

## Pragmatic and Psychological Reasons of Code Mixing and Code Switching in the Stammered Speech of Pakistani Bilinguals

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### Abstract

*Most of the communities in the world are linguistically diverse, and bi-/multilingualism is the norm worldwide. In such communities, code mixing and code switching is a normal phenomenon. Speakers code mix and switch the linguistic items of one language into the other language for a number of reasons. There are certain motivational factors which cause individuals to code mix or code switch the linguistic items in their speech. This study deals with the motivational factors behind using code mixed or switched linguistic choices by the people who stammer. The study attempts to look at the psychological and pragmatic reasons due to which stammerers code mix. The study reveals that apart from the other factors which lead to code mixing and switching, stammerers do so because of the difference of sounds; and they substitute the words to substitute sounds in order to overcome their stammering.*

**Keywords:** *Stammered speech, code mixing, code switching, psychology, pragmatics*

### 1. Introduction to the Research

Amongst various types of speech disorders stammering is a very common disorder. Stammering occurs when a speaker speaks with abrupt involuntary pauses and has a tendency to repeat the initial letters of words. Speakers of every language stammer; stammerers can be monolinguals as well as bilinguals. Literature and research that has been published so far on the relationship between stammering and bilingualism presents a very diverse picture in terms of type of participants, choice of research methodology, and the languages involved. Howell & Van Borsel (2011, p. 247) cite Grosjean 1982 and De Bot & Kroll 2002 respectively to point out that "bilingualism is the norm worldwide" and "bilinguals outnumber unilinguals worldwide". However, they claim that though bilingualism is present everywhere and in every country, research on the relationship between bilingualism and stammering is found only in recent times and "systematic studies remain relatively scarce even today" (p. 247).

Discussing various manifestations of stammering/stuttering in bilingual speakers, Howell & Van Borsel (2011, p. 251-253) cite various studies that cover different aspects of the phenomenon including "stuttering in one language and not in the other, stuttering in both languages with similar behavior in each language, stuttering in both languages but varying from one language to the other" etc. However, the current research provides insights into a new

dimension that is how bilingual stammerers use their bilingual repertoire as strength to overcome stammering. The current research is based in the Pakistani context and data consists of bilingual Urdu and English speech of stammerers in which Urdu is the base language and English is code mixed/ switched.

## 2. Literature Review

This section of the paper provides a review of the relevant literature to provide an underpinning for the current research.

### 2.1 Language and Fluency Disorders

Language, according to Poole (1999) was created by human beings as a tool for the communication of ideas and thoughts when only looks and gestures were found to be inadequate. Primarily, language functions as a communicative event. It is used in social settings not only for the purpose of communication but also for the purpose of information and persuasion. Human language has a wider scope as compared to the languages of the other species of animals. Lyons (1981) asserts that the most striking characteristic of the human language is its "flexibility and versatility" (p. 18). Humans live in a society wherein communication plays an important role of connecting them to their fellows. Importance of communication has been realized in all times because it is one of the most fundamental assets of humans. Communication is considered as the process of exchanging knowledge, ideas, opinion and feelings. Various problems of speech arise when the addresser and/or addressee is unable to communicate properly. These problems are called speech or communication disorders. Communication disorders can be termed as the conditions that impair a person's ability to communicate properly either due to inability to speak correctly or to understand appropriately. Jain (2006, p. 209-210) cites Van Riper who asserts that "a person has a communication problem when his speech differs from the speech of others to the extent that it calls attention to itself, interferes with the intended message, or cause the speaker or listener to be distress". She further adds: "impaired speech is conscious, unintelligible, or unpleasant" (p. 210). There are certain symptoms of communication disorders which include:

- a) A hard time understanding what other people have said
- b) Problems following directions that are spoken to them
- c) Problems organizing their thoughts
- d) Have a hard time putting words together into sentences, or their sentences may be simple and short and the word order may be off
- e) Have difficulty finding the right words when talking, and often use placeholder words such as "um"
- f) Below average vocabulary skills
- g) Leave words out of sentences when talking

- h) Use certain phrases over and over again, and repeat (echo) parts or all of questions
- i) Use tenses (past, present, future) improperly

According to Jain(2006, p. 210) speech orders are of different types and they include "respiration disorders, voice disorders, articulation disorders and stuttering, stammering, cluttering and disorders in para- linguistic mechanism". National Institute of Deafness and Other Communication Disorders (NIDCD) classifies speech disorders in three categories. These are fluency disorders, articulation disorders and voice disorders.

Fluency disorders occur due to an interruption in the flow of rhythm of speech. Articulation disorders are the difficulties with the way sounds are formed and strung together; they include substituting one sound for another. Voice disorders include inappropriate pitch, quality, loudness, resonance and duration.

The disorders included in the type of fluency disorders are:

- a) Apraxia
- b) Cluttering
- c) Substitution of one sound for the other or omission or addition of sounds. (For example *wabbit* rather than *rabbit*, *pianano* instead of *piano*)  
Stammering or stuttering.

## 2.2 Stammering - The Term

It would be appropriate at the outset to remove any ambiguity regarding the use of term 'stammering' in the current research. According to Oxford Dictionary<sup>vii</sup> stammer is defined as to "Speak with sudden involuntary pauses and a tendency to repeat the initial letters of words: *he turned red and started stammering*". Another example given in it is "*I ... I can't, Isabel stammered*". Another common term used in the relevant literature is 'stutter' which is defined by Oxford Dictionary as to "Talk with continued involuntary repetition of sounds, especially initial consonants: *the child was stuttering in fright*". Another example given in this dictionary is "*W-what's happened? she stuttered*". According to Jain (2006, p. 216), stuttering or stammering are generally thought to be disorders of "rhythm"; and in most of the relevant literature discrimination between the two terms is "found to be negligible" (p. 216). For the current research the term "stammer"/"stammering" is used interchangeably with the term "stutter"/"stuttering".

The Linguistic Encyclopedia defines stammering as "involuntary repetition of sounds, syllables, words, and phrases with the prolongation of sounds and an increase in the number of filled and unfilled pauses and a relatively higher number of false starts, incomplete utterances and revisions than normal". World

Health Organization (WHO, 1992) has defined stammering as “disorder in the rhythm of speech, in which the individual knows precisely what he wishes to say, but at times, is unable to say it because of involuntary, repetitive prolongations of a sound.”

Stuttering remains to this day an elusive disorder that has evaded most attempts to capture its nature (Cummings, 2008, p. 378). According to Lavid (2003, p.4) we all stutter sometimes because of stress, anger, hurry or confusion; and, this stuttering is over as soon as the reason that causes it is over. However, the other type of stuttering that he terms as developmental stuttering, is a medical condition which is quite different from the occasional stuttering. “Developmental stuttering, or stammering as the British refer to it, is an observed disruption in the normal fluency and mannerisms of speech” (p. 4).

To him those who suffer from developmental stuttering or stammering have three types of dysfluencies that take place within words: 1) sound and syllable repetitions, 2) sound prolongations, 3) broken words. In this regard he has given following examples:

*Sound and syllable repetitions*

“Wh-Wh- What time is it?”

*Sound prolongations*

“Wh\_\_\_\_\_ at time is it?”

*Broken words*

“Wh (pause) at time is it?” (Lavid, 2003, p.4)

Apart from these within word dysfluencies, he further explains four types of dysfluencies that affect the flow of speech: interjections, audible and silent blocking, circumlocutions, and monosyllabic whole word repetitions (p. 5). Similarly Cummings(2008,p. 379) asserts that in stammering “the speech elements that are involved in iterations are single speech sounds or two speech sounds”. He has given the example of the word ‘spoke’ in this regard that to utter the word ‘spoke’ a stammerer/ stutterer can produce an iteration of /s/ or /sp/.

### **2.3 Language, Socialization and Bilingualism**

Language is the foundation of human communication and one of the ways through which communication occurs. It is the means by which humans communicate their thoughts, desires and emotions. Rasul (2009) asserts “Language is the fundamental tool for social interaction that opens up the possibilities to convey, inform and share different ideas, thoughts, messages, feelings and viewpoints” (p.2). Chaika (2008) claims that human language is multilayered and because of that there are many ways to express a meaning. In this regard Carey (1989) believes “society is possible because of the binding

forces of shared information circulating in an organic system" (p.22). With reference to the use of different languages, Spolsky (1998) discusses speech communities by asserting, "A speech community is all the people who speak a single language and so share notions of what is same or different in phonology or grammar" (p.24).

In many countries in the world more than one language is used as a means of communication. In those communities bilingualism or multilingualism is a part of their socio linguistic scenario. Communication in more than one language adds to the channels for socialization. Knowledge of more than one language helps individuals to interact effectively and socialize through various modes of socialization. Bilingual individuals are able to connect with each other and use specific language/s in certain contexts, for particular purposes, and with specified people. Media in a bi-/multi-lingual community also incorporates texts and discourses from different languages for various purposes. The use of bilingual text is often dependent on wider societal attitudes to the particular languages being used.

#### **2.4 Code Mixing and Bilingual Research**

Since code mixing and code switching is a pervasive phenomenon in the communities with bilingual speech, a great amount of research in the area of bilingualism is focused on this area. Most of the research in this area is concerned with the sociological interpretation and discourse functions; and focuses on socio-pragmatic aspects of code switching or code mixing. In the choice of the particular language various factors such as interlocutor, social role, domain, topic venue, medium and type of interaction play an important part. By investigating code mixed speech patterns of stammerers, the current research explores code mixing in the bi-/ multi-lingual context of Pakistan from a perspective which has not been explored yet.

#### **2.5 Code Mixing and Code Switching**

Code-switching is a term in linguistics that is used to refer to alternation between two or more languages, dialects, or language registers in the course of discourse between or among people who have more than one language in common. A lot of linguists have not clearly distinguished between mixing and switching. For instance Yua (1997) asserts that use of more than one language within a single communicative exchange is known as code switching. However, code switching is a linguistic strategy of bilingual or multilingual speakers that is used to make switches between two or more languages depending upon various factors such as audience, setting and purpose. Various scholars including Amuda (1989), Atoye (1994), Belly (1976), and Bokamba (1989) are among those linguists who have tried to define code-mixing and switching. For instance Bokamba (1989) considers code-switching as a kind of mixing that involves

words, phrases and/or sentences from two separate or distinct grammatical systems of two different codes that is done across the boundaries of sentence. Rasul (2009) mentions the views presented by Poplack (1980) according to which code switching can be of three types:

- a) Tag Switching.
- b) Intersentential
- c) Intrasentential.

It is the intrasentential switching that is also called code mixing. Hamminck (2000) asserts that intrasentential switching or in other words code mixing occurs at the level of clause, phrase or word level provided no morphological changes take place. Wardhaugh (1992), in this regard, is of the view that code mixing takes place in verbal communication when users or speakers use two languages together and simultaneously with such a frequent shift from one to the other that they shift within the course of one sentence. Muysken (2000) views code mixing as the insertion that occurs when lexical items from one language are incorporated into another language. As far as the current research is concerned operationally code mixing is used as a term to refer to the insertion or mixing of the lexical items or words of one language in the other language below the clause or sentence level. This implies the mixing below the level of word (such as the use of affix or suffix from another language), mixing of words and phrases is included in code mixing. Code switching is used to refer to the shift from one code to another code at the level of clause boundary or sentence boundary. Discussing the nature of code mixing Fasold (1984) asserts that it is 'subtler' as compared to code switching. In this respect Kachru (1975) asserts that as a result of the interaction of the code repertoires of a bi/multi lingual speaker a mixed code is produced.

### **2.6 Code Mixing as a Socio-linguistic Tool: Reasons of Code Mixing**

Gumperz (1982) has discussed the communicative functions of language, and in this context he has commented on the discourse function of code mixing as well as of code switching. According to him this is the personalization function of language since a speaker or user mixes or switches two or more codes to create some conversational effect. Kachru (1986), too, has talked about functional expectancy which implies a choice of linguistic elements by the speaker from the absorbed code depending upon what is thought to be suitable for a special function. On the other hand, Halliday (1975) asserts that code mixing or code switching is used to fulfill interpersonal function of human communication. This implies that the mixed language serves as a mediator between the addresser and the addressee.

Code mixing and code switching are also considered as tools to communicate both linguistic as well as social meanings. Gumperz (1982) has listed various reasons of mixing or switching of code which include the need or desire to communicate meaning with precision, to make communication easy, to negotiate the intended meaning, to get attention, to emphasize something, to identify with a certain group, to reduce the status gap, to create goodwill, to describe a particular experience that is related to only that language, to clarify the meaning etc.

In addition to the above mentioned reasons Karen (2003, p.59-77) has presented a few other possible conditions for code mixing and code switching that are as follows:

- a) lack of one word in either language
- b) Some activities have only been experienced in one of the languages
- c) Some concepts are easier to express in one of the languages
- d) A misunderstanding has to be clarified
- e) One wishes to create a certain communication effect
- f) One continues to speak the language latest used because of the trigger effect
- g) One wants to make a point
- h) One wishes to express group solidarity
- i) One wishes to exclude another person from the dialogue.

According to Karen (2003) from the reasons listed above, it may be possible to predict which of the conditions act on a particular sociolinguistic context for code mixing. An example can be of a sociolinguistic context where a person who lacks a vocabulary item in English due to his/her limited vocabulary exposure, code mixes by using the lexical component from his/her first language instead of English. Karen (2003) presents examples of these conditions as it can be said that in this particular example the function is to overcome the language barrier and contribute in the process of meaning-making. One other instance can be of a speech event where the speaker employs code mixing or code switching in order to express group solidarity.

Malik (1994) points out that such communicative functions of code mixing or code switching can also be listed according to the functions that they try to accomplish. Malik (1994) has presented the following ten functions:

- a) Lack of Facility
- b) Lack of Register
- c) Mood of the Speaker
- d) To emphasize a point

- e) Habitual Experience
- f) Semantic significance
- g) To show identity with a group
- h) To address a different audience
- i) To attract attention.
- j) Pragmatic reasons

Talking about the pragmatic reasons of code mixing and code switching Malik (1994) asserts that sometimes pragmatically the alternation between two codes becomes very meaningful in regard to the conversational context. This is due to the pragmatic effect of conveying and understanding the intended meaning of the addresser and addressee. Gumperz (1982) also points out that code mixing may sometimes highlight varying degrees of involvement of speaker/s. This involvement is also linked with the pragmatic reasons.

### 3. Sample and Methodology

The current work deals with the aspects of code mixed patterns used by stammerers in their discourse. It is examined whether bilingual stammerers code mix; if yes, why; and what are the reasons of code mixing in bilingual stammerers' speech. It is also examined whether these reasons are same as that of fluent speakers or not.

As far as the sample of the current research is concerned the sample consists of 8 stammerers (3 females and 5 males) of age group 25-38 years. They are all at least graduates. 2 of them have consulted speech therapists while the rest have not. 5 males are the members of a stammering association of which 2 have recently joined the association; and it is in the context of the issue of stammering that the participants are engaged in a conversation which is recorded to be used as a data for the current research. The recording is of 30 minutes but just stammered speech is included in the current research. The conversation has taken place in Urdu where as the words of English are code mixed. As the nature of research is qualitative, all the instances of stammering and code mixing/ switching are not quantified. Only representative examples of code mixing and switching from the stammered speech data are used to establish the argument. The research highlights the reasons of code-mixing and switching found in the data.

The code- mixed/switched data is divided in the following three categories:

- Category 1:** Code mixing or switching due to stammering on a sound
- Category 2:** Code mixing or switching where once the person stammers and makes a mental note to replace the sound or the word.
- Category 3:** Code mixing or switching due to other reasons



As it can be noticed here Category 1 is mentioned in bold font, Category 2 in underlined bold, and Category 3 in underlined regular font, the same scheme is followed to present examples of data in respective categories; and in each category the relevant parts of examples are pointed out via the same scheme.

#### 4. Findings, Discussion and Insights

Following is the presentation and analysis of data under three categories already mentioned:

##### Category 1: Code mixing or switching due to stammering on a sound:

This category deals with the code mixing and code switching that is to avoid the sound a stammerer stammers on. Following is an example from the data:

*Mera ye **m-m- problem** shuru say he hy, jub sy bolna shuru kia tha. 2008 mey mein SpSpeech therapist kay pas gya aur mujy bohat fark pra. Unhon nay mujy kuch cheezian btain **j-j-j one of them was Easy Onset**. Easy onset ka mutlab hy k jub ap wordsbolna shuru krein tou **a-a-slow**bolein, jaldi ki zaroorat nai hai.*

In the data presented here, the mixing and switching is shown in bold. The example shows that the speaker stammered on the sound /m/ as he wanted to say 'masala' in Urdu. He stammered on the sound /m/ and substituted it immediately with the word 'problem' from the English language since it gave the speaker a chance to substitute the sound that s/he found problematic. Similarly the speaker stammered on the sound /j/ in Urdu as the speaker wanted to say 'jo' and code switched from Urdu to English: "Unhon nay mujy kuch cheezian btain **j-j-j one of them was Easy Onset**". Interestingly the switch boundary between Urdu and English shows the choice that the speaker made by picking a clause that substitutes the whole Urdu clause. This example is the only example of code switching (mixing at a higher level such as clause or sentence) in the whole data. All the other examples from the data are of code mixing.

There are many more examples of code mixing under this category. For example in the same utterance if we look at the last sentence of the utterance the stammered sound of Urdu word 'aahista' is replaced by English word 'slow'. In the example 'ap wordsbolna shuru krein tou **aa-slow**bolein' the repetitive production of **a-a** shows the inability of the speaker to produce /a:/ sound which leads the speaker to code-mix the substitute choice of English word 'slow'.

Further examples of code mixing due to stammered sound from the data include:

*a- aaram aaaram sy bolein y- y- meansjaldi ki zaroorat nahe hy. bilkula- a- slowlybolein. Mera b speech ka problem shuru sy he hy jub sy me nae bolna sh-shuru kia. Ku-ku-few steps thay jo btaey thay and rules thay jo follow krnay thay. Easy articulation ka ounhun ny btaya tha k jo la-la-words lips ya zu-zu-tongue ki madad sy b-b-utter hotay hein jysy p, b ya tha k words. j-j- for example ke pa-pa water. Slow rate of speech aik aysa wahid tareeka hai jis ki ma-ma-madad sy bohat fa-fa-difference aata hy ly-ly but log isay follow nae kartay.*

In the presented data the speaker stammered on many of the sounds while talking in Urdu language but replaced those words with their equivalent in English language. For example at the beginning of the utterance “*a- aaram aaaram sy bolein y- y- meansjaldi ki zaroorat nahe hy. bilkul a- a- slowlybolein...*” the speaker started with a stammer at /a:/ sound when s/he tried to utter the Urdu word ‘aaram’ but finally managed to utter “*a- aaram aaaram sy bolein...*”; however, soon the speaker stammered on another sound /y/ of the Urdu word ‘yaani’, and being unable to utter it, replaced it with an English substitute ‘means’. In the same way the use of ‘few’ instead of ‘kuch’ can be noticed in the part of the utterance “*... kuku-few steps thay jo btaey thay....*” where the speaker tried to utter ‘kuch’ as is indicated by the /k/ sound produced by him/ her, but being unable to do so, opted for its English equivalent ‘few’. Examples of ‘lafz’ replaced with ‘words’, ‘zuban’ replaced with ‘tongue’, and ‘pani’, ‘farq’ and ‘laykin’ substituted by ‘water’ ‘difference’ and ‘but’ respectively. The data show that stammerers frequently use code mixing or switching to substitute the words or phrases for which they cannot pronounce the initial sounds easily.

Another example from the data is:

*Majority logoun ko nahi mehsoos hota keh ap aysa khu-khu-deliberately kar rhy hein. Achaa me nai apnay experience sai aik cheez sam-sam-learn ki hai k jub ap slow speed sy bolty hein tou is say aik confidence ap me aata hai. Mjy ounhoun ny ye ba-ba-tip btai thi dar-dar-infact ye tip btai thi ke slow rate of speech ap ny tb tak rakhna hai jb tk aap har word ha-ha-each and every person kay samnay nae bol lo.*

In this example also the speaker stammered on an Urdu sound ‘khu- khu’ while s/he wanted to say ‘khud ba khud’ in Urdu but because s/he stammered on the sound so s/he has inserted the English word ‘deliberately’ to replace the sound by using a code mixed item. Similarly the repetitive production of the cluster ‘sam-sam’ shows the stammering while the speaker wanted to say ‘samjhi’ in Urdu so s/he substituted the stammered sound with another sound by substituting the Urdu word with the word ‘learn’ in English. The English word ‘tip’ is inserted as the speaker stammered on ‘ba- ba’ sound of word ‘baat’ in

Urdu. The last instance shows the phrase insertion in the sentence ‘...*jb tk aap har word ha-ha-each and every person kay samnay nae bol lo’* where the speaker wanted to say ‘*har*’ and because of the stammered speech it was replaced by inserting the whole phrase in English as the speaker said ‘**ha-haeach and every person**’.

Analysis of the examples from the data of this category shows that stammerers use code mixing for pragmatic purposes to avoid stammering in practical situations.

**Category 2: Code mixing or switching where once the person stammers and makes a mental note to replace the sound or the word.**

This category deals with the code mixing or switching when a speaker stammers on a sound or a word during the conversation and makes a mental note to substitute the sound or the word if it has to be used in the conversation next time. Once stuck at the pronunciation of a sound or a word, psychologically the speaker with stammered speech apprehends that whenever s/he will come across the same sound or word s/he will stammer again, so the stammerer avoids that sound or word next time. Lavid (2003: p5) has identified this type of stammering dysfluency as one of the characteristic disfluencies that disrupt the flow of speech between words. He has termed it as ‘circumlocution’ and has defined it as “word substitutions to avoid problematic words or paraphrasing the intended sentence using different words”. He gives an example where if a stammerer finds difficulty in producing ‘Wh’ in ‘What time is it?’ may circumlocute it by saying “Wh\_\_\_\_\_ Do you have the time?”

In such cases, for bi-linguals, one of the ways to avoid the same sound or word is to code mix its equivalent from another language. Particularly if the other language is a language of prestige in that society, its code mixing is more acceptable and this acceptability gives more license to the stammerer to use an equivalent next time. Examples of this category are presented from the selected data by making the relevant parts bold and underlined. Consider the following example:

*a- aaram aaaram sy bolein y- y- means jaldi ki zaroorat nahe hy. Bilkula- **a- slowly**bolein. Mera b speech ka problem shuru sy he hy jub sy me nae bolna sh-shuru kia. Acha mey nay apny experiencesy aik cheez sa-sa learn ki hy, wo yeh hai kay agr aap **slow pace** mein boltay hein tou iss say aap mein thora confidence aata hy.*

In this example at the very outset of the utterance we notice that the speaker stammered: “*a- aaram aaaram sy bolein ...*”. Interestingly in the same utterance

again the speaker came across a situation where the first word of the utterance 'aaram' was to be used again. Though previously the speaker had managed to pronounce it after some stammering on the initial sound, this time the stammerer was conscious of the problem faced first time so s/he opted for the English equivalent 'slowly' as we can notice in the part of utterance "...bilkul a- a- slowlybolein...". The speaker faced difficulty in saying 'aaram' in Urdu and he code mixed it by slowly. For the next time he made a mental note not to use the sound that hinders in the speech as he said '...agr aap slow pace mein boltay hein...' In this instance s/he made a mental note not to use the sound on which s/he stammered and used the code mixed item instead.

See the next example:

Stammerer ko la-la-words bolny say pehly pta hota hai kay wo iss pay aa-aa-aa-aatkay ga,mi-mi-for example k tor par ab mujy aabu nai bahar koi cheez layny kay liay bheja hai tou mgy pehly say pta ho ga kai mey dukandar kay samnay iss lafz py stammer kroun ga.

The use of word 'stammer' towards the end of this utterance is also an instance of the same category. The speaker stammered on the Urdu equivalent of the word 'aa-aa-aa-aatkay' and made a mental note to substitute it with its English equivalent whenever it would be used next time.

Here is another instance:

Majoritylogoun ko nahi mehsoos hota keh ap aysa khu-khu-deliberately kar rhy hein. Achaa me nai apnay experience sai aik cheez sam-sam-learn ki hai k jub ap slow speed sy bolty hein tou is say aik confidence ap me aata hai. Mgy ounhoun ny ye ba-ba-tipbtai thi dar-dar-infact ye tip btai thi ke slow rate of speech ap ny tb tak rakhna hai jb tk aap har word ha-ha-each and every person kay samnay nae bol lo.

In the presented data the speaker stammered on the sound /b/ and produced repetitive 'baba' as s/he wanted to say 'baat' in Urdu but due to stammering mixed it with its English equivalent 'tip'. Later on in the same instance where the speaker encountered the same situation s/he directly used the code mixed word 'tip' instead of its Urdu equivalent.

Easy articulation ka ounhun ny btaya tha k jo la-la-words lips ya zu-zu-tongue ki madad sy utter hotay hein jysy p, b ya tha k words.

In the above data the speaker stammered on /l/ sound and produced repetitive 'la-la' as s/he wanted to utter 'lafz' in Urdu. So, the speaker replaced it with its English equivalent 'words'. Later on in the same utterance the speaker again faced the same situation and instead of stammering and then changing the

sound, immediately substituted the word because s/he had made a mental note previously to replace the stammered sound if the situation occurs again.

### Category 3: Code mixing or switching due to other reasons

As mentioned in the review of relevant literature, there are many other social and linguistic reasons of code mixing and code switching. As far as the stammerers are concerned mostly they use code mixing and code switching to avoid the sounds on which they are likely to stammer. However, the reasons are not restricted to this only. Stammerers, like other fluent speakers of a language, use the code mixed patterns in their speech because of various other reasons as well. These reasons, however, may vary from user to user and from context to context. The lexical items that are code mixed because of reasons other than those mentioned under category 1 and 2 are underlined here. Consider the following examples:

- 1) *Mera ye m-m- problem shuru say he hy, jub sy bolna shuru kia tha. 2008 mey mein Speechtherapist kay pas gya aur mujy bohat fark pra. Unhon nay mujy kuch cheezian btain j-j-j oneof them was Easy Onset. Easy onset ka mutlab hy k jub apwords bolna shuru krein tou aa-slow bolein, jaldi ki zaroorat nai hai.*
- 2) *Aa aaram aaaram sy bolein ye-ye- means jaldi ki zaroorat nahe hy. Bilkul aa-aa-slowly bolein. Mera b speech ka problem shuru sy he hy jub sy me nae bolna sh-shuru kia. Ku-kufew steps thay jo btaey thay and rules thay jo follow krnay thay. Easy articulation ka ounhun ny btaya tha k jo la-la-words lips ya zu-zu-tongue ki madad sy utter hotay hein jysy p, b ya tha k words. Je-je-For example ke pani. Slow rate of speech aik aysa wahid tareeka hai jis ki ma-ma-madad sy bohat fa-fa-difference aata hy lay-lay but log isay follow nae kartay.*
- 3) *Majority logoun ko nae feel hota keh ap aysa khu-khu-deliberately kar rhy hein.*
- 4) *Wo dra-dra-actually ye hota hai keh awkward sa lagta hai. hum agar apas me slow rate of speech rakhein gay tu awkward nae lagein gay lay- lay- but jub hum aysi jaga jaein gay jahan aour lo-lo-people houn jo fluent speaker houn tou wahan pay embarrassment ho ge.*

In the given examples the underlined words are code mixed into the speech because of various other reasons which include both social and individual. The linguistic items such as 'two thousand and eight, majority, feel, embarrassment' etc. are some of the examples of code mixed items that show personal preference of the code because the equivalents of these words are available in Urdu and are in frequent use in the society. On the other hand we can notice that words or phrases such as 'slow rate of speech, fluent speaker, easy articulation, speech, easy onset, speech therapist' are the jargon from the register of medicine, particularly speech therapy.

## 5. Conclusion

In most of the bi-/multi-lingual communities code mixing and switching are very common phenomena. In bi-/ multi-lingual communities the users of one language code mix items from the other language or switch to the other language for various reasons which include the need or desire to communicate meaning with precision, to make communication easy, to negotiate the intended meaning, to get attention, to emphasize something, to identify with a certain group, to reduce the status gap, to create goodwill, to describe a particular experience that is related to only that language, to clarify the meaning etc. Analysis of the data proved that stammerers (individuals with fluency disorder) like other speakers of certain language/s code mix for these reasons However, in the case of stammerers we find some additional reasons for code mixing and switching.

Stammerers attempt to code mix from another language with the purpose to replace the sounds that cause them to stammer. So, apart from the other socio-cultural reasons, stammerers use code mixing as a tool to improve their speech which is otherwise stammered. They pragmatically use code-mixing to avoid the embarrassment of being unable to continue communication when they stammer at a sound or a word. Replacing the word, on which a speaker stammers, with another word from the same language hints at the inability of the speaker to utter that word or to produce the initial sound of that word with fluency. On the other hand when the stammerer switches to the option of an equivalent in another language it gives the impression that the speaker was about to say a word in one language but in the last moment made a choice to use its equivalent from another language because s/he found it more appropriate linguistically and socially.

Code mixing also becomes a tool for the psychological strength of the speaker in those situations where a speaker stammers on a particular sound or word and knows that s/he has to use it more frequently in that conversation. In such a situation making a mental note to substitute the problem sound or the problem word with an option from the other language, if it has to be used in the conversation next time, gives a psychological relief to the stammerer by allowing him/ her to avoid the embarrassment of stammering on a sound or a word repeatedly.

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