instances who was directing the conversation.

R: Yes, I would agree with you, you were authoritative.

DJ: Since I was the one directing the conversation, it naturally meant that I was discussing issues that I was more comfortable in.

R: True

DJ: Then there was also like this key moment where I was like, listen, we need to get these guys into the discussion as well which was I think the two mathematicians in the room. Then I said, "Hey guys, can you talk about something related to math probably?"

But then that became interesting because it became the whole conversation about maths and the place of math in India and society and how we teach our kids mathematics. I felt really comfortable talking about that.

R: Yes, if I was asked to talk about Math, I might be zoned out.

DJ: I mean, you have to find links between what you experience and what someone else is talking about. It is just a fluid conversation.

R: Do you think like in these two instances you code-switched?

DJ: Yeah, I think in the second instance I code-switched more when I said "paisa toh kamayegi" that's - that's a Hindi phrase and then shifted to English. So, yeah, I definitely was! Ofcourse, it depends on the context, if the people around me couldn't speak in Hindi (PAUSE)

R: True, it was like you were in a comfortable environment.

DJ: Yes, yes. I will say though, personally, reflecting on it now it's like I feel like umm... it's only when I am comfortable, I do code-switch. If I meet them for the first time, even if they are Indian, I would stick to English because English is my first language but it doesn't take a long time to kind of become comfortable I guess and if I can gain from the way they are interacting, whether they are responding to what I am saying or what they are saying, if I feel a sense of comfort which we have very fast, I will try and segue into code-switching.

R: Okay, so is it like when you are with your peer group with some Indians, would you code-switch even then?

DJ: I definitely see myself code-switching there. It might have some alcohol factor there, rather I would not say that I would code-switch because I drink but definitely...

CROSS OVER TALK

R: Right, it comes out naturally in an informal setting.

DJ: That being said, even with like, not even necessarily people of my own age but like if I am speaking to... older Indian women and if I feel he/ she is comfortable in speaking in Hindi. Then I will speak to them in Hindi as much as I can.

R: But is it like a deliberate attempt when you do this?

DJ: If I am being very honest, I would say there have been several occasions where it kind of has been kind of deliberate. I speak it sometimes to make the other person comfortable or on my account, I feel like it will help us or me create a strong relationship with the other person. Because if you can speak in other languages, both of us can somehow navigate much better perhaps. It will help me make a better connection with them so it's kind of like a selfish thing.

R: Okay

DJ: It will help me make a better connection with them but I do consciously like, I can...can remember several times consciously saying "I should probably try and talk something in Hindi".

R: But, did you do that yesterday during the study? Was it more deliberate?

DJ: A little bit, a little bit, a little bit because I mean... I guess it is inevitable knowing that you know when you asked specifically when you called for people you wanted them to speak in Hindi.

R: Right!

DJ: I probably gathered that she will probably need me to speak in Hindi. Umm...that being said that was very much in the beginning but once I found that rhythm, it was pretty natural.

R: Absolutely, umm...this was done as I required people who were fluent in both Hindi and English, unlike Anglo Indians, you know what I mean?

DJ: Yes, yes! The experiment became less of an experiment as it went on.

R: Yes, you probably were pally with them at that point.

DJ: Yeah, yeah

R: And when you are with your parents do you code-switch at that point as well?

DJ: With my parents....it's a... with my mom I tend to speak in Hindi because it's just the way I have always done and she is just more used to speaking in Hindi. It's not to say that she can't speak in English, she can, but then I do but not as much.

R: Do you mix at that point?

DJ: I do, I do. It is mainly to do with like if I am speaking to them about a certain concept that I am studying or writing which I can't explain to them in Hindi then I will explain it to them in English because they will understand. I will flesh out my main point in English with Hindi.

R: Oh! Okay

DJ: Like I will elaborate you know...

R: Hm. But is it like on a certain topic? Because I remember when you were talking yesterday, you said: "I have to take recourse to English for describing anthropology".

So is it on a certain topic because as soon as you shifted to cricket, it was all bitching about Kholi and other things so it more topic-oriented?

DJ: Right! It depends on the depth of the topic that you are discussing. That is kind of a very vague way of putting it but when it came specifically to the anthropology question, I mean what is anthropology about? I wanted to give an honest answer and I thought in the moment it would require to go deeper rather than just saying oh it's the study of human beings. So, I wanted to give that person a detailed answer and as accurate on that. I wasn't confident in my Hindi ability to communicate the depth of what I intended to communicate purely using Hindi.

R: Is it like for example if you are in a formal context, would you code-switch at that point as well? Does context play a major role?

DJ: I personally don't really care where I am like even if I am at a really formal kind of meeting or dinner or whatever you know...if I am speaking to a person from India and I can gather that the person can speak in Hindi, I have no accounts about aaa...talking to them in Hindi. Um... I don't really mind the place might require, according to someone's idea somewhat requirements are, it might require in some cases English but it's I am...amm it is a bit self-centered I care about how I want to speak to someone.

R: You mean your comfort zone?

DJ: Yeah, yeah. My comfort zone is the most important if I feel comfortable with somebody umm... if they can speak in Hindi to include some Hindi in that because there are certain things that I can express certain sentiment in Hindi better than I could in English.

R: Yes, I would agree to that as well.

DJ: I do want to express my ability to speak in Hindi to the other person so that it is easier to communicate.

R: Does that happen sometimes that you wish to codify certain elements which are not comprehensible for others?

DJ: Yeah, definitely I have. Honestly, I don't, I only tend to codify if I am talking about a person. I wouldn't codify if I am talking about my ideology, I would say that I am pretty open with my opinions and I put them out there and they can be judged and have a discussion about it. If somebody over here is taking offense or whatever if somebody is affected negatively with what I have said, I give them the respect to say if you want to say something to me, I am opening it up to you. Please come up and talk to me as I am not afraid of it.

R: Hm. Do you often speak in one code, either Hindi or English?

DJ: Totally English, yes! Most of the time, if it is Hindi completely it would be majorly with my parents. I would speak in Hindi in a very specific context.

R: Is it like you tend to lose out on words in English or Hindi and then you would code-switch?

DJ: If I had the option, I would do that. Like you can speak in both the languages so I will code-switch for the sake of convenience if I can explain a concept or word using a word in a certain language that umm... conveys my sentiment more accurately then I will code-switch.

R: So you focus on conveying the message as opposed to the um... language you are using?

DJ: Yes, conveying the sentiment. But I will say that what language I am using does, you know, kind of affect the mood of the conversation. For example, like yesterday I was talking about Pakistan exclusively in Hindi because that conveys my sentiment better.

R: So, my final question is...do you think the environment plays a role? I think you have answered it partially in our initial questions but if you could briefly explain a bit more on that?

DJ: When it is a controlled environment the way it was in the experiment, I think it does. That's me just being very honest like I said I did feel obliged to speak in Hindi at the very start of the conversation and I was trying to put Hindi in there as much as I

could but in an exclusively social environment, um... I speak to a person I am speaking to in front of me and I speak to them however I feel like they want to be spoken to and I want to speak to them and all that kind of stuff. It doesn't really matter where I am in terms of the context. (PAUSE) The environment becomes a factor because it creates the condition necessary for these people to come together.

R: Alright! That answers all my questions. Thank you so much for participating in this. Your responses were really helpful.

Appendix J Stimulated Recall (PU (F))

Sorry, just a min...huh!

R: Hi! Thank you for being cooperative towards my study and taking out time from your busy schedule. So,...I will be asking you some questions based on what we did during the group discussion and as you are aware that we just talked in general about...ah! We had a little formal discussion on various topics. So, I am trying to research on aa... code-switching, taking into consideration the pragmatic functions and the patterns in which it is spoken. I would like to take 15 mins umm... in which I will be questioning you based on what you spoke yesterday. Alright, so could you please have a look at a few of the chosen utterances from our group discussion.

PU: Okay

R: Ok! So,...do you think you were comfortable talking about umm... like during the conversation in general. Do you think you were comfortable with the environment?

PU: Yeah! I think, I was. Initially, I was a bit hesitant, I would say but then...

R: Ok! I mean like did you know the participants already?

PU: Ah...so, so...I like...knew one of them, not everyone but it was like a very friendly atmosphere. So, yeah (PAUSE)

R: Alright! And are you aware that you code-switched at certain points or code-mixed at certain points during the conversation?

PU: Yeah like ...okay so like I didn't really realise when I am doing but I am aware that I have done it.

R: Hm, okay! But do you know consciously that you did it or did it just come naturally to you or did the situation drive you to do that?

PU: So, sometimes when I am running out of words...

R: Hm

PU: Like for both English and Hindi, if I am running out of words in English so I go back to Hindi and then it goes vice versa.

R: Okay! I see.

PU: Because it is easier to express in different languages so...

R: Yes, absolutely!

PU: But I didn't do like...I think most of the time I code-switched it wasn't out of peer pressure, it came out naturally based on the setting.

R: Okay! So...that answers my next question that it was not intentional and you didn't do it deliberately. Also, you weren't aware of it as it was the environment that made you comfortable.

PU: Yes! Yeah!

R: But you do like that more often like in terms of your peer group if you meet people in the Indian people as a group or within a community. In the first place, would you code-switch even then?

PU: Um...so, it depends on how much comfortable I am with them. Like if it is a professional atmosphere, I tend to use English more whereas in an informal context I switch with my friends as it is a casual conversation.

R: Mhm!

PU: But if I am in a friendly group, definitely yes!

R: Yeah! Okay! And...I just wanted to brief you about the term code-switching as it forms a part of my study, so it is the shift from one language to another in both the switches whether its English or Hindi and code-mixing is when you insert words in...in your mother tongue be it Bengali or Hindi or for that matter even English with some Hindi words just to convey what you want to say. Do you have anything to add to that?

PU: Ah...main thing is I usually don't do it deliberately so I don't really realise while doing it so it is kind of unintentional.

R: Ah! Okay. That's perfect! And ahm...is it like when you were talking about Mathematics especially, was it that particular topic that you were talking in English or I mean were you code-switching at that point specifically or was it overall like

because I- I remember you were silent when it came to cricket or other things but when it came to Math? (PAUSE)

PU: Yeah, because I think I am very comfortable talking about Maths.

R: Yeah! And you are passionate about it too.

PU: Ya, ya! And definitely, I like to share what I am doing

R: That's great! So, I mean that's your comfort zone so you just express yourself the way you want to?

PU: Yes, also, I think for cricket and other things I am- I am not on the same page with others as I don't know what exactly what to say in terms of that.

R: Hm. That makes sense. I am same as you, I barely know two cricketers: Virat Kohli and Dhoni.

PU: You have to know Saurabh Ganguly (Laughter)

R: Moving on, whether you are in a formal context or in an informal context, eg. Diwali does that drive you to code-switch? I mean, does context play a major role in conversing with someone?

PU: It definitely does make a difference! If...if I am with an Indian person discussing on a serious issue or academic topic, I won't be code-switching then as it happens in a relaxed conversation.

R: Yes, right. If it is a dense topic related to mathematics.

PU: Dense topic, then it tends to become more formal and academic oriented.

R: Hm. Okay

PU: But when I am in a good mood chatting with other people in general about life and not about some serious issues in an informal setting, I would code-switch, if I am comfortable.

R: Yes, the people around you play a major role.

PU: Exactly!

R: Is there at some time point that you would just speak in English, obviously when you are like in a formal context here in the university but beyond that if you are with your family or parents?

PU: I think if I am around my parents, I usually speak Bengali or Hindi and I consciously make an effort to not make use of English words as they are not that much comfortable with English. I try not to do that.

R: Yes, it's difficult to maintain that balance when you are a trilingual speaker.

PU: The amount of code-switch I can do with you because I know you are both comfortable in both English and Hindi.

R: Oh! So you take into consideration the proficiency of the speaker. (LAUGHTER)

PU: Yeah, if I know other person is fine with everything then probably I will not think about that.

R: Mhm! That makes sense! Also, when we talk about am...I mean, sometimes when I loose out on words in either Hindi or English then I code-switch. Does that happen with you?

PU: Definitely! I am sure that happens with everyone. I think in some situations...atleast in English for example when I communicate with my supervisor, I am aware that I have to follow a certain code of conduct but when I fall short of words sometimes, I try and elaborate to convey my message.

R: You know his proficiency and you know his limitation in terms of the language.

PU: Exactly! And we do not have a common language.

R: Yes, yes!

R: And do you think (PAUSE), I think you answered it partially in the first question but I would like you to elaborate a bit more on that. Do you think when we talk in terms of the environment in general. Does environment play a major role and even during our study, it started on an informal note. Did that make a difference towards your participation in the conversation?

PU: Yeah, I think so. If I am in front of 5-10 professors I am accustomed to speak in English in a formal setting. Over there it was with friends so it started on a very casual note. The discussion had a friendly atmosphere as I already knew a few of them. The previous meeting had a conference room setting which was quite intimidating for me personally.

R: LAUGHTER Okay

R: Alright! Thank you so much for participating in my study and generously agreeing on answering all the questions posed.

Appendix K Interview Questions

1. What do you know about code-switching?
2. What made you code-switch more on a particular topic?
3. Do you think you were comfortable while talking on the topic?
4. Are you aware that you mixed two codes (your L1 and L2)?
5. Did you do it deliberately or is it your natural way of talking?
6. Does your communication differ in formal contexts?
7. When do you use one code in your conversation?
8. Do you code switch because you fail to find the right word(s) in L2?
9. What role does the environment play in your code switch?

Appendix L Observation Protocol (OP)

S No.	Participant code	Gender	PFs used	Intra-sentential	Inter-sentential
1.	AD	F	DM, Quot, Quest.	√	√
2.	PU	F			
3.	DE	M			
4.	DJ	M			
5.	VA	M			
6.	SU	M			

Notes:

AD: more active than PU; frequent and natural CS; short & long stretches

PU: short responses; less CS; natural switch

DE: silent in the beginning; picks up in the midst; longer stretches; very rare CS

DJ: most active; CS natural; long stretches of speech; good coordinator

VA: short responses; less CS; natural switch

SU: short responses; more CS; one long stretch

Appendix M Group elicitation task topics

Flashcards were handed to the moderator on the given topics, although, they were not used during the conversation as they wished to talk about other issues.

1. Life at Oxford

a) Sociocultural variation in UK and India

2. Higher Education in UK and India

Appendix N Data analysis through NVivo

The screenshot displays the NVivo software interface. The top menu bar includes File, Home, Import, Create, Explore, and Share. Below the menu is a toolbar with various icons for file operations, exploration, and coding. The main workspace is titled 'Nodes' and contains a table with the following data:

Name	Files	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Pragmatics of CS		0	24/07/2019 12:41	ANS	24/07/2019 12:41	ANS
Discourse Markers		1	24/07/2019 12:43	ANS	24/07/2019 15:15	ANS
Interjections		1	24/07/2019 12:43	ANS	24/07/2019 15:20	ANS
Intonation		1	24/07/2019 12:45	ANS	24/07/2019 15:14	ANS
General extenders		1	24/07/2019 12:44	ANS	24/07/2019 15:16	ANS
Quotatives		1	24/07/2019 12:44	ANS	24/07/2019 15:14	ANS
Emphasis		1	24/07/2019 12:46	ANS	24/07/2019 15:14	ANS
Expletives		1	24/07/2019 12:45	ANS	24/07/2019 15:08	ANS
Acceptance		1	24/07/2019 12:46	ANS	24/07/2019 15:13	ANS
Rejection		1	24/07/2019 12:46	ANS	24/07/2019 15:15	ANS
Pauses		1	24/07/2019 12:46	ANS	24/07/2019 15:20	ANS
Humour		1	24/07/2019 12:47	ANS	24/07/2019 14:21	ANS
Question		13	24/07/2019 12:48	ANS	24/07/2019 15:16	ANS
Repetition		1	24/07/2019 14:18	ANS	24/07/2019 14:19	ANS
Vocatives		1	24/07/2019 14:22	ANS	24/07/2019 15:16	ANS

The interface also features a left-hand navigation pane with sections for Quick Access, Data, Codes, Cases, Notes, Search, Maps, and Output. The bottom status bar indicates 'ANS 15 items'.