Subiko Welcome (*Welcome* to Everyone): Hindi/English Code-Switching in the British-Asian Media

Penelope Gardner-Chloros[*]
Birkbeck, University of London

Reeva Charles[**]
Goldsmiths, University of London

Abstract

Studies among British-Asians have attested the pervasiveness of code-switching (CS) in this community. We examine Hindi/English CS on cable television in Britain, extending the type of analysis carried out on various language pairs to a new medium. CS on television mirrors CS in real life, with various qualifications. It is avoided at one extreme of the style/formality continuum, in news broadcasts and in children's programmes–presumably for normative reasons. Its conversational functions are well-represented in the *framing* of different programme segments, and, unsurprisingly, where spontaneous speech / audience participation are involved. It is under-represented in dramas / soaps, which supposedly depict naturalistic speech, but where dialogue is actually highly stylised.

We conclude that further studies should be carried out using spoken media material, which provides a fertile source of sociolinguistic data. We speculate on the legitimizing effect of the presence of frequent CS on television on the practice of speakers.

Key words: code-switching, bilingual media, Hindi-English

---

[*] E-mail address for correspondence: *p.gardner-chloros@bbk.ac.uk*
[**] E-mail address for correspondence: *r.charles@gold.ac.uk*

Introduction

In a paper on 'Bilingualism in the mass media and on the internet', Androutsopoulos (2007, p. 225) argues that

> [i]n order to understand the complexities and tensions involved in the mediation of bilingual practices, we need to transcend the implicit benchmark of 'authentic' bilingual speech in a twofold way: first, by embedding any comparison between mediated and immediate bilingual speech in an examination of the institutional settings and generic contexts of media discourse; and second, by extending the scope from societal to impersonal bilingualism.

This observation dictates that bilingualism in the media should be seen to some extent on its own terms and not simply as a reflection of practices outside, although these are of course part of the picture and provide an essential benchmark (see also the papers in Karim, 2003).

In this paper, we draw attention to the importance of using media as a source of linguistic data. Our focus is on the code-switching (CS)[1] on an Asian cable TV station which is accessed by a large audience within the British Asian community, 'Zee TV' (Browne, 2007). Zee should not be identified with Bollywood; however Ray's (2003, p. 22) remark about the 'diasporisation' of Bollywood, which has taken place "by creating a spectatorship aware of the specific requirements of the diasporas as well as those living in India", are relevant. Many studies of code-switching in fact focus on the alternating choice of particular varieties and consider the use of these varieties from the point of view of the underlying power dynamic which they map onto. Here, on the other hand, we have concentrated on the use of code-switching itself and the different styles found within it.

Several studies have demonstrated the pervasiveness and the nature of code-switching amongst the British Asian community in Britain (Charles, 1995; Gumperz, 1982; Romaine, 1995). CS in this community is particularly intensive at the grammatical level (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998), to the point where the two languages cannot systematically be distinguished at all times and a number of "mixed system" phenomena have been identified (Agnihotri, 1987; Romaine, 1986). In spite of –or perhaps because of– its frequency, CS often appears to correspond with clear conversational functions, overlapping with or supplementing those which would be available to a monolingual speaker (Gardner-Chloros, Charles & Cheshire, 2000). So far, such studies of CS between English and various Indian languages have overwhelmingly been

carried out within the setting of interviews or through participant observation, with the aim of characterising the use of CS within 'natural conversation'. The observation of bilingualism in the media supplements this body of data and helps reveal underlying hierarchies and linguistic ideologies, as Pavlou (2004) has shown with respect to the uses of the Greek Cypriot Dialect on Cypriot TV channels.

This study therefore has elements both of those in which 'media language' is the object of enquiry and of the 'natural' studies of CS in conversational usage in this diasporic community. The aims of CS on cable TV differ markedly from those of CS in face-to-face conversation. However in order to be successful, CS on television needs to retain sufficient connection with real-life speech for the speakers to come across as plausible to their audience.

Using the Media as a Source of Linguistic Data

Using media output for the study of language, as opposed to real-life settings, brings with it different methodological challenges as media language has specific characteristics; in particular speakers are in most cases aware of the invisible audience represented by the viewers, and may alter their speech accordingly. For a discussion of media language in relation to sociolinguistic issues, see Bell (1991); Leitner (1997); Aitchison and Lewis (2003).

Labov (1970) wrote that "[i]t is also possible to obtain some systematic data from radio and television broadcasts, although here the selection and the stylistic constraints are usually very strong". This implies that radio and broadcasting tend towards the 'formal' end of the style continuum due to the awareness of being recorded. For example, a study by van de Velde, van Hout and Gerritsen (1997) points to the advantages of using radio broadcasts for studying the Standard:

> The speech of professional broadcasters for the national broadcasting corporations, and especially that of newsreaders, is regarded as standard speech in most language communities…. If broadcasters' speech is a real reflection of current norms in the standard language, it also mirrors ongoing changes in standard speech. Radio programmes are therefore a potentially excellent source for the study of language change. (p. 363)

Labov was amongst the first to point out the importance of the amount of attention which speakers pay to the speech which they are

producing. In particular he made distinctions between the 'vernacular' and 'formal' speech produced by speakers who were the informants in any study of linguistic usage: the more casual the speech, the more 'natural' the data. All speakers engage in style-shifting according to topic, social context etc. In the last thirty plus years, however, since the time when Labov was writing, a much wider range of styles has been deployed in the media, and the internet has assumed ever-increasing prominence. Broadcasting, and especially the visual media, initially tended to be heavily scripted, and as such one would expect the speaker to be paying the maximum attention to their linguistic behaviour and having the minimum choice of linguistic style. More recently the proliferation of different genres of programming, reflecting (or perhaps spurred on by) broader changes in society, has given rise to a wider range of linguistic styles in the media. There has been an increase in the types of programmes with looser scripting or no scripting at all, which therefore give the speakers opportunities to use less formal styles. Goffman (1981), in fact refers to this as a feature of 'media language'; he has observed that "broadcasters are under pressure to style their talk as though it were addressed to a single listener" and that "broadcast talk involves a conversational mode of address, but of course, merely a simulated one" (p.138). In fact even within similar programmes, such as the news, at the formal end of the continuum, the evolution of society has been such that less formal modes of speech are now acceptable, viz. the current use of regionally accented news reporters for local reports of BBC television news, and even, in the case of Huw Edwards, for the main news on UK's Channel 4. Leitner (1997) refers to work on audience research carried out in Germany showing that educated regional varieties were preferred to the standard; more generally, he concludes that there is increasing demand for "user-defined" text and predicts that, with time and developments in modern technology, there will be increasing audience design in media language (though the status of regional varieties in Germany and the UK remains different).

   With regard to formality and style then, the British broadcast media presents a continuum: on the one hand there are programmes such as the 'confessional chat shows', imported from the U.S. or following the American model, e.g. *The Jerry Springer Show, Oprah Winfrey* or *Kilroy*. In keeping with American media style, these contain a high proportion of unscripted, spontaneous speech and audience participation. On the other hand, there are tightly scripted programmes such as news bulletins and drama, comedy or 'acted' programmes, or what may be called 'TV fiction'. The range of different genres provides a fertile ground for

investigating the *contrasts* between the type of speech used in each of them.

Despite the advantages of collecting systematic linguistic data from the media–including the obvious one of side-stepping the normal difficulties of field-work–there remain some important differences between such data and that collected in other contexts. Even within programme types with more 'casual' speech, there are still various constraints potentially affecting speakers in media settings which are less likely to be present elsewhere, e.g. time allocated to speak, pre-planning by the speaker, linguistic guidelines by programmers, etc. The constraints in fact vary considerably with the type of production, the theatre for example imposing different requirements to those of the screen, and the small screen different ones from the cinema:

> Screen dialogue requires compression and economy…[it] demands short, simply constructed sentences–generally, a movement from noun to verb to object or from noun to verb to complement in that order. (McKee, 1999, pp. 388-389)

In addition to observations about the formality or style of what is actually seen on TV (i.e. the 'end product'), the production process itself must be taken account of, meaning the programme construction and editing processes which have been applied. Even unscripted programmes are subject to, for example, decisions about selecting and filming certain people (and not others) and editing processes. Such constraints should be borne in mind when making linguistic observations/judgements about such factors as turn-taking, or in relation to the conversational floor as being reflective of 'natural talk', because speakers are pre-selected and their talk may have been edited.

The effect of the presence or absence of interlocutors needs to be considered carefully. The media are an impersonal form of communication, and can be differentiated from face-to-face forms of interaction (whether informal conversation or formal conversation such as meetings, lessons, interviews etc.). In media settings, speakers may be aware that they are speaking to participants in the interaction who are not physically present. In an audience-orientated approach, Bell (1984, 1991) has argued that speakers can be influenced by third parties, or 'referees', who are not present but who are nevertheless ratified participants in the interaction. Media audiences may be viewed as such absent and silent participants. Man-siu Yau (1997) shows how politicians in recorded political debates are keenly aware of the language preferences of their audience and may adjust their language accordingly. Ideally one therefore

needs to take account of who a speaker (or scriptwriter) thinks their audience is. In relation to the present topic, for instance, given that CS has been shown to be disapproved of in some contexts and stigmatised (Chana & Romaine, 1985; Romaine, 1994), it would be relevant to know whether the audience holds similar opinions. Are the audience people who generally accept / tolerate / approve of CS, and do they use CS themselves?

The Bilingual Media

Much of the discussion thus far has been relevant to both monolingual and bilingual programming. Most of the observations regarding constraints on monolingual programming apply also to what might be termed the 'bilingual media', that is, media which makes habitual use of more than one language. In the bilingual media, however, there are additional linguistic features (apart from accent, grammatical structure, lexical choice, etc.) which are affected by the style and nature of programming – these are, *firstly*, the choice of language and, *secondly,* the degree to which *both* languages are used within and across programmes, and by and between individual speakers.

Compared with van de Velde et al. (1997), which took standard speech as its object of research, a study centred on CS has to face the additional difficulty of trying to collect data on a phenomenon which occurs principally in the most unconstrained, natural and informal speech. CS is generally avoided in the most careful conversation and in *outgroup* communication (Gardner-Chloros, 1997). Scripting for television, or, an awareness of the invisible audience in other forms of programming, could both affect language choice and keep down the rate of switching. So regarding the extent to which media language can be used to study natural language, a partial answer can be provided at this stage by saying that the study of media language is likely to *under-represent* non-standard or vernacular speech forms, of which CS can be considered one in bilingual contexts. On the other hand the use of two languages in alternation may also serve a *compromise function* (Scotton, 1976)*,* in that it allows people of varying language competence to be addressed simultaneously. As we shall see, the contrasts between the amount of CS in different programme types is also revealing in terms of the attitudes of the media controllers and producers towards different varieties and different ways of speaking.

Our comments below will therefore focus on some of the linguistic choices made within Zee TV's bi / multilingual output, and particularly

on the use of code-switching in these programmes. Our specific questions were:

1. In what way, and to what extent, does CS occur in Indian Satellite TV?
2. In what types of programming is CS is more or less prevalent?
3. What *kinds* of CS occur and what are their functions and/or effects?

Both ends of the formality / informality and scripted / non-scripted continua were considered relevant to understanding CS, language choices and attitudes towards both of these by the programme-makers. More informal and / or unscripted programmes are a reflection−albeit imperfect−of language use within the relevant communities, and more formal / scripted ones tell us about the acceptability of different languages and of CS, but also about how they can be combined to achieve certain effects, e.g. to reflect attitudes about the languages involved and highlight their different values.

Languages in India

India is a country of 900 million people who live across 22 states, with 15 regional languages and several hundred "mother tongue varieties" which are variously grouped into languages and / or dialects. The two important lingua francas are English (spoken as a second language by 26% of bilinguals) and Hindi (22%) (Edwards, 1985, p. 177). Estimates vary widely, however; for example Abdi (1994) claimed that Hindi *and* English are spoken by 40% of the population; Kachru (1983) and Görlach (1997) estimate knowledge of English much lower, at around 3%. Parasher (1980, p. 157), who carried out a survey on domains of use of various languages in India, explained the heavy use of English and Hindi in neighbourhood contexts as the result of people living in close proximity with others with whom they do not share a mother tongue.

The Government has promoted Hindi as the official language which is supposed to unite the nation, although more than a dozen other languages are recognised in various ways in the nation's constitution. Hindi is often viewed as giving north Indians unwarranted advantages over Indians elsewhere. This feeling is particularly strong in south India where various Dravidian languages are spoken. In this respect the use of English offers the advantage of neutrality. For a large part of the north of India though, Hindi is viewed as a lingua franca. Khubchandani (1979) refers to this as

the "Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi" area or dialect continuum; for this reason, a large number of linguistic observations about Hindi apply equally to Punjabi. One of the earliest descriptions of CS in the literature was Gumperz's (1964) study of Hindi-Punjabi CS in Delhi, which described the near-fusion of the two languages at the lexical level, owing to long-term daily contact between them, the distinctness of the two varieties being preserved thanks to a few syntactic and phonological differences.

Indian Television

Up until the advent of cable TV in India in the early 1990s, there was one state-owned and controlled television channel in India called DoorDarshan (which translates as *'distant worship'*). It has been observed that state-controlled and monopolistic TV, as a 'powerful cultural artefact', played a decisive role in shaping Indian popular culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but that cable television "has proved to be a formidable competition for the centralised DoorDarshan system" and that cable and localised programming may "not necessarily reproduce the Hindu and Hindi-centric image of India" (Mitra, 1994). So for some then, cable TV represents the future and freedom. Mitra suggests here that Hindi unfairly dominated the TV media at the expense of other languages and cultures within India.

Television still represents a luxury item for the population as a whole. With regard to who watches TV in India, Ray and Jacka (1996, p.84) identify three distinct audiences: (a) the educated urban elite, (b) the semi-urban market (the majority of both these audiences would be fluent in English) and (c) the rural uneducated population. They also point out that "of India's 40 million TV sets, 77 per cent are owned by the first two groups even though they comprise only 27 per cent of the total population" (Kak, 1994, cited in Ray & Jacka, 1996, p. 84).

Zee TV is one of the most popular cable TV stations in India and within the Indian diaspora (i.e. within Great Britain, US, Europe, Africa) and is a major player in the Indian TV world: in India, by 1994, it was a fixture in 7.3 million Indian homes (Jack & Ray, 1996, p. 68); it currently has an audience share of 50% in prime time, and broadcasts 7 of the top 10 programmes on all channels in India–it is now seen in 25% of India's households which have TV. In Europe, Zee TV currently has 165,000 subscribers, of whom 114,000 within the UK and 25K in continental Europe (i.e. Holland, Germany, Portugal and France in this order of subscribers).

The increase in satellite and cable programmes means that programmers can tailor the same channel to broadcast slightly different and regionally adapted programmes to different regions and nations. The output broadcast by Zee TV to the UK is largely in Hindi, with a minor number of programmes in English. The station gives a cursory nod towards different languages and religions (e.g. out of the week's output there is one hour of Bengali programming, and one Punjabi and Gujerati film each per week). Hindi still dominates the channel, though media studies commentators have commented that on Indian TV channels "the two (i.e. Hindi and English) tend to amalgamate at times into a strange hybrid popularly known as 'Hinglish'…" (Ray & Jacka, 1996, p. 91).

Data

Approximately 20 hours of Zee TV programming were recorded, spread across three days, from Friday morning to Sunday evening. Films were excluded from our analysis, in favour of made-for-TV programmes. One reason for this was to ensure the material used contained the most 'current' examples of language. Also, films typically last for up to 3 hours and were considered to constitute a separate genre, requiring different analyses. These films are generally scripted and produced for a context other than TV and, due to the enormous 'Bollywood' output, this genre deserves study in its own right (Ray, 2003). Advertisements were also excluded from the data; although a very interesting area, they also constitute a separate genre and therefore require a separate analysis (Bhatia, 1992; Piller, 2003).

Within the 20 hours, there were 38 separate programmes. Having excluded one dance programme containing no language at all and another which was a repeat, the programmes total was reduced to 36. Programmes were typically either 30 minutes or one hour in duration.

The recorded programmes were transcribed and reviewed to identify the extent and type of CS.

Method and Results

Taking the data as a whole, within both the scripted and the unscripted programmes, there was an abundance of some of the most common kinds of CS identified in naturalistic studies of spoken Hindi (or its close relative, Punjabi) and English code-switching (Chana & Romaine, 1995; Agnihotri, 1987; Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998; Gardner-Chloros,

Charles & Cheshire, 2000; Gumperz, 1982). Instances of CS occurred at various levels. For example at the level of the individual speaker there were:

   a. Individual single word switches in different word classes: e.g. nouns, verbs, adverbs, etc. Except in the case of very long-standing and well-established loans, code-switches and borrowings were not distinguished (on the difficulties of doing so, see Gardner-Chloros, 1995, pp. 73-74; Myers-Scotton, 1992). The different consequences of individual switches being nouns, verbs, discourse markers, etc. have also not been pursued. Although nouns are said to constitute the largest category of loans (Aitchison, 1991, p. 113), they are not always the commonest category of CS (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998).
   b. Multiple word switches within a clause−e.g. adjective plus noun combinations such as *typical tone*, *fan letters, long, long drive*.
   c. Switching between clauses.

At the conversational level there were instances of:

   d. Switching between speakers.

And at the level of the programme:

   e. Switching between different parts of a programme and within different settings and scenes.

   The analysis was then refined to take account of the particularities of this setting or domain of media.

Prevalence of CS in different programme types

A major classificatory tool was programming type or genre. Swales (1990, p.1) has observed that "a genre-centred approach offers a workable way of making sense of the myriad of communicative events". A genre means that particular groups of programmes will share goals and aims and use language in particular habitual ways which can be distinguished from other genres−each genre will have its own discourse practices to which audiences bring their prior knowledge and expectations. Genre then was felt to be the best guide to the intentions of a programme−that is, in terms of whether it attempted to simulate naturalistic language, as in

TV fiction, or at the other end of the continuum, whether it plainly dispensed with creating the illusion of reality and instead addressed the audience directly. Programming genre is also therefore a good guide to whether a programme is likely to contain relatively loosely scripted or tightly scripted linguistic material (for an alternative method of classification, see Androutsopoulos, 2007). Identification of the genre allowed us to make different types of observations.

The 36 programmes were categorized in terms of programme type or genre, with the results as shown in Table I (Appendix).

In order to classify programmes as monolingual or code-switched, the 'segment' was used as a unit. By segment is meant any one episode, scene or sequence. Most obviously, this relates to dramatic representations (e.g. drama, sitcoms) but it also applies to 'factual' programmes in which changes in setting and speakers occur, e.g. from studio to outside broadcast to voice-over. A segment therefore is a way of 'chunking' each programme and does not refer to any linguistic concept of segments. Each programme was classified according to whether:

(a) speakers in the programme made use of *only one language* at a time within any one continuous segment, or
(b) speakers made use of *more than one language* within any one continuous segment.

The definition of code-switching here is therefore a relatively narrow one. The *juxtaposition* of different segments in different languages was prioritised over the use of more than one language *within* individual sequences or segments.

Using the criterion above, each of the 36 programmes was assigned to (a) monolingual or (b) bilingual mode to help address our second question. The results are shown in Table II (Appendix).

At this macro-level of the data, code-switching as defined above occurred in two-thirds of programmes (i.e. 24 out of 36) and, conversely, one-third of programmes (i.e. 12 out of 36) featured only monolingual segments of programming.

Code-switching behaviour was found to be concentrated within the 'entertainment' genres (e.g. entertainment magazines, TV fiction and monologue entertainment). The only two genres within which there was no code-switching were, firstly, *news bulletins* (0 out of 4, with two programmes each occurring largely in either Hindi and English; all produced in India, one possibly in Pakistan—the latter being in English) and secondly within *children's programmes* (0 out of 2; with one programme in Hindi—a cartoon from India—and one in English—a

magazine with English-speaking presenter–although segments in Hindi were juxtaposed). Heller (1992, p.124) has noted that "the absence of CS can be as significant as the presence of it". As to *why* these two programme genres should feature only monolingual programming, in the case of children's programming, this may be linked to a pedagogical function; the case of news bulletins is discussed in more detail in 3.1 below.

Types of CS behaviour and their function/effects

As described above, a range of CS behaviours occurred within the data. It is at this point, where some of the functions and effects of the using CS within the different genres is considered, that it is necessary to take particular account of whether the segments being considered are scripted or unscripted. Inevitably different programme genres varied in the extent to which they combined scripted and unscripted segments. Table III gives an indication of the scripting conventions within programme genres. Examples from the data are discussed below.

News Bulletins

News bulletins formed the largest genre in which monolingual programming occurred (i.e. 4 out of 4). In examining broadcasting in Britain on the BBC, Graddol (1993) argues that one of a station's important problems is "the maintenance of a clear distinction between 'news' and other TV genres. The integrity of the genre is crucial to the perception of factuality....Keeping the news distinct requires clear boundaries to be created" (p.147). One way of achieving this is to use a standard way of speaking–normally monolingual–to contrast with non-standard speech, either regionally accented or, as here, code-switched, in other programme types. Van de Velde et al. (1997) write that

> [t]he most important arguments determining the choice for the standard variety is its maximal intelligibility, its high social prestige, and its image of objectivity and reliability. At the same time, the use of a language variety in the national mass media plays a crucial role in the standardization of this variety. (p. 363)

Given the apparently widespread use of CS in entertainment programmes on the one hand and of a monolingual mode for news programmes on the other hand, certain conclusions about the status of CS

and attitudes towards it may be drawn. There may be some practical and audience-related reasons why these broadcasts distinguish themselves by their monolinguality, as they may be distributed over a geographically wider region than other programmes, to audiences for whom CS is not a widely recognised norm as it is in the Indian community in Britain. On the other hand, as has been pointed out, CS often has an inclusive function, making what is presented accessible to speakers dominant in either of the two languages. It therefore seems more than likely that a monolingual policy for news is adopted in order to portray an 'authoritative' voice, akin to the selection of a particular social accent or certain permissible regional accents, or even a particularly solemn low voice pitch which can be noticed, for example, on BBC news broadcasts, particularly when serious events are reported. CS may well be considered acceptable for 'entertainment' genres but considered too colloquial for news bulletins, in which an authoritative manner is called for. Such a finding is of interest to code-switching researchers owing to what this apparent monolingual news policy encodes about attitudes to language and what it reveals about notions of correctness and linguistic purity. Similar findings are reported in Pavlou (2004) with respect to Greek Cypriot Dialect.

Browne (1996) confirmed the view that audiences may perceive the news as more authoritative when it is broadcast in a particular language. He suggests that an audience within a 'minority' context may, in some instances, view the news in the 'majority' language as having a higher status:

> In many instances, choice of one or the other language is dictated by the assumed presence of audiences that either do or don't speak the indigenous language. However, it [i.e. language] may also be dictated by audience expectations regarding specific program formats, regardless of language skills…there may be a basis to the following assumption: indigenous listeners and viewers have come to expect certain program formats, especially national and international news…to be delivered in the majority culture language. A few media staff and audience members even express the feeling that the news seems more authoritative when so delivered. (p. 171)

News Magazines and Entertainment Magazines (scripted segments):

In programmes where a presenter speaks directly to the viewer, (e.g. news magazines, segments within magazine programmes or quizzes, or a

monologue genre such as cookery programmes), CS was typically used either at the beginning or end of a segment. Switches frequently coincided with a 'segment-initial' or 'segment-final' phrase (i.e. the first or final utterance at the beginning or end of the programme or portion of programme, e.g. just before or after the advertisements). A switch at such points marks the transition between segments and can be seen as a boundary marker (Auer, 1998). This is comparable to the way in which monolingual broadcasters use, for example, change in tone, increase in pitch or body language to indicate these boundaries.

The following example illustrates how CS fulfils this function at least fives times within one 30 minute programme, a news magazine programme. NB: Passages in Hindi, the contents of which are not discussed in detail, are simply glossed as (Hindi):

(1)[2]

Programme genre: News Magazine

<u>Presenter</u>
1.   (Hindi)….Swami **has this report**   [cut to Outside Broadcast]
2.   (Hindi)….**Please stay with us** [cut to adverts]
3.   [cut from adverts to studio]   **Welcome back**….(Hindi)
        [cut from interview with film director, back to studio]
4.   (Hindi)….It's entertainment which makes you think. Ab ik **break**,
        *(now a **break**)*
5.   **break** ke barth….(Hindi)....**Please stay tuned in**   [cut to adverts]
        *(after the **break**…..(Hindi)….Please stay tuned in)*
6.   [cut from adverts to studio]   **Welcome back**….(Hindi)

CS in such cases carries an organising function: the switch helps 'chunk' portions within a segment and mark important structural boundaries. This may occur in unplanned speech, or be more consciously used in planned speech. This example also suggests that Graddol's (1993) observations above about the need for distinct boundaries to be maintained within news bulletins can also apply to other programme genres.

TV Fiction

TV fiction also represents a number of tightly scripted genres, but ones in which there are no broadcaster-to-viewer segments. Instead there is an

attempt to reflect cultural and social reality. This effect is partly achieved by recreating supposed 'natural conversation' although of course the scripting has also to address the constant need for dramatic tension, leading a writer for the *The Guardian* newspaper to wryly observe that "soap operas are mirrors into real-life–or so scriptwriters would have us believe" (30.3.99).

a) *Drama serials*

The vast majority of the language in drama serials occurred in Hindi but switches to English were common. Examples from the data of the most frequent switch points and functions included, for example,

- (a) openings and closings of conversations in English i.e. greetings and 'goodbyes'

- (b) the use of English for certain speech acts such as apologies, expressing gratitude, etc.

- (c) an increased use of English in particular settings, e.g. offices, law courts, university office. This latter category is akin to the 'situational CS' as identified by Blom and Gumperz (1972).

The following is an example of the portrayal of a conversation between two youngish (late-20s/early 30s), urban, educated Indians speaking in an apartment in a city:

(2)

Programme genre: Drama Serial

01.	<u>Man</u>:	**oh, hi**
02.	<u>Woman</u>:	Ajay, **I'm sorry**, **tyre flat** horgya tha
		*(Ajay, **I'm sorry**, I got **a flat tyre**)*
03.	<u>Man</u>:	arre, tho **spare wheel** bi ni tha?
		*(oh, so didn't you even have **a spare wheel**?)*
04.	<u>Woman</u>:	nehi **spare wheel** bi ni tha. Jab bi Kamal ghari lejartha he tho ese hi hotha he
		*(no, there wasn't even a **spare wheel.** Whenever Kamal uses the car this is what happens)*

05.	Man:	vese, **you can afford a driver**, phir aap khud kyor **drive** kurthi he? Mera mutlaab he **it's not safe these days**.
		(*actually,* **you can afford a driver,** *why do you* **drive** *yourself? I mean,* **it's not safe these days**)
06.	Woman:	ye ik nafsyathi maarmla he. Kamal ke bahee, baabhi, aur oonke ik dhost,**driver** ke kulthi se haath se ke ik shikar ho gay the, jiske vuja Kamal **driver** ni rukna dtheydthey
		(*this is a personal matter. Kamal's brother, his brother's wife and a friend were once the victims of a mistake by a* **driver***, because of which Kamal doesn't allow a* **driver** *to be kept any more*)
07.	Man:	esthera tho aap ko barri **problem** hothi howgi
		(*this must be a big* **problem** *for you*)
08.	Woman:	Kamal jera thubiat ke sukt aadmi he
		(*Kamal is quite a resolute man by nature*)
09.	Man:	kereth he, aap jesi **progressive** khartoon esi barth kurri he?
		(*it's surprising, a* **progressive** *woman like you, saying things like that?*)
10.	Woman:	kya kuru, **driver** kehlye aapne shor se chugra tho ne kur sugthi na
		(*what can I do, I can't cause a fight with my husband over a* **driver***)*
11.	Man:	**Oh.** (pause of 4 secs.) **I see**

Here English is used for the opening of the scene and the greeting of one character (the man) to another (the woman). The woman opens her turn in English too by apologising (in 02), followed by a clause using Hindi word order, which contains an English adjective ('**flat**') and noun ('**tyre**'). Some authors would refer to Hindi as the "base language" here (Myers-Scotton 1993), but for a discussion of the relevance of this concept see Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004).

The male character continues in Hindi (in 03) using an English adjective and noun combination ('**spare wheel**')–arguably a collocation or common phrase akin to a loan. This English phrase is echoed by the woman in 4 in an otherwise Hindi utterance. In 05 we find a more substantial use of English with two inter-clausal and one intra-clausal switch to English.

The use of English in this scene serves several purposes. Overall it is a reflection of the everyday language of the urban, educated characters

portrayed in the scene in which greetings and formulaic phrases in English for certain speech acts are common. The use of certain nouns (e.g. ''driver', 'problem') or adjectives ('progressive') is quite common and reflects the fact that bilinguals resort to other languages to express particular meanings more economically or aptly. The switch to English in 11 is significant because it follows several exchanges between the characters in Hindi and the change in language marks off the end of this particular scene, so fulfilling a discourse-structuring function. The long pause between 'oh' and 'I see' is very striking -almost "hammed up"– and reflects the male character's dismay at the female character's apparently obedient attitude to her husband (the video data shows that the male character turns away as he utters the words in 11). The language switch reinforces this and contributes to creating distance between the two characters.

In addition to the use of CS by certain social groups as in the example above, the following example, from a drama serial, illustrates the use of CS within a particular setting: the domain of the law court, which owing to the colonial past and the continuing role of English in official life in India, has particular English connotations. The CS portrayed here reflects the type of language use one would actually find in an Indian Court, with the legal expressions and certain other set expressions (e.g. *character assassination)* triggering English and the more general discussion taking place in Hindi.

(3)

Segment 1

Scene: Two women, a recent widow and her female servant, talk while getting ready for court. The conversation is entirely in Hindi.

Segment 2

Scene: Female servant of the widow takes the stand in a law court and is questioned. The conversation is almost entirely Hindi, with this exception:

01.   <u>Lawyer 1</u>:   **objection your honour,** ye kisi be-izzat aurat ke bare kayya jartha. **This is character assassination your honour**

*(objection your honour, such things are only said about disreputable women. **This is character assassination your honour**)*

02.   Lawyer 2:   **no your honour**, me sirf, es **possibilities** ke barth kur raha hoo. **Husband** ke larva, aurat ke bacha kise aur mardth se bi horsugtha. **I am merely talking of biological possibilities**
*(**no your honour,** I'm talking only about possibilities. Apart from the **husband**, a woman could have a child by another man. **I am merely talking of biological possibilities**)*

03.   Judge: **objection overruled**, aap swaal puche
*(**objection overruled,** you can ask the question)*

04.   Lawyer 2:   **thank you**….(Hindi)….
(female servant gives evidence in Hindi)

05.   Judge: **further hearing after lunch**

Segment 3:

Context: the faithful female servant is congratulated on the steps of the court for her useful evidence.

06.   Lawyer 1:   **I'm happy, very happy**, borth aacha *(very good)*
07.   Female servant: **thank you sir**
08.   Lawyer 1:   aacha, Engrezi vi sikhli!....(Hindi)
(I see, you've even learnt English!....(Hindi)....)

In addition to switching to English for legalistic exchanges, the lawyers are shown particularly to exploit the connotations of each language in their first exchange. In 01 (segment 1)'lawyer 1' switches to Hindi when talking about the reputation of the female defendant (who is accused of a false claim on her late husband's estate). The notion of a woman's 'izzat', (or 'honour') is an important social aspect of traditional Indian culture, frequently used to emotional effect in films and soaps–'be-izzat' means 'without honour' and is more aptly and powerfully expressed in Hindi. The effect of 'lawyer 2' switching to English in 02 to defend his questioning helps to create and reinforce some objectivity and distance for himself in his 'ungentlemanly' challenge.

Within the constraints imposed on language choice by the domain / context portrayed, example 3 illustrates how characters of certain social groups use English and/or code-switch more frequently. This is

commented on by the characters themselves when the lawyer expresses surprise at the servant having learnt English (08 in segment 3).

The next example is from a drama serial demonstrating CS within another setting likely to evoke English, the office. Once again switching for opening and closing has been incorporated within the scripting. The worker's use of English–the "they-code"–can also be seen as a distancing device to show that she does not want to get involved in her boss's implied criticism of her colleague's absence.

(4)

Context: The male 'boss' walks into an office and interrupts two female office workers, who are talking in Hindi.

01.	Boss:	Sheetal **hi**
		Sheetal hi
02.	Worker:	**ha-ji**
		(yes + honorific marker)
03.	Boss:	**hi.** Shivani?
		Hi. Shivani?
04.	Worker:	vo tho chuligay. Aap ko bathaya ni?
		(she's gone. Didn't she tell you?)
05.	Boss:	ni, kaha gay he?
		(No, where has she gone?)
06.	Worker:	**I don't know, I thought** aap ko putha hoga
		*(**I don't know, I thought** you'd know)*
07.	Boss:	nehi, muje tho ni maalum. Tik he, bolna me arya tha
		(no, I don't know. Ok, say I called)
08.	Worker:	**definite, I'll give the message. How are you** Madav?
09.	Boss:	**ok**
10.	Worker:	**ok, bye**
11.	Boss:	**see you**

(the worker resumes her conversation in Hindi with her co-worker)

b) *Situation-Comedy (Sit-coms)*

Within TV fiction, the CS which occurred in sit-coms was similar to that which occurred in the drama serials. Again the vast majority of language

was, but switches to English occurred at most of the same points as in drama serials, particularly at openings and closings of conversations. English was often used for greeting and leave-taking and for particular speech acts such as apologies and expressing gratitude.

In addition to maintaining dramatic illusion, sit-coms also have to create and resolve 'comedy situations' within each thirty minute slot. Drama serials continue over many episodes and so can develop stories and situations at a slower pace. The sit-coms however have 'denser plotting' and therefore contain greater opportunities for particular speech acts to occur. For example, there is a higher frequency of characters arriving and leaving scenes which provides opportunities for more openings and closings of conversations.

The following three short examples illustrate the use of English for greetings and leave-takings, 'opening' new scenes and closing others which are then continued in Hindi and / or a code-switched mode.

(5)

Context: The parents are having a conversation mostly in Hindi. They are joined by their son, who introduces two friends.

01.	Son:	**hi mum, hi dad**
02.	Parents:	**hi!**
03.	Son:	**mum, dad** ye he Dawson and Rose....(Hindi)
		*(**mum, dad,** this is **Dawson and Rose**....(Hindi))*

(6)

Context: A man greets his brother and wife.

01.	Man 1:	Mahendur '***good morning***' nehi kayow gay? (laughter)
		*(Mahendur won't you say '**good morning**'?)*
02.	Man 2:	**good morning sir** (laughter)
03.	Man 1:	**good morning** Mahendur-ji
		*(**good morning** Mahendur + honorific marker)*
04.	Woman:	**good morning** bahee-sahaab
		*(**good morning** brother + exhaltation)*

(7)

Context: The husband is in a hurry to leave to avoid his wife's complaints.

01.	Wife:	ha, koi **system** hi ni is khur me!
		*(yes, there's no **system** in this house!)*
02.	Man 1:	**ok, bye darling**
03.	Female:	'**bye-bye**' tho sumje, lekin ye muth boolna aj shaam ko hum lorg film dthekne jarne vaale he
		*(I do understand '**bye-bye**', but don't forget that we're all going to see a film tonight)*
04.	Husband:	....(Hindi)....
05.	Wife:	....(Hindi)....
06.	Man 1:	**bye darling,** (then in louder voice:) **bye darling**
07.	Wife:	ah, **byeeee!**

The comedy here is partly dependent on the use–and repetition–of the English phrases. Woolard (1988) showed that code-switching could have various functions in comedy, from one of including all sections of the audience in the "in-jokes" to that of demarcating the punch-lines. Sit-coms also typically contained many instances of 'apologies' due to the various comic plots concerning misunderstandings, mistaken identities, and so on, and 'apologies' were also a common site for switching from Hindi to English. In one sit-com a code-switch at this site occurred four times, whilst in the second there were eight instances of this phenomenon in the one episode alone.

The following example from the sit-com featuring eight switches for an apology illustrates switching to English in two of those instances: the first apology in 02 is an inter-turn code-switch and the second in 06 is an inter-clausal switch within the same turn.

(8)

Context: the 'uncle' has been forced by his brother and sister-in-law to temporarily share his room with a young house guest

01.	Uncle:	...[Hindi]... thumne mera **towel** kyu laya?
		*(....(Hindi)....why did you take my **towel**?)*
02.	Young man:	**oh I'm so sorry** chachu, aap se puchna bhoolgya. Aap jo aap puchray tho, aap ko ek barth barthow?
		*(**oh I'm sorry** uncle, I forgot to ask you. Since you've mentioned it, shall I tell you something?)*
03.	Uncle:	ha *(yes)*
04.	Young man:	undhar jo **shorts** penhi he vo bi aapi ki he!
		(laughter)

		*(these **shorts** that I've got on underneath, they're yours as well!)*
		(a tussle ensues - the uncle attempts to take his shorts back!)
05.	<u>Young man</u>:	vo ghar se barg ke aaya, sumaan lyarna bhoolya, chachu
		(you know I've run away from home, I forgot to bring my things with me, uncle)
06.	<u>Uncle</u>:	thu penhle buthana chaye na, **I'm sorry, I'm sorry** ye sub thukleef dthiya
		*(you should have said, **I'm sorry, I'm sorry** I've given you all this trouble)*
07.	<u>Young man</u>:	**It's ok**

These very brief switches to English for such speech acts are typical in the sit-coms. Another type of code-switching which sit-coms utilised was short formulaic expressions such as 'no problem' or short evaluative phrases such as 'very good', which appear to have an emblematic value, i.e. to be a nod to bilingualism/ internationalism. Sit-coms on this channel tended to portray larger-than-life characters and behaviour with less than subtle plots and character development; code-switching at certain points and in certain ways contributes to the overall 'shorthand' language and conventions of this genre. This was a feature which differentiated the sit-coms from the drama serials : the dramas, in addition to containing these types of 'short' switches also, on other occasions, contained longer utterances in English.

c) *Explaining CS in TV Fiction*

The **sit-coms and drama serials** typically contain shorter turns than are found in natural conversations, with fewer overlaps and interruptions. As we have seen, and as is the case in other fiction genres, such the theatre, the language portrayed does not reflect natural language with all its 'untidy' features, but an *approximation* to it: such fictional language is stylised to a greater or lesser extent because many of the features of natural conversation are screened out. Overlaps, repetitions, false starts, interruptions and so on are 'tidied up', unless of course they are being used for particular effects. Questions for more detailed study in the future are:

(a) whether the portrayal by fiction writers of CS is also tidied up, along with other 'inconvenient' features such as overlaps, interruptions, repetitions etc, and

(b) to what extent, when it is used, CS is strategically placed and used in a way which shows some implicit recognition of its real-life functions.

Being able to answer these questions naturally depends on understanding how CS is used in real life. In a study of English-Punjabi code-switching in natural conversation among British Punjabis, CS tended to coincide with, and be associated with, a number of significant points and transitions in the discourse (Gardner-Chloros, Charles & Cheshire, 2000). For example, out of 21 instances of phrasal reiteration, in 9 the speakers switched language to coincide with the reiteration. Another common function of CS found in those data was for making interruptions−frequently the interruption also started with the conjunction 'but' to reinforce the turn-seeking gambit. Our data showed that out of 32 instances of 'but', 11 occurred in a 'turn-initial' position, and that of those 11 examples, 4 involved an inter-turn CS at this point.

In order to make a detailed comparison between the amount of CS in the drama serials and in real life, some method of quantifying the amount of switching which occurs in each would have to be found. Although various ways of doing this have been tried out (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998; Rindler-Schjerve, 1998), the comparison is made more complicated here because one is not simply comparing similar speakers in different contexts, or different speakers in similar contexts, but comparing natural and scripted conversations. It is therefore necessary to establish first what the general differences are between language as used in these two contexts, by answering questions such as: are turns / utterances longer or shorter? how redundant/repetitive is language in the two settings? how many false starts / pauses / interruptions / self-interruptions does one find in each? Conversations represented in these programmes are generally "tidied up" with respect to these features, whereas in fact in natural conversations among Punjabi-English bilinguals, CS is often used at precisely such junctures (for similar observations with respect to other languages see the papers in Auer, 1998).

CS would therefore appear to be doubly under-represented in the serials as compared with real life, with such CS as there is serving to highlight major discourse movements (e.g. opening and closing sequences) rather than subtly structuring conversational meaning as in the case of natural conversations. There are therefore likely to be considerably fewer instances of CS in fiction genres on Zee than in

normal speech, though this finding will be subject to further confirmation if and when the two are more systematically compared.

Entertainment Magazines (Unscripted Segments)

The type of magazine programmes from which the next example is taken are often quite fast-moving shows with a high frequency of frame changes, interspersed with music clips and voice-overs. This type of programme is more 'youth oriented' than most of the other genres and tends to include more English. The CS gives texture and variety to the discourse, and contributes to the faster pace.

(9)

Context: Entertainment magazine which includes segments in which the presenter mingles with on the streets of a different city each week. These segments therefore the public represent unscripted, or loosely-scripted speech.[3]

01. <u>Presenter</u>	(Hindi).......hum he Jaipur me jaha pur **all these people talking about these cities**
02.	**versus small cities**, kuch lorg kethe he ki **small cities are still in favour, right?** *(big cheer from crowd)*
03.	kuch lorg he jo **support** kuthe he, **some say that size does matter,**
04.	**is the big issue of all** *(big cheer),* leikin kya **reason** he **big** me aur **small cities** beach me **separation** ka ya **differentation**.
05.	**Why do you all support small cities?** Kya he **small cities** ke bare?
	*(Hindi)......we are in Jaipur where **all these people talking about these cities versus small cities** some people say that **small cities are still in favour, right?** (big cheer from crowd)*

> *Some people **support** this, **some say that size does matter***
> ***is the big issue of all** (big cheer), but what is **the reason** for the **separation** or **differentiation***
> *between **big** or **small cities?***
> ***Why do you all support small cities?** What is it about **small cities**?*

The presenter has an overall script but is not much constrained by it as he has to interact with people from the street. Eight language switches occur in this short segment, excluding the single-word switches and one adjective plus noun combination. Features of natural conversation do appear−for example, the presenter switches language in 04, after the second cheer from the crowd, by using the Hindi word for '*but*' ('lekhin'), a type of code-switch which was common in the data presented in Gardner-Chloros, Charles & Cheshire (2000). Also common was the technique used in his last two questions−the first in English and the second in a CS mode−which are a reiteration, to encourage a response from the crowd.

As in natural CS, the least scripted material reflects the structural contrasts which people build in to their world-view. This is illustrated in the next example, given as a good-humoured response to a claim that 'big city' life is too westernised and not favoured in comparison to village or 'small city' life:

(10)

Context: The presenter mingles with the public on the streets of a city. A debate is taking place between two people in the crowd who have gathered.

01.   **if you're talking about culture**, gaaon-wallor **jeans** kyor penhe? Dhoti kurta penhor yaar!
             *(**if you're talking about culture**, why are you village people wearing **jeans**? Wear a 'dhoti kurta' friend!)*
             ['dhoti kurta' = traditional Indian male outfit]

The use of 'gaaon-wallor' ('village people) triggers a switch to Hindi, perhaps combined with anticipating 'dhoti kurta' (Indian clothes) in the next clause. The speaker uses the villagers' 'we-code' to engage an argument about their abandoning traditional ways. As in many real-life

instances of CS, the two codes here symbolize and highlight oppositions inherent in the speakers' meaning. (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001).

Another genre within the magazine programme is the interview, in which scripting is also very loose. The interviewer has a basic overall script but has considerable freedom within that. Unlike most other segments, these segments featured people in a sustained conversation. The final rounding- off phrase of the sequence, which referred back to what the speaker had just said and amplified their point, was often marked by a switch. In the following example, each of the speakers ends their turn with a code-switch for the final phase:

(11)

Context: A face-to-face interview with two singers

| 01. | Female interviewer: | Hur **classical singer** ya **dancer** humaysha "gharaanor" ke barth kurthe he, **what is a "gharaana"?**
(*Every **classical singer** or **dancer** always talks of their 'gharaanor' ['stables'], **what is a "gharaana"**?*) |
| 02. | Male interviewee: | (Hindi)…jo parampara he vo **traditional** he, aur vo **tradition** ye he ki…(Hindi)..**that is a style**
(….the style is traditional, and that tradition is that ……**that is a style**) |

A switch from Hindi to English occurs at the end of each turn for the final section of each speaker's utterance. The switch signals the conclusion of the utterance and, within the conversational turn-taking system, can be seen as a signal that the speaker is ready to give up the floor. This is particularly explicit when the switch is combined with a question, as in 01.

The following extract provides a further example of such code-switching and is drawn from a similar segment in another entertainment magazine programme:

(12)

| 01. | Male presenter: | borth jushi hori he ik barth hor aapp ko dthekhe…(Hindi)...**but** ye **public demand** he, tho **you came back with a bang** |

(there's a lot of excitement that once again
we can see you…(Hindi) **but** it's the **public
demand,** so **you came back with a bang**)

02.   <u>Male interviewee</u>:   (Hindi)…

CS for conversational effects such as this has an almost "theatrical"
quality and definite conversational functions despite being a reflection of
ordinary, everyday speech habits. Conversely, the conventions of the
theatre are a stylization or distillation of aspects of real speech.

7. Differences between programmes produced in India and in Great Britain

We did not explore any differences in language use / CS patterns which
might be due to certain programmes being produced in India and others in
England, though it seems likely that this would have some effects. For
instance, in Zee TV Showcase, which is produced in Great Britain,
references to time including months, weeks, time of day, etc are switched
to English (i.e. Monday, afternoon, Sunday morning, mid-February, next
week). This may well mirror a shift which has occurred in the British
Indian community, as the Hindi equivalents are used in other Indian-
produced programmes.

Conclusions

The range of programme genres on this cable TV station provides a fertile
ground for studying CS using material derived from the media. A range of
programmes were analyzed, from the highly scripted (news programmes,
drama serials) to the unscripted or very loosely scripted (interviews,
programmes involving audience participation) where spontaneous
language predominates. The contrasts between their aims and likely
audience catchments are reflected in the range of CS styles which were
found.
      Speech containing CS is represented right across the style / formality
continuum. It is only noticeable by its absence from news bulletins and
children's programmes. Subject to confirmation through direct
consultation of the producers (which proved difficult), this is likely to be
due to a perceived need for an authoritative speech mode in the case of
the news, and to pedagogic concerns in the case of children's

programmes. However widespread it may be in particular social groups, CS continues to be viewed as non-standard or less "correct" than monolingual speech. As Cameron (1995) points out, this is a common form of 'verbal hygiene': "Whenever culture is at issue, language is also likely to be at issue. It is typical, for example, for anxieties about cultural difference and fragmentation to be paralleled by anxieties about multilingualism as a threat to unity" (p.160).

In other programme genres, where purism is not such an issue, CS is universally present to a greater or lesser extent. However it is less prevalent in drama serials, which supposedly reflect natural speech, than in comparable real-life situations observed in the community who make up Zee's audience in the UK. This may again be partly to do with 'verbal hygiene'. But it also reflects the generally sanitized nature of the conversations represented, which contain fewer interruptions, pauses, false starts etc than real-life conversations. This inevitably leads to less CS because the latter often coincides with these very features.

There is a potential contradiction if one looks for reasons for this difference: CS in natural speech structures conversation and therefore, presumably, aids comprehension. Yet it is suppressed from media representations of comparable conversations along with other features which are typical of spontaneous speech as opposed to writing– scriptwriters appear to feel that audiences are more comfortable with a doctored version of reality. On another television channel broadcast to a community where CS is a common speech form, Greek Cypriot TV in Cyprus, CS was also found to be under-represented compared with actual usage. This is despite the fact that the range from formality to informality *was* represented by the use of varieties along a continuum from Standard Greek at one end to deep Greek Cypriot dialect at the other.

In other respects, the type of language used in the broadcast media does reflect the varieties used by its audiences. In the present study, various types of switching which occur within natural conversations were identified, and there appears to be a recognition within both TV fiction and broadcaster-to-viewer output of the uses and functions of CS:

a. Its ubiquity within certain settings portrayed in TV fiction where English still plays an important role (e.g. law courts, university, offices etc);

b. Its role as a framing / structuring / variety-providing device in the speech of presenters, for example to highlight transitions between different parts of a programme. This can be compared with *situational* switching as described by Gumperz (1982);

c. Its use for discourse functions, e.g. reinforcement, contrast, as well as for culturally loaded concepts.
d. Unscripted segments also reflect its usage in wider society, e.g. in we/they code usage.

   To conclude, this study of Zee TV shows that CS is exploited across the style / formality continuum in a way which reflects its status as a very common linguistic resource in the British Asian community. It is found in representations of cultural reality in TV fiction, interviews, broadcaster-to-audience output, and especially in programmes involving spontaneous speech. Its usage only appears to be excluded at one extreme of the style continuum, i.e. in news bulletins, though it does appear in the adjacent news magazines.

   On the other hand it is noticeably under-represented in quantitative terms in the "natural" conversations which are portrayed in soap operas, drama and sitcoms. This is partly to do with the conventions of the genre, which makes use of a stylised representation of everyday interaction which differs systematically from real-life conversation. It is mainly manifested in broader discourse transitions ('framing') and therefore is also qualitatively, or grammatically, less varied than the real thing. These conclusions require confirmation through further direct comparison between natural conversations and their closest equivalents on TV. Methodological difficulties in doing this include finding an acceptable method of quantifying and comparing output from the two sources.

   Finally one might speculate that the process observed here is likely to be a two-way one, i.e. that as well as natural language being reflected in the media, TV output is also likely to influence the way people speak. Trudgill (1986) claims that face-to-face contact is necessary for the diffusion of linguistic features to take place, because of the mediating mechanism of accommodation, which only takes place in a face-to-face environment. "The point about the TV set is that people, however much they watch and listen to it, do not talk to it (and even if they do, it cannot hear them!), with the result that no accommodation takes place" (p. 40). While this may be true, the situation is likely to be different when the TV is already holding up a mirror to existing linguistic practices, and the fact that such a high proportion of Zee TV's output contains CS doubtless has the effect of reinforcing and legitimizing CS in the audience's own speech.

Endnotes

1   CS is used here to mean changes of variety within the same conversation or sentence.

2   Standard orthographic conventions have been used for the transcription, except that capitals have been avoided for the beginning of turns, so as not to prejudge whether the beginning of a turn represents a new 'sentence'.

3   As the example here concerns a monologue, it has been divided up into sections related to pauses in the delivery, and a translation of all the sections is provided below.

References

Abdi, S. Z. (1994). *The Global Village*. Presentation given (Siddarth Kak) at the Indian Screen Event, Australian Film Television and Radio School, Sydney, October.

Agnihotri, R. (1987). *Crisis of Identity: The Sikhs in England*. New Dehli: Bahri.

Aitchison, J. (1991). *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aitchison, J. & Lewis, D. (Eds.) (2003). *New Media Language*. London: Routledge.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2007). Bilingualism in the mass media and on the internet. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A Social Approach* (pp. 207-233). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Auer, P. (1998). Bilingual conversation revisited. In P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity* (pp. 1-25). London / New York: Routledge.

Auer, P. (Ed.) (1998). *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London / New York: Routledge.

Bell, A. (1984). Language and style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13, 145-204.

Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of the News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bhatia, T. K. (1992). Discourse functions and pragmatics of mixing: Advertising across cultures. *World Englishes*, 11, 1, 195-215.

Blom, J. P. & Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway. In J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics. The Ethnography of Communication* (pp. 407-434). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Browne, D. R. (1996). *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples: A Voice of our own?* Iowa State University Press: Iowa.

Browne, D. R. (2007). Speaking up: A brief history of minority languages and the electronic media worldwide. In M. Cormack & N. Hourigan (Eds.),

Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies (pp. 107-133)*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene*. London: Routledge.

Chana, U. & Romaine, S. (1984). Evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code-switching. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 6, 447-73.

Charles, R. (1995). Code-switching in the Punjabi-English community in Britain: A mixed code. Unpublished MA Dissertation, Department of Applied Linguistics, Birkbeck, University of London.

Cheshire, J. & Gardner-Chloros, P. (1998). Code-switching and the sociolinguistic gender pattern. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 129, 5-34.

Edwards, J. (1985). *Language, Society and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (1991). *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (1995). Code-switching in community, regional and national repertoires: The myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems. In L. Milroy. & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One Speaker Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching* (pp. 68-90). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner-Chloros P. (1997). Code-switching: Language selection in three Strasbourg department stores. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook* (pp. 361-375). Houndsmills, Basingstoke / London: Macmillan.

Gardner-Chloros, P., Charles, R. & Cheshire, J. (2000). Parallel Patterns? A comparison of monolingual speech and bilingual code-switched discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 1305-1341.

Gardner-Chloros, P. & Edwards, M. (2004). Assumptions behind grammatical approaches to code-switching: When the blueprint is a red herring. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 102, 1, 103-129.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell

Görlach, M. (1997). Language and nation: The concept of linguistic identity in the history of English*, English Worldwide*, 18.1, 1-34.

Graddol, D. (1993). The visual accomplishment of factuality. In D. Graddol & O. Boyd Barrett (Eds.), *Media Texts: Authors and Readers: A Reader* (pp. 136-161). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters / The Open University.

Gumperz, J. J. (1964). Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics*, *USA*, 15-24.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heller, M. (1992). The politics of code-switching and language choice. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, 1 / 2, 123-142.

Kachru, B. B. (1983). *The Indianization of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Karim. K. H. (Ed.) (2003). *The Media of Diaspora.* London: Routledge.

Khubchandani, L. M. (1979). A demographic typology for Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi speakers in South Asia. In W. C. McCormack & S. Wurm (Eds.), *Language and Society* (pp. 183-195). The Hague: Mouton.

Labov, W. (1970). The study of language in its social context. *Studium Generale*, 23, 30-87.

Leitner, G. (1997). *The Sociolinguistics of Communication Media.* In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 187-204). Oxford: Blackwell.

Man-siu Yau, F. (1997). Code switching and language choice in the Hong Kong Legislative Council. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18, 1, 40-53.

Mitra, A. (1994). An Indian religious soap opera and the Hindu image. *Media, Culture & Society*, 16, 149-155.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Comparing code-switching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, 1 / 2, 19-39.

Myers-Scotton, C. & Bolonyai, A. (2001). Calculating speakers: Codeswitching in a rational choice model. *Language in Society*, 30, 1-28.

Parasher, S. N. (1980). Mother-tongue-English diglossia: A case-study of educated Indian bilinguals' language use. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22, 4, 151-168.

Pavlou, P. (2004). Greek dialect use in the mass media in Cyprus. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 168, 101-118.

Piller, I. (2003). Advertising as a site of language contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 170-183.

Ray, M. (2003) Nation, nostalgia and Bollywood: In the tracks of a twice-displaced community. In K. H. Karim (Ed.), *The Media of Diaspora* (pp. 21-36). London: Routledge.

Ray, M. & Jacka, E. (1996). Indian television: An emerging regional force. In J. Sinclair, E. Jacka & S. Cunningham (Eds.), *New Patterns in Global Television* (pp. 83-98). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rindler-Schjerve, R. (1998). Codeswitching as an indicator for language shift? Evidence from Sardinian-Italian bilingualism. In R. Jacobson (Ed.), *Codeswitching Worldwide* (pp. 221-249). Berlin / New York: Mouton.

Romaine, S. (1986). The syntax and semantics of the code-mixed compound verb in Panjabi-English bilingual discourse. In D. Tannen & J. Alatis (Eds.), *Language and Linguistics. The Interdependence of Theory, Data and Application* (pp. 35-49). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Romaine, S, (1994). *Bilingualism* (2nd edition). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Scotton, C. M. (1976). Strategies of neutrality: Language choice in uncertain situations. *Language*, 52, 919-41.

Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (1997). Acts of conflicting identity: The sociolinguistics of British pop-song pronunciation. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook* (pp. 251-265). Houndsmills, Basingstoke / London: Macmillan.

Van de Velde, H., van Hout, R. & Gerritsen, M. (1997). Watching Dutch change: A real-time study of variation and change in standard Dutch pronunciation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1, 3, 361-391.

Woolard, K. A. (1988). Code-switching and comedy in Catalonia. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Code-switching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (pp. 53-77). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Appendix

Table I: Classification by programme genre

Classification by programme genre	Number of Programmes
Drama serials	9
Entertainment programmes featuring a monologue presentation	6
Entertainment magazines	6
News Bulletins	4
Studio discussions	3
Comedy sitcoms	2
Children's programmes	2
News magazines	2
Music Quizzes	1
Regional travel shows	1
Total:	36

Table II: Monolingual and CS usage within each programme genre (listed in descending order of CS).

Monolingual or code-switched speech by % of programme genre			
Programme Genre	Code-switched No. (% of genre)	Monolingual No. (% of genre)	Total in genre
Monologue entertainment	6 (100%)	-- (0%)	6
Comedy sit-coms	2 (100%)	-- (0%)	2
Music quizzes	1 (100%)	-- (0%)	1
Entertainment magazines	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	6

Drama serials	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	9
Studio discussions	2 (66%)	1 (33%)	3
News magazines	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
News bulletins	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4
Childrens programme	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	2
Total	24 (66%)	12 (33%)	36 (100%)

Table III: Scripted v. unscripted programme genres

Programme genre:	Scripted or Unscripted:
News Bulletins	Scripted
Drama serials	Scripted
Comedy sit-coms	Scripted
Regional travel shows	Scripted
Entertainment programmes featuring a monologue presentation	Scripted + unscripted
Entertainment magazines	Scripted + unscripted
Studio discussions	Scripted + unscripted
Children's programmes	Scripted + unscripted
News magazines	Scripted + unscripted
Music Quizzes	Scripted + unscripted

Penelope Gardner-Chloros is a Lecturer at Birkbeck, University of London. Her main research is on code-switching. She is the author of *Language Selection & Switching in Strasbourg* (OUP 1991) and *Code-switching* (CUP, forthcoming 2008). She is a member of the LIPPS Group, which has set up the first Database of bilingual texts. She also works on terms of address, particularly in French, and on the language of History of Art.

Reeva Charles graduated with an MA in Applied Linguistics from Birkbeck in 1995. She now works at Goldsmith's, University of London.