

**BRAC University**



**Bilingual Behaviors: Factors Accelerating Code Switching and Code Mixing Among the  
Urdu Speaking Bihari Hair Dressing Communities of Dhaka**

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May 20, 2014

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**A Thesis**

**Submitted to the Department of English and Humanities**

**Of**

**BRAC University**

**By**

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**In Partial Fulfillment of the**

**Requirements for the Degree**

**Of**

**Master of Arts in English**

**May, 2014**

**This paper is dedicated to all my teachers for their valuable guidance throughout my  
academic career.**

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## **Acknowledgement**

My foremost thanks go to the Almighty for allowing me to complete this research. I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Ms. Shenin Ziauddin for her invaluable comments and guidance. Without her help, it would not have been possible for me to complete this research. I also want to thank all the respondents who participated in the survey and made the study possible.

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May, 2014

### **Abstract**

This research attempts to find out the diverse factors accelerating the process of code switching and code mixing among the Urdu Speaking Bihari Hair Dressing Communities of Dhaka. There are some social, economic and political factors that lead a community to switch from using one language to another. The hypothesis of this paper is – diverse factors and circumstances actively contribute to accelerate code switching and code mixing among Urdu speaking Bihari hair dressing communities of Dhaka city, which need to be identified and recognized in order to explore the bilingual behaviors of the members of these communities. To test the hypothesis, a survey was conducted with different respondents from different localities. After analyzing the findings of the study, the hypothesis has been proven true. The paper concludes with some proposals on how such code switching and code mixing can be checked more effectively.

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Author Note

This paper was prepared for English 698, Section 0001, taught by Shenin Ziauddin.



## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

One of the frequent bilingual behaviors, which is experienced among the bilingual speakers very often is code switching. Before knowing about code switching, first we should know what bilingualism is. Different linguists have defined bilingualism differently. According to Wald (1974), “Bloomfield (7) characterized bilingualism as ‘native-like control of two languages,’...” (p. 301). On the other hand, Haugen (1987) said, “Most later students have adopted a wide definition, e.g. Hall (1952:14) admitted as a bilingual one who had ‘at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language’”. (p. 14). A bilingual person must be able to at least understand the meaning while reading or writing or listening or speaking in the second language in different situations or contexts in which the two languages are used. For example, a bilingual corporate executive can use Bangla while having conversation with the family members in his/her home and can use English while giving formal presentation in his/her office or a bilingual student can use Bangla while chatting with his/her friends in university campus and can use English while presenting something in front of the class. In the same way, when a native speaker learns a foreign language and s/he can interpret different points by translating those points in that foreign language, then that person is also considered to be a bilingual person. All these actions performed by a bilingual person are called code switching. According to Heredia and Altarriba (2001), “Code switching, or language mixing, occurs when a word or a phrase in one language substitutes for a word or phrase in a second language.” (p. 164). So when a

bilingual person, from one language, brings in word(s) or sentence(s) to another language (second or target language) then this action is called code switching. Members of different Urdu speaking Bihari communities in our country are considered to be bilingual speakers of Urdu and Bangla.

Human population can be studied statistically on the basis of their speech patterns. Now, fulfillment of these studies or meeting the goals of such studies completely depends on the population distribution of any society and the demographic characteristics of the different speech communities in that society. This is all-using for studying both a static population and a dynamic population. Static population refers to a population, which is stationary and very little or almost no change has taken place neither in the personal characteristics of an individual nor in the social structures like, politics, economy, history etc. On the other hand, dynamic population refers to a population, which is vibrant and many effective evolutions have taken place successfully in favor of the development of the society. All these advancements have not occurred at a time, in the same place. They have taken place in different times and in different places. Thus, has changed the use of codes by different speech communities in that society. Bilingual behaviors of the members of such communities are based on various factors like, what is the size of the society, how the society is structured, how the population is distributed in the society, the historical and political background and all the economical issues of that particular society. While talking about the construction and the population distribution of the society, certain demographic characteristics like the issues of social class inequity, gender role, age limit, religion and certain personal characteristics like personality type, education, nationality, ethnicity, relationship status, kinship value, etc. mechanically

arrive in the discussion. Thus, demographic and personal characteristics are based in response to birth, migration, aging, death etc. However, both the social structures like history, politics, economy etc. and agents of socialization like family, peer group, school, community, religion, workplace, media etc. shape the demographic and personal characteristics of a group of people of the society in a small field or of the whole society from a broader aspect economically, socially, culturally and biologically.

A language is structured systematically and it functions in different situations or contexts differently. Society directs the mode of production of discourse very precisely with the help of reason- madness binary on the basis of language activities at the intersection of diversified cultural features like, gender, religion etc. These features also vary from one culture to another. Discourse is initially constructed and secondarily constricted by the society. From time to time, society in order to exercise its power systematically, has manipulated the discourse of its members. With the help of different ideological state apparatuses, society first starts constructing the discourse of its members from the bottom-line, then constricts the discourse gradually again upon them and finally in this way shapes the psychology of these people in favor of it. If we try to analyze the use of Urdu by the Bihari communities of Bangladesh, we will find how dominantly the social setting of Bangladesh shapes their use of Urdu in different forms of local and national discourses. Their engagement in the development and progress of this society's socio-economic, political and cultural discourses is overlooked. They are marginalized by the policy makers of the society; they are discriminated by the other major groups of the society. Whenever, they try to raise voice for their basic human rights against this ill-treatment, they remain ignored very technically. In some cases, they are seen as second-

class citizens. In cases of national interests, they are not at all invited to enter into a discourse. As a result, it is unfortunately sad but true that most of them could not become successful with their visions. The main reason behind this was again the argumentative social setting of Bangladesh where these Bihari communities are living in. Their psychology has been tried to be predetermined by this social setting; to be constricted by the society. They are hindered again and again, their use of language in such discourses is restricted again and again. This society has tried to put obstacles in their way, it has tried to limit the boundary. The society has tried to discourage them, tried to pre-shape their discourse with the most powerful weapon in the world to suppress anyone or anything and that again is the language of the majority. The society has used language as an absolutely powerful domain and it has been the best way to dominate the language and hence the discourses of the Bihari communities. In most of the cases, they are denied to be paid any attention to. The reality started becoming constructed artificially as the members of Bihari communities used or had to use the language Bangla in different domains because of the result of such negligence. Though they realized that they were using the language of the majority to serve different purposes, it was influencing their language and they would never be able to represent themselves properly in such a discourse. Society has constructed and constricted such discourse by ignoring the Urdu speaking Bihari communities very ingeniously. Their discourse is constructed and constricted in such a way that, they can hardly question it. So, it is clear that the different functions of any language and role of any discourse are described and determined by the society and they differ from time to time, society to society. The role of any analytical discourse must be natural and original, whereas it is intended and usual now a day. Time

to time, the definition and nature of a political discourse or national discourse are modified by the society. Discourse and analysis of discourse have not been consistent, but have been changing consistently by society for its own interest. Such fluid processes always leave an option of replacing one format with another.

### **1.2 Hypothesis**

The hypothesis of this paper is– diverse factors and circumstances actively contribute to accelerate code switching and code mixing among Urdu speaking Bihari hair dressing communities of Dhaka city, which need to be identified and recognized in order to explore the bilingual behaviors of the members of these communities.

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

The objective of this study is exploring the different bilingual behaviors of the Urdu speaking Bihari hair dressing communities of Dhaka city by identifying the diverse factors contributing to an accelerated code switching and code mixing and recognizing the circumstances favoring such behaviors. This study will also try to point out the reasons behind the disheartened feeling of the members of these communities as their social aspirations have been disappointed and as a result they have to embrace the majority group language.

#### **1.4 Scopes**

This study will work morally in favor of people of this minority group, who claim that, their language should be preserved and propped up. This study will also ideologically support the institutions which shore up the minority language in the community.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Bilingualism and Diglossia in the Modern World**

Bilingualism is simply the use of two languages for communicational purposes. Bilingualism is defined in a well-accepted manner by Hall in 1952. In today's world, we see the existence of different types of bilingualism like, co-ordinate bilingualism, compound bilingualism, sub-ordinate bilingualism etc. in different societies. The different types of bilingualism also create different diglossic situations in those societies. Diglossia is the use of two languages by a particular speech community, where one language is used formally or officially and the other one is used informally or unofficially. Charles Ferguson introduced diglossia in 1959. In the modern world, we see various features of diglossia like, function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, phonology etc. which play vital roles in creating diglossic situations and in stimulating the continuation of diglossia in different societies. Diglossia and bilingualism are the two most important functioning elements of socio-linguistics, which have significant effects on modern societies.

In many of the countries of the modern world, we see, besides the standard languages used by the speakers of the local speech communities, there exist some other languages, which are also used frequently by those speakers of those speech communities on various occasions. Such a socio-linguistic arrangement, where with the existence of one standard language, there exists another language and both the languages have different functions to accomplish in the speech community and different roles to play in the society is called diglossia and such situation is called diglossic situation. As

Wardhaugh (2002) said, “A diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set.” (p. 85). “Function” is the word, used here to differentiate the two languages used in a speech community, because depending on their functions, the status of the two languages are assigned, which finally results in conveying the roles played by those languages in a society. Now, the point is that it is the power, hold by a group of people and the prestige, owned by a group of people in a speech community, which determines which functioning language will possess the status of High variety or Low variety and will play dominant role or weaker role in the society. For instances, a group of people, who is the native speakers of a certain language holds important positions and is politically-economically very powerful in the society, with major portion of the total population belongs to this group. So, their language might get the status of High variety in that particular speech community and the language of the weaker, less powerful and less number of people’s group might get the status of Low variety. Thus, High variety can only replace Low variety if High variety is the mother tongue of the native elites. However, we cannot completely give up the possibility of vice-versa that because of the enriched vocabulary, standard grammar, international status and world-wide acceptance of the language of the second group, the language of the first group might get the status of Low variety and the language of the second group might get the status of High variety. Occasionally, Low variety can achieve authority over High variety and can replace High variety. So, which is High variety to the first group might seem to be Low variety to the second group and which is Low variety to the first group might seem to be High variety to the second group. Now, if anyone mixes



these two varieties and use High variety in a Low domain or Low variety in High domain, then the native speakers will find it strange and even ridiculous and disgraceful. Such activity will not be accepted easily and that simply. The prestige issue of these two varieties is very apparent and comprehensible. In a particular social setting, High variety is always considered to have great literary value and is used to write formal notes of public speaking, official papers etc. On the other hand, Low variety is considered to be less creditable and undignified in function in that particular social setting. High variety is often given the status of a national and sometimes even an international language. On the other hand, Low variety is considered to be spoken by minority people. Though the linguists claim that Low variety is acquired as primary language first, the native scholars claim High variety as their one and only language. So this point also supports the fact that High variety usually has more complex tense systems, gender systems, agreements, syntax and grammars designed by traditional native grammarians, more enriched vocabulary and more special morphophonemics than those of Low variety. Yet we cannot completely give up the possibility of vice-versa in this case too. Names of some places of the modern world, where we can find diglossia and diglossic situations are, African American vernacular English, standard Arabic and local colloquial Arabic in all the Arab world, Shadhubhasha before 19<sup>th</sup> century and Cholitbhasha after 19<sup>th</sup> century in Bangladesh, standard Malay and Brunei Malay in Brunei, co-existing modern Spanish with 36 other native languages, all of them official and some widely spoken by the population like Aymara and Quechua in Bolivia, Catalan in Catalonia, classical Chinese before 19<sup>th</sup> century and modern Chinese during 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century in China, standard French and Walloon in Belgium's Southern Region Walloon, French and Provençal

(Occitan) in Provence and southern France, French and Alsatian in Alsace-Lorraine in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish or Portuguese as High variety and Galicia as Low variety in Galician society, Swiss-German and French-German in Switzerland, colloquial Dimotiki and standard Katharevousa in Greece until 1970, the Shuddh Hindi and the Hindustani Hindi in India, French in Valle d'Aosta of Italy, German in Bolzano-Bozen of Italy, Slovene in Trieste and Gorizia of Italy, Molise Croats in Arabesh communities of southern Italy, Slovene in Friulian Slovenia of Italy, Resian dialect in Friuli Venezia Giulia of Italy, Alemannic German in Valle d'Aosta of Italy, Jamaican standard English and Jamaican Patios in Jamaica, Leonese as Low variety and Mirandese as High variety in Spain and Portugal, standard English and Maltese in Malta, modern-day Spanish and Guaraní indigenous language in Paraguay, Polish as the official language and Latin as the informal language after late 16<sup>th</sup> century in Poland, standard European Portuguese and European Portuguese in 19<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal, Church Slavonic as the official language and Russian as the colloquial language in Russia, Persianised/Arabicized Urdu and colloquial Urdu in Pakistan, Mandarin, Teochew, Hokkian and Hakka along with Malay and English in Chinese community of Riau Islands, literary Sinhala and spoken Sinhala in Sri Lanka, Singapore standard English and Singapore colloquial English in Singapore, Tagalog in Luzon of Philippines, Classic Senthamizh Tamil and colloquial Iyatramizh.Tamil in Tamil Nadu, a state in southern India and northern, eastern regions of Sri Lanka along with Kannada and Sinhalese, both standard Russian and standard Ukrainian as High varieties and non-standard dialects of these High varieties as Low varieties in Ukraine etc.

Bilingualism is when a person is well-known of at least some features of the structure and facts of the grammar of the second language. As Haugen (1987) said,

Let me rephrase these as native competence in more than one language. But this is only an ideal, theoretical model: few if any actually achieve this. Most later students have adopted a wide definition, e.g. Hall (1952:14) admitted as a bilingual one who had “at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language. (p. 14).

Also s/he must be able to at least understand by listening or can speak or read or write in that second language in different situations. By “different situations” it is meant the different contexts in which the two languages are used. For example, if a person uses Bangla while having conversations with the family members in his/her home and uses English while giving formal presentations in his/her office, then these two completely different contexts create co-ordinate bilingualism. If a student uses Bangla while chatting with his/her friends in university campus and uses English while presenting something in front of the class, then it creates compound bilingualism. Now, when a native speaker learns a foreign language, then s/he is expected to interpret different points by translating those points in that foreign language. Such contexts create sub-ordinate bilingualism. Names of some places of the modern world, where we can find bilingualism are, among the countries of Africa, Kenya has English and Swahili, Somalia has Somali and Arabic, Sudan has English and Arabic, Madagascar has French and Malagasy, Swaziland has English and Swati etc. Among the countries of America, Colombia has Spanish and Afro-Caribbean English, Paraguay has Spanish and Guarani, Honduras has Spanish and Afro-Caribbean English, Uruguay has Spanish and Portuguese, Venezuela has Spanish and Afro-Caribbean English etc. Among the countries of Asia, Cambodia has Khmer and

French, Philippines has Filipino and English, Hong Kong has English and Chinese, Laos has Lao and French, Vietnam has Vietnamese and French etc. Among the countries of Europe, Czech Republic has Czech and Polish, Estonia has Estonian and Russian, Ireland has Irish and English, Latvia has Latvian and Russian, Romania has Romanian and Hungarian etc.

There is a close relation between bilingualism and diglossia. For example, a Bangladeshi immigrant to Chicago is capable to speak both in his/her mother tongue Bangla and in the foreign language English. However, while communicating with the native community s/he cannot use Bangla. This is an example of bilingualism without diglossia. To avoid contacting with the masses, while having conversation with his/her other European colleagues, a European manager can talk in a certain European language, which is unfamiliar to most of the Asian workers of a power plant in Asia. The manager can use an interpreter, if s/he needs to communicate with the Asian workers. This is an example of diglossia without bilingualism. Now, in Germany, the Germans know both the standard German and Swiss German, which shows the co-existence of diglossia and bilingualism in a society.

So, it can be said that, both diglossia and bilingualism are very important issues of sociolinguistics. Both of them play very essential role in the emergence and extinction of a language. In a society, in a diglossic situation and in a bilingual context, we should never let a language get completely lost or vanished. We should be friendly towards the people of all speech communities in a society, we should make them feel proud for their languages and we should encourage them to use their languages regularly. We have to be

watchful of the changes and alterations in a society, caused by diglossia and bilingualism.

We must be very careful that such changes do not give rise to any unexpected situation.

## **2.2 Bilingual Behaviors: An Insight into how Bilingual Speakers Acquire a Second Language**

In early 1970, dissatisfaction was growing among the linguists with the second language acquisition processes of the different bilingual populaces, which actually caused the bilingual behaviors of those populaces. The main reason behind this dissatisfaction with how a person acquired a second language and became a speaker of two languages was heavily dependent on behaviorism and the principles of behaviorism only. The person who first came up with something different at that time was Stephen Krashen. Apart from the traditional and conventional ideas, Krashen is well known for his “Monitor Model” as this was the only second language acquisition model, which was influenced by Noam Chomsky’s theory of first language acquisition. According to Faltis (1984),

“I have been studying and teaching Krashen's Monitor Model with its accompanying hypotheses for several years now. Krashen attaches a great deal of importance to the distinction between acquisition and learning and argues that the sole function of conscious language learning is to monitor output which has been acquired via meaningful interaction in the second language. For him, acquisition is what allows language students to initiate utterances and gain fluency in the second language.” (p. 352).

Krashen first described this model in terms of five hypotheses in early 1970s. The hypotheses are the acquisition-learning hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, the natural order hypothesis, the input hypothesis and the affective filter hypothesis. If we take a look at these hypotheses, we will find that in spite of being lively debated and criticized by many, how the ideas of this model became very influential during the transitional period of second language acquisition and took “learning rules or memorizing dialogues”

like concept based acquisition to “using language with a focus on meaning” like concept based acquisition.

If we take a look at the first hypothesis, the acquisition- learning hypothesis, we can see that Krashen has made a contrast between the two terms “acquisition” and “learning”. We acquire elements of second language, when we are exposed to samples of second language. Not that we understand all the samples to which we get exposed, but we understand at least some of them. This understanding of such samples takes place in a very natural way. The process is almost similar like a child acquires the elements of its first language. When a child picks up its first language, it pays no conscious attention to the different forms of the language and the picking up process is done naturally. However when we learn second language, we have to pay conscious attention to the different rules and forms of second language. Hence, the learning process is not natural like the acquisition process. The system that we acquire initiates our utterances and the second hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis talks about the two systems; one is the acquired system and another one is the learned system. The acquired system is responsible for our spontaneous language use. The learned system plays the role of an “editor” or “monitor”. It makes minor changes and polishes the production of the acquired system. However, the speaker or the writer must have adequate time, must agree to produce correct language and must have solid knowledge of the relevant rules for such monitoring to take place. The third hypothesis, the natural order hypothesis says that second language acquisition discloses in sequences which are predictable and almost in the same way first language acquisition does. It is not necessary that a speaker will first acquire and learn those language features, which are comparatively easy. For example, though it is easier, some

advanced second language speakers even fail to apply an ‘-s’ to the third person singular verbs in the present tense while having spontaneous conversation.

The fourth hypothesis, the input hypothesis says that, when someone is exposed to comprehensible language and the language contains meaningful input or formal instruction at  $i+1$  level, then acquisition occurs effectively. The level of language which is already acquired by a person is represented by ‘ $i$ ’. Language or the language elements like words, grammatical forms, aspects of pronunciation etc. which is just a step beyond the already acquired language level is represented by the metaphor ‘ $+1$ ’. Let us think that there is a set of language boxes. Each box has some language elements in it. If a person acquires the elements of box ‘ $i$ ’, then it is expected or considered that s/he can acquire few elements of next box or the ‘ $i+1$ ’ box. Now, the question is why the meaningful input or formal instruction should be provided at  $i+1$  level? If the learner is provided with exposure to the samples of second language only and with no formal instructions, then the acquisition of the elements of the second language by that learner will be lesser. On the other hand, if the learner is provided with formal instructions plus adequate exposure to the samples of the second language, then his/her acquisition of the elements of the second language will be greater. According to Ioup (1984),

“Not all the input is useful at a given point in the learner's development. The input which serves as a learning aid is that which contains structures which are just beyond the syntactic complexity of those found in the interlanguage grammar of the acquirer. Stated more formally, given some developmental level  $i$  of the acquirer, the relevant input for that learner will contain structures at the  $i + 1$  level. A corollary of this hypothesis is that formal instruction in the form of rule isolation and explanation, feedback, and error correction is of no value in the naturalistic acquisition process.” (p. 345).



Now, some people do not necessarily acquire a language successfully even though they are exposed to large quantities of comprehensible and appropriate input. The metaphorical barrier that prevents learners from doing so is the “affective filter”. By “affect”, Krashen in his last hypothesis, the affective filter hypothesis has referred to emotional states, feelings, attitudes, motives, needs etc. and has also said that a tensed, anxious or bored learner may filter out input and making it unavailable for acquisition.

So it can be said that Krashen’s “Monitor Model” and particularly the input hypothesis has focused their attention not only on simplified input, but also on comprehensible input containing  $i+1$ , which are structures slightly beyond the learner’s or acquirer’s current state of competence and are very much essential for language acquisition. It is not claimed by the input hypothesis that simplified input, expansions or middle-class caretaker speech will be received by all acquirers. The claim that comprehensible input which is available to acquirers in each of the situations described will also be obtained by the acquirers makes this hypothesis a truly helpful one for understanding the bilingual behaviors of bilingual populaces.

W. J. M. Levelt is well-known for his “Perceptual Loop Theory of Self-monitoring” or “Output Monitoring Model”. He came up with this theory in his book *“Speaking: From Intention to Articulation”*, which was published from MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1989. He has divided his theory in six phases. The phases are conceptual preparation, grammatical encoding, morpho-phonological encoding, phonetic encoding, articulation and self-perception. The “Output Monitoring Model” says that a human being before uttering, can attend to his/her own internal speech. Besides, his or her self-produced overt speech can also be attended to by him/her. A human being,

who can attend to the speech produced by other human beings, can also attend speech produced by himself/herself just in the same way. So the speech produced by human beings are watched over by the human beings themselves. Levelt's monitoring model basically discusses linguistic issues from the point of view of speech production and little detail of the internal functions of comprehension system is discussed in this model.

Levelt has divided his monitoring system into two components. The first component is the conceptual component and the second one is the linguistic component. According to Payne and Whitney (2002),

“According to Levelt's model (1989, 1995), utterances begin as nonlanguage specific communicative intentions in what Levelt refers to as the Conceptualizer. During production the job of the Conceptualizer is to determine the semantic content of the utterance to be spoken. The preverbal message generated by the Conceptualizer is maintained in Working Memory and fed into the Formulator where the lemmas or lexical items are selected that most accurately represent the semantic content of each chunk of the preverbal message.” (p. 10).

The linguistic component is divided into two subsystems; one subsystem for production and another one for understanding. A formulator and an articulator are the linguistic apparatus into which the production system is further subdivided. Receiving a preverbal message from the conceptual component and on the basis of the lexical and grammatical information, producing a phonetic plan is the task of the formulator. The articulator then transforms the phonetic plan into spoken utterance. When the production system finishes playing its role then the understanding system starts doing its job. When understanding is in progress, the audition component maps the spoken utterance to a phonetic string from which a parsed speech is computed by the speech comprehension system. A parsed

speech is a phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically composed representation of an input speech. The conceptual component further processes the parsed speech. The language editor is identified by Levelt with the language understanding system in order to avoid reduplication. Now if we take a look at the different phases of this monitoring model, then we will find out how scientifically and methodically this system works.

In the first phase, the conceptual preparation, a speaker generates a message. This is done by the speaker alone or by interacting with the interlocutor. Different conceptual structures which are accomplished, prepared by us by exercising our social competence, by minding the knowledge we have shared with the interlocutors and by directing their attention to new or relevant things are known as messages. Conceptual structures are those structures which concentrate in lexical concepts for which there are particular words in particular languages. As all concepts are not lexical and the purpose of a message is essentially conveying a meaning, so a message or we should better say a “preverbal message” should avoid such concepts. A message can only be accomplished if skillful access to various knowledge sources can be made. The expression of the message may affect the interlocutor in the way it intends to do. In the second phase, the grammatical encoding, lemmas are activated in the mental lexicon by the lexical concepts of the message. Lemmas are the corresponding syntactic words. A message should have some semantic functions and arguments in it to be corresponded by some syntactic frames. Selection of lemmas makes these syntactic frames available. When the first core system or grammatical encoding takes place, the lexical-syntactic information is used by the speaker roughly and incrementally from left to right to build up the appropriate

syntactic pattern or the surface structure. In the third phase, the morpho-phonological encoding, the form code of lemma becomes activated as soon as a lemma is activated. To build up phonological words and to generate a word's syllabification in its syntactic context, the basic material needed is the item's morphological and phonological composition. The speaker gets access to this composition during the morphological encoding takes place. During the phonological encoding, the phonological score of the utterance like, syllabified words, phrases, intonation pattern etc. are built up incrementally. In the fourth phase, the phonetic encoding, it is a must for each of the syllables in the phonological score to trigger an articulatory gesture; these are the repository of syllabic gestures which the speaker finally reaches in this phase. Mostly speakers can resort the infrequently or newly composed syllables to their syllabary as the incremental generation of the articulatory score of an utterance is built up during this phase. In the fifth phase, the articulation, the overt speech which is the end product is ultimately produced through the execution of the articulatory score by the laryngeal and supra-laryngeal apparatus. In the final phase, the self-perception, we monitor our output as we speak. According to Hartsuiker and Kolk (2001),

“Speakers continuously inspect the well-formedness of their own speech. Consider the events that often follow a speech error: Speech is interrupted and a new attempt is made at producing the erroneous word or phrase. This new attempt is called a ‘repair’ (Levelt, 1983). The process of inspecting one's own speech and taking appropriate action when errors are made is referred to as speech monitoring. Speech can be monitored for errors that stem from miscomputations at each linguistic level: for the appropriateness.” (p. 113).

The same speech comprehension system that we use for listening to others is used to monitor both our overt and internal speech. We can stop and correct ourselves if we notice trouble in the speech we are producing, particularly which may have communicative consequences.

The architecture of this monitoring system is developed likewise a computer or internet functions. Also it has given an appropriate focus of attention in cognitive science, which has provided linguists all over the world with an insight into the bilingual behaviors of bilingual populaces.

### **2.3 Code Switching and Code Mixing in a Multilingual Society**

In a multilingual society, we can see that besides entirely using the language, which significantly symbolizes the uniqueness of their own community; the bilingual members of one community on various occasions switch to other languages, which are also used exclusively by the members of other communities and which are the substantial symbols of identity of those communities. Such a socio-linguistic arrangement, where the bilingual members of different communities switch between languages in order to accomplish different social functions accordingly, is defined as “community multilingualism”. According to Hudson (1996), “In community multilingualism the different languages are always used in different circumstances. And the choice is always controlled by social rules.” (p. 52). It is the set of social rules of a society, which governs the time and place of the code switching and code mixing done by the bilingual members of different communities. These rules also regulate the functions of the languages, depending on which different languages are assigned their roles to play in different communities and which finally decides which languages will symbolize which communities. So, code switching and code mixing depend on how a language is structured systematically and how a language is used in different linguistic situations or contexts.

Society directs the mode of production of languages very precisely on the basis of language activities at the intersection of diversified cultural features. These features also vary from one community to another. Any code is initially constructed and secondarily constricted by the society. From time to time, society in order to exercise its power systematically, has manipulated the languages of its members. Society first starts

constructing the language of its members from the bottom-line; then constricts it gradually again upon them and finally in this way shapes the psychology of common people in favor of it. So, it is clear that the different functions and roles of any language are described and determined by the society and they differ from time to time, community to community. According to Hudson (1996), "In short each language has a social function which no other language could fulfill...The main reason for preserving the languages is because of the social distinctions that they symbolize." (p. 52). The role of any language must be natural and original, whereas it is intended and usual nowadays. Time to time, the role of any language has been modified by the society. Languages have not been consistent, but have been changing consistently by society for its own interest and hence have been accelerated the code switching and code mixing among the bilingual and multilingual members of different communities.

Now the point is that, it is the economic power held by the bilingual members of a community and the social prestige owned by them, which forms the social rules and hence control which languages, used by the bilingual members of a community, will serve which purpose where, when and how. For instances, the bilingual members of a community, who are the native speakers of a certain language hold important positions and are politically-economically very powerful in the society, with major portion of the total population belongs to this community. So, their native language might play a prestigious role not only in that particular community, but also in the society and the language used by the less powerful and less populated community will not receive that prestige. As Hudson (1996) said, "We saw another example of the same pattern in the discussion of the Indian village Kupwar, where three languages are used in order to

maintain the caste system” (p. 52). Now that the prestige issue of two languages is very apparent, we can easily understand one bilingual member of one community might feel uncomfortable to use the language s/he uses with the members of his/her community and so switches to another language while having conversation with a member of another community, which that member of that community is accustomed to.

Apart from this social distinction maintained by the different languages of different bilingual communities, different languages according to their status and acceptance in the society, have different grammar system, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, vocabulary etc. A person may have very good knowledge of a language. S/he may know almost all the features of that language very well. Also, s/he may have possessed a large number of information about that language. However, only being familiar with the features or being acquainted with many information of that language cannot make that person an effective communicator in that language. To communicate ideas or to exchange information successfully, s/he must be capable of processing the knowledge practically on the spot by creating a context through a moderate conversation. Now, s/he will not at all be able to create a context of any conversation if the person(s) to whom s/he will talk do not know that particular language.

As Hudson (1996) said,

“Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances. The first consideration, of course, is which language will be comprehensible to the person addressed; generally speaking, speakers choose a language which the other person can understand.” (p. 51).

This is another big reason why bilingual speakers often switch or mix codes.



According to Hudson (1996), “The changes generally take place more or less randomly as far as subject-matter is concerned but they seem to be limited by the sentence-structure.” (p. 54). There are certain features of different sentence structures like, connected speech, expressive devices, lexis, negotiation language, mental/social processing of language, information processing etc. which are very important for a speaker to be meaningful with while speaking to others. When certain sounds are assimilated, elicited, linked, stressed or contracted in a speech, then that speech is called connected speech like, the connected speech “I’d’ve gone” stands for “I would have gone”. Sometimes when a language is spoken in a face-to-face interaction, the pitch and stress of particular parts of utterances are changed, volume and speed are varied, various physical and non-verbal expressions are showed by the speakers. Good supply of a variety of phrases for different language functions in spontaneous speech and specific speaking contexts like, agreeing or disagreeing, expressing surprise, shock or disapproval etc. In a conversation, sometimes the speaker fails to understand the intention of the person spoken to and sometimes the person spoken to fails to understand the explanation of the speaker. As Hudson (1996) said, “The purpose of code-switching seems to be to symbolize a somewhat ambiguous situation for which neither language on its own would be quiet right.” (p. 53). The language, which we use to clarify such confusion and to show how our speech is constructed; is known as “negotiation language”. To be an effective speaker, a person should use the language not only to comprehend but also to convey the intended meaning successfully. For that, s/he has to retrieve the words and phrases from his/her memory and also representing those syntactically and propositionally appropriate sequences effectively. Also, they have to interact with each

other through an active conversation, which will fulfill almost all the criteria of a fruitful conversation like, listening, understanding speaker's feeling, turn taking etc. Also, the speaker has to process the information; which means that the information must be triggered from the memory and s/he has to respond to that click instantly for his/her audience. This does not happen always and hence sometimes s/he has to drop into his/her speech word(s) from another language and code switching and code mixing take place. According to Hudson (1996), "To get the right effect the speakers balance the two languages against each other as a kind of linguistic cocktail- a few words of one language, then a few words of the other." (p. 54). These are few of the main reasons behind code switching and code mixing in a multilingual society.

### **2.4 Code Switching and Code Mixing in Everyday Life**

Very often, we experience different types of code switching and code mixing in our daily life. It is the situation or the topic of the conversation or the change of the code itself, which enables a person switch and mix codes. If a person is with his/her parents and relatives at home, obviously s/he is expected by his/her parents and relatives to conduct conversation with them in the regional dialect. Speaking in a second language or even in a standard form of another language with them will just look odd and s/he might also face criticism from few of them. Like Hudson (1996) said, “The rules link the languages to different communities (home. Sauris. Italy)...Speaking standard Italian at home would be like wearing a suit, and speaking German in the village would be like wearing beach-clothes in church.” (p. 52). Now, if s/he is having conversation with one of his/her neighbors, who does not belong to his/her same region and does not know the regional dialect of that particular region, then instead of using the regional dialect, s/he will use a standard language to carry out the conversation. Again, when s/he is in the class lecturing the students, as per instruction by the university authority, s/he is expected to use a second language for example, English, as the medium of instruction. There might be few facilitative or almost no use of any other standard language like, Bangla and absolutely no use of the regional dialect allowed in the class. Paolillo (2011) defined such code switching as situational code switching by saying,

“Situational switching is code switching that is conditioned by factors of the situation in which an interaction takes place. For example, native speakers of Spanish in Texas generally use Spanish in home settings, but switch to English in institutional settings (e.g., schools, government offices)...” (p. 2).

So, the code switching, which is done by this person, varies from situation to situation and such switching can be defined as a situational code switching.

Now, if a person is in the office and having a chitchat with one of his/her colleagues, who also belongs to his same region, then it is more likely to happen that, s/he is going to carry out the conversation with that colleague in their regional dialect. It is obvious that, having a chitchat in one's own regional dialect with a partner, who also belongs to the same region of the speaker creates a deeper feeling of integrity. However, when s/he will have a conversation with that colleague regarding any official issue, then s/he has to switch to a standard language or, a formal language. Being in the office, having an official conversation with a colleague in an informal code like the regional dialect, will not only look odd but will also break the norm or convention of an ideal conversation. According to Nilep (2006),

“The definition of metaphorical switching relies on the use of two language varieties within a single social setting. Blom and Gumperz describe interactions between clerks and residents in the community administration office wherein greetings take place in the local dialect, but business is transacted in the standard.” (p. 8).

Here, the same is seen as the code switching done by this person is not varying from situation to situation. It is the change of topics of the conversation and not the change in the situation, which is deciding the type of code switching and this code switching can be defined as metaphorical code switching.

Apart from these two types of code switching, a code mixing might be observed in one's speech. If a Bangladeshi immigrant is having a conversation with another Bangladeshi immigrant in London and somehow finds out that, that person also belongs

to his/her same region in Bangladesh; in that case, it will so happen that if there is any ambiguity pops up in their conversation, for the explanation of which they instantly do not find any suitable words in English, without thinking twice any one of them might drop into English word(s) from Standard Bangla or from their regional dialect, which they might find more appropriate or suitable to clear the ambiguity arisen in that particular conversation. Instantly after dropping word(s) from Standard Bangla or from their regional dialect in English, they will return back to English and will carry out their conversation in English once again. However, there might be repetition of this same action from time to time in the same conversation by the same speakers. Amuda (1994) said,

“In what I refer to as code-mixing, the items in question form part of the same speech act...Participants engaged in this kind of language use are often unaware of which language is used at any one time as the speakers are mainly concerned with the message content of their utterance.” (p. 121).

In the above example also, neither the situation nor the topic is the accelerating factor behind the code mixing done by these two speakers. It is the change of the code itself which is causing this code mixing and such bilingual behavior can be defined as code mixing.

## **2.5 Factors Accelerating Code Switching and Code Mixing Among the Bihari Communities of Bangladesh**

In 1946-47, one of the worst Hindu- Muslim communal riots took place in Bihar of India. As Farzana (2008) said, “During the Partition of British-India in 1947, around one million Urdu speaking Muslims from the present day Indian provinces of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan moved to East Pakistan, which later became Bangladesh.” (p. 2). The Urdu speaking Muslim Biharis suffered severely from that riot to a larger extent. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the then Chief of Muslim League promised that, Pakistan would be a safe place for all Muslims. The Urdu speaking Muslim Biharis believed his words and a huge number of Biharis migrated from different regions of India to the then East Pakistan and today’s Bangladesh. They started living particularly in Mirpur and Mohammadpur of Dhaka and in different railway colonies across the country. Nowadays, a vast Bihari population, lately known as “Stranded Pakistanis”, live in different camps or settlements all over the country of which a major portion is born in the independent Bangladesh. As Farzana (2008) said,

“According to one report, the community is comprised of over 300,000 yet it is not recognized with a clearly defined identity. They have been living in 66 squalid camps with poor facilities scattered in several areas of Bangladesh for more than three decades.” (p. 1).

Urdu speaking Muslim of Bihar was the least developed populace of India and they were lesser developed even than the backward Hindu community of that area. The populace received few or, almost no academic education and when they migrated to East Pakistan, they were actually lead by no strong leader. They lived an isolated life from the

Bengalis and so the Bengalis considered them as West Pakistanis. According to Farzana (2008),

“The Bihari community never assimilated with the local people and maintained alliance with the West Pakistani regime against the interest of the Bengali people. They supported the adoption of Urdu as the official language in East Pakistan, where the language of the majority was Bengali, and opposed the Bengalis’ language movement in 1952.” (p. 2).

Majority Bengalis blamed these few Urdu speaking Biharis in East Pakistan when Jinnah declared that, Urdu would be the official language of Pakistan. The West Pakistan government favored them very little in job and business sectors, but in return they were used by the West Pakistan government as an exploitative tool to suppress different rights and movements of East Pakistanis. They actively contributed in slaughtering a huge number of Bengalis brutally alongside the West Pakistan military during the “Operation Search Light” genocide in 1971 all over the country. As a consequence of this, a huge number of Biharis were also killed by the fuming Bengalis after Bangladesh achieved its independence and the Indian Army, who was in charge of ensuring the security of the Bihari colonies, left for India as the war was over.

The situation worsened when Bangladesh government passed Abandoned Property Act in 1972 as many Biharis were dispossessed of their properties. According to Paulsen (2006),

“Properties belonging to the Biharis were forcibly occupied or acquired by the State through legal mechanisms designed to dispose of abandoned property. The continued persecution caused the Biharis to abandon their properties and move into settlements (popularly known as camps). By 1972, some 1,008,680 displaced Biharis were living in settlements all over the country awaiting “repatriation” to Pakistan.” (p. 55).

International Committee of the Red Cross put up a number of camps commonly known as “Geneva Camps” to shelter these Biharis. In 1973 the Simla Agreement was made between India and Pakistan. As Farzana (2008) said, “The Simla accord of July 1972 normalized the relationship between India and Pakistan which eventually allowed New Delhi to take the initiative of influencing Dhaka to settle the trilateral problems between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.” (p. 13). At that time, a list was developed basing two categories of Biharis; those who wanted to go back to Pakistan and those who did not want to. The first category Biharis are commonly known as “Stranded Pakistanis”. There were three sub-categories of this stranded Pakistanis and they were the central government employees, those who usually domiciled in West Pakistan and those who faced different hardship cases. The Simla Agreement made quite a good number of Biharis return to Pakistan. Though General Zia-ul-Haq was sincere to take those stranded Pakistanis back to Pakistan, a new Citizenship Act passed in Pakistan in 1978 slowed down the process and the last trip to Pakistan was made in 1982 and from then till yet no official trip is made. According to Najdi (2004),

“The first batch of 120,000 stranded Pakistanis was airlifted to Pakistan in 1974. By 1982 the number of officially repatriated Pakistanis had reached 169,000. In November-December 1982, some 4,600 were repatriated again to Pakistan after a year of no publicized plans.” (p. 2).

In General Zia-ul-Haq’s regime, an agreement was signed with Rabita Islam and Rabita Islam gave a good amount of fund to make houses for the stranded Pakistanis but the project actually did not work. In 2003, Pakistan government arranged some lands in Punjab for them.



According to Najdi (2004),

“In 1988, Rabita Trust was established following an agreement signed between the late President Gen. Zia-ul-Haq and Dr. Abdullah Omar Al-Naseef, then secretary-general of the Muslim World League. Land was allocated for some 40,000 houses in Punjab. One thousand houses were also built to rehabilitate the would-be repatriated Pakistanis.” (p. 2).

However as they do not know the Punjabi language and as it is very tough for them to compete in the business and job market with the local Punjabi people, they rather choose to live in Sindh’s capital Karachi. However, they are not allowed to do that as the Pakistan government thinks that it will affect the population of Karachi and the majority Biharis might pose a threat to the sensitive Sindh and non-Sindh conflict issue also. As Farzana (2008) said,

“The Benazir government was under heavy pressure from various Sindhi nationalist organizations such as the Sindh National Alliance, the Awami National Party, the Sindh Student Federation and the Democratic Students’ Federation to oppose the process of repatriation of Biharis.” (p. 15).

Though Benazir Bhutto did not want to accept the stranded Pakistanis as citizens of Pakistan; General Parvez Musharraf showed interest to take care of the matter and to take the stranded Pakistanis back to Pakistan. This initiative also saw no light like that of General Zia-ul-Haq. This is why, though some Biharis want to go back to Pakistan, most of them want to stay back at Bangladesh as they have got married here and they have their family members, business and belongings here, which they have maintained for all these years. All they want is recognition, a standard living condition and the chance to visit their relatives in Pakistan on any occasion like marriage, death etc.

For the last 36 years, a huge number of Biharis are living an inhumane life in a mere dwelling area of Mohammadpur Geneva Camp and the similar scenario is seen in the other Geneva camps also. Neither any Member of Parliament nor any recruit of Dhaka City Corporation is seen in these camps for years to take news of them; only sometimes they come with bulldozers and break down few houses. NGOs often show no interest to work in these camps as Biharis are not a part of us. Situation is such that, the grandparents have to live with their grandchildren in the same camp room for decades. Poor living condition, no job, no social status are worsening the situation for them. To overcome or, at least as an attempt to overcome this miserable situation at a point they start learning Bangla and start using Bangla alongside Urdu on various occasions in different situations. Though many of them are educating themselves in academic education following Bangla as the medium of instruction in mainstream schools and colleges of Dhaka city, still they are discriminated and deprived of their basic rights. Being Bihari, on one hand they have to write their nationality as Bangladeshi while filling up the registration forms of different public exams as the honorable High Court has established the voting right of these Biharis by declaring them as citizens of Bangladesh; on the other hand they cannot celebrate the 21<sup>st</sup> February the International Mother Language Day like others though it is said that, Biharis are neither refugees nor, Bangalis but they are the citizens of Bangladesh, they are Bangladeshi.

## **Chapter: 3-Research Methodology**

### **3.1 Research design**

This research is a small-scale, mixed-method survey of the impact of different social, political and economic factors on the bilingual behaviors of the Urdu Speaking Bihari Hair Dressing Communities of Dhaka.

### **3.2 Data collection procedure:**

The methodology used in this research includes-

1. Respondents' survey

One of the most useful methods of collecting data is using questionnaire. There are a number of advantages of questionnaires and they are designed to make the result reliable and interpretable. It is also easy for the interviewer to conduct an interview using a questionnaire properly within a short time. The answers are easy to analyze. A number of advantages of using a questionnaire for data collection are stated by Seliger (1989), "...Since the same questionnaire is given to all subjects, the data are more uniform and standard. Since they can usually be given to all subjects at exactly the same time or within the short period of time, the data are more accurate..." (p. 173).

### **3.3 Instrument Principles for designing**

Printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the respondents are expected to respond is known as questionnaire. A number of ways are there to design questionnaire. Using a set of questionnaire with ten to fifteen questions in each set is one of the common ways. Therefore, attitudes or responses have been assigned in this research.

### **3.4 Description of the questionnaire for students and teachers**

The following aspects are taken into consideration in designing the questionnaire to ensure validity and reliability of it-

- Literature review of this paper
- Literature on research method
- The interview with the questionnaire
- Consultation with the supervisor

The questionnaire comprises fifteen open-ended questions. The interviewees are required to answer the items from the set of questionnaire assigned for them. Each item deals with a single idea. They are worded as simple and as clear as possible.

### **3.5 Participants**

Participants of this research are the Urdu speaking Bihari hair dressers, who live in different areas of Dhaka city. I have interviewed the six Bihari hair dressing communities, who mainly own and run the Bihari hair dressing business all over Mohammadpur, Mirpur, Farmgate and New Market. Of the two Bihari hair dressing communities of Mohammadpur, one community belongs to one of the densely populated Bihari areas of Mohammadpur, which is Nurjahan Road. I have interviewed five Bihari hair dressers from this community. The second community belongs to Mohammadpur Krishi Market area. I have interviewed five Bihari hair dressers from this community. Of the two Bihari hair dressing communities of Mirpur, one community again belongs to one of the densely populated Bihari areas of Mirpur, which is Mirpur 10. I have interviewed eight Bihari hair dressers from this community. The second community belongs to Mirpur 2 area. I have interviewed four Bihari hair dressers from this community. The other two Bihari hair dressing communities belong to Farmgate and New Market areas. I have interviewed eight Bihari hair dressers from these two communities.

## Chapter 4: Analysis

### 4.1 Discussion of respondents' survey result

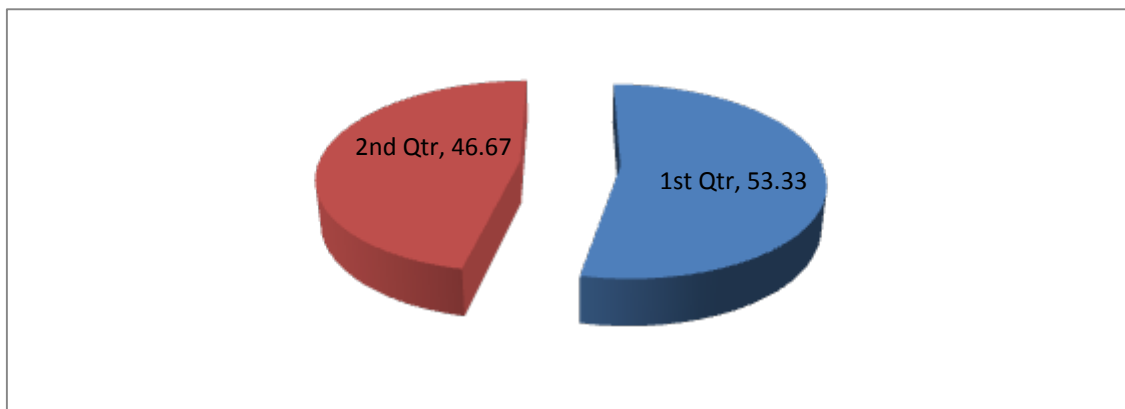
The collected data is arranged in a table given below:

**Table 1**

| Criteria                             | Responses                                    |   |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
|                                      | Responses in Percentage                      | Responses in Percentage                             |
| Duration of Stay in Bangladesh       | More than 30 Years: 53.33%                   | Less than 30 Years: 46.67%                          |
| Hair Dressing as Profession          | Only Profession: 100%                        | Other Profession(s): 0%                             |
| Duration of Professional Engagement  | More than 10 Years: 96.67%                   | Less than 10 Years: 3.33%                           |
| Hair Dressing as Family's Profession | Family's Profession: 46.67%                  | Not Family's Profession: 53.33%                     |
| Fluency in Urdu                      | Use Very Comfortably: 53.33%                 | Can Use at Ease: 46.67%                             |
| Professional Use of Bangla           | Before Starting Hair Dressing: 53.33%        | After Starting Hair Dressing: 46.67%                |
| Expertise in Bangla                  | Quite Developed in All the Four Skills: 100% | Not Developed/ Developed in Particular Skill(s): 0% |

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Conversation with Elder Family Members                                      | Switch Codes: 76.67%                             | Do Not Switch Codes: 23.33%                                |
| Conversation with Same-aged Family Members                                  | Switch Codes: 76.67%                             | Do Not Switch Codes: 23.33%                                |
| Conversation with Younger Family Members                                    | Switch Codes: 76.67%                             | Do Not Switch Codes: 23.33%                                |
| Conversation with Bangladeshi Neighbors                                     | Switch Codes: 100%                               | Do Not Switch Codes: 0%                                    |
| Conversation among Themselves at Workplace                                  | Mix Codes: 100%                                  | Do Not Mix Codes: 0%                                       |
| Conversation with Bangladeshi Customers                                     | Switch Codes: 100%                               | Do Not Switch Codes: 0%                                    |
| Use of Code(s) in Different Domains/Circumstances                           | Same Code in Different Domains/Circumstances: 0% | Different Code(s) in Different Domains/Circumstances: 100% |
| Reduction of Use of Urdu because of Switching Codes between Urdu and Bangla | Yes: 23.33%                                      | No: 76.67%   |

If the collected data are analyzed, first of all we can see that when the respondents are asked about their duration of stay in Bangladesh, different responses have come from different respondents. The majority 53.33% has said that, they have been living in Bangladesh for more than three decades. Of this 53.33%, two hair dressers belong to Nurjahan Road area. One of them is Abdur Rashid (55) and the other one is Md. Mahtab (37). However, all the five hair dressers, who are interviewed from Mohammadpur Krishi Market area, have been living in Bangladesh for more than 30 years. Among these hair dressers are Sabbir Munna (48), Md. Ali (42), Md. Sakib (42), Md. Khurshid (35) and Md. Israil (35). Among the hair dressers, who are interviewed from Mirpur area and have been living in Bangladesh for more than 30 years are Md. Abid (42), Md. Nasim (38), Md. Bulu (36), Md. Masud (36) and Md. Sohel (32). Similarly among the hair dressers, who are interviewed from Farmgate and New Market area and have been living in Bangladesh for more than 30 years are Abdul Sattar (65), Md. Sahabuddin (47), Md. Jamil (34) and Md. Anwar (32).



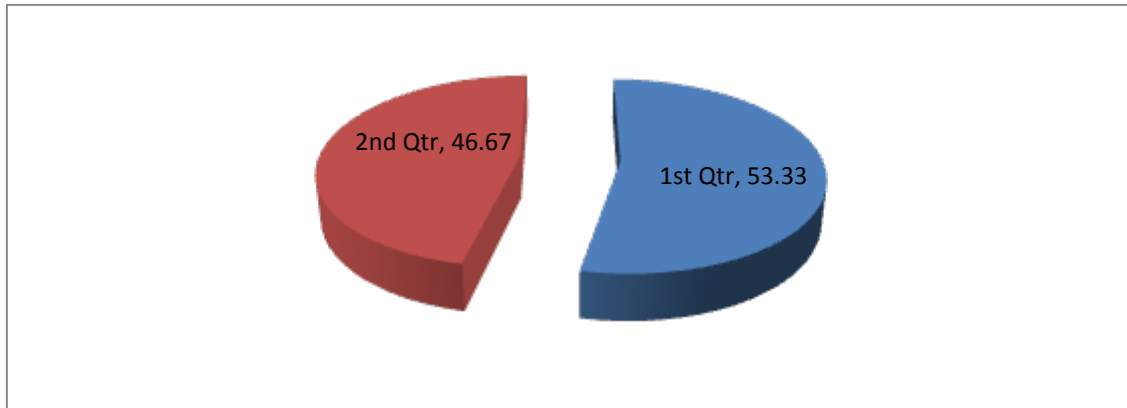
**Figure 1: Duration of Stay in Bangladesh**

Of the remaining 46.67%, who has said that they have been living in Bangladesh for less than three decades, are the three hair dressers, Md. Sonu (29), Md. Nadim (28) and Md.

Foysal (20), who belong to Nurjahan Road area; the seven hair dressers, Md. Rubel (28), Md. Sajib (27), Md. Forkan (26), Md. Jewel (23), Md. Masum (22), Md. Nazir (21) and Md. Bacchu (19), who belong to Mirpur area; and the four hair dressers, Md. Chan (29), Md. Sarwar (28), Md. Khurshid (27) and Md. Ansar (23), who belong to Farmgate and New Market area. So, we can see that Biharis have been living in Bangladesh for decades. The fact that Biharis have been occupying a good portion of the total population of Bangladesh for quite a long time is also mentioned by Farzana (2008) in the literature review. This is a proof of the sound existence of different Bihari communities inside the national boundary of independent Bangladesh for a long time.

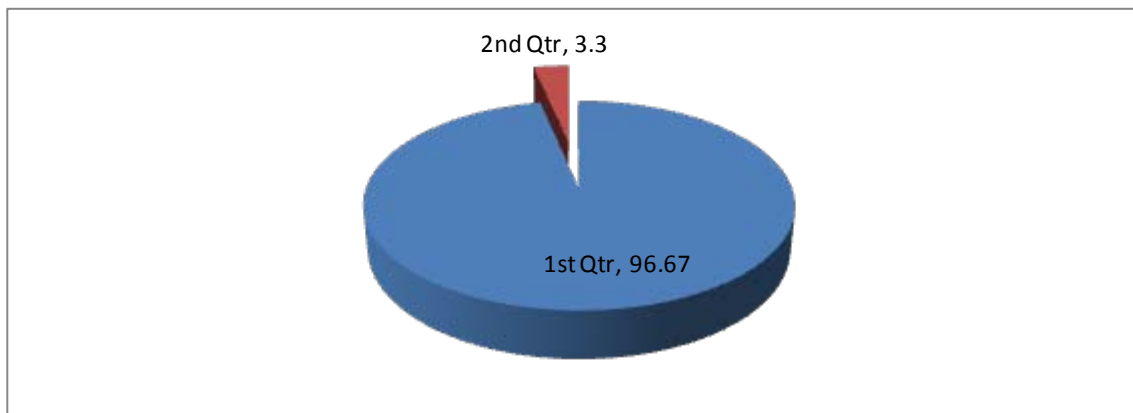
When the respondents are asked about their profession, though 100% has said that hair dressing is their only profession, a majority of 53.33% has said that, hair dressing is not their families' profession. For example, Abdur Rashid (55) says that, he has been dressing hair for the last 23 years. In the same way, Md. Mahtab (37) has been dressing hair for the last 13 years, Md. Israil (35) has been dressing hair for the last 15 years, Md. Khurshid (35) has been dressing hair for the last 18 years, Md. Sakib (42) has been dressing hair for the last 23 years, Md. Ali (42) has been dressing hair for last 24 years and Sabbir Munna (48) has been dressing hair for the last 22 years. When asked about their hair dressing profession, most of them have said that, finding no jobs or jobs which are very little income generating for the Biharis in independent Bangladesh, they have decided to switch their professions and the one they have chosen to continue with is the hair dressing profession. The poor living condition of these camp dwelling Biharis is also mentioned in the literature review by Farzana (2008).





**Figure 2: Hair Dressing as Family's Profession**

A minority of 46.67% has said that, hair dressing is their families' profession. For example, Md. Foysal (20) has been dressing hair for the last 13 years, Md. Nadim (28) has been dressing hair for the last 12 years and Md. Sonu (29) has been dressing hair for the last 11 years. All three of them have chosen this profession as they, from their very childhood, have seen members of their families to dress hair for living.

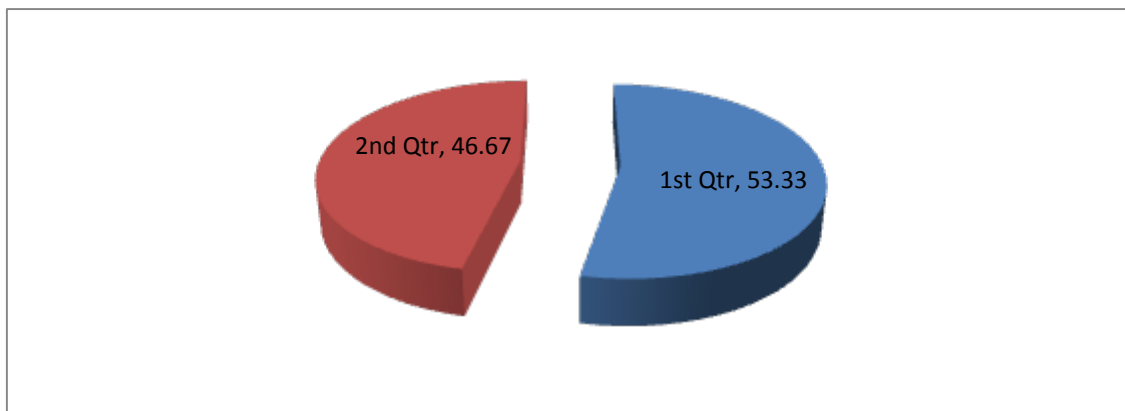


**Figure 3: Duration of Professional Engagement**

So, a majority of 96.67% is engaged to this profession for more than 10 years.

When asked about their fluency in Urdu, 53.33% of the respondents have claimed that they can speak Urdu very comfortably. Among this 53.33% are Abdul Sattar (65),

Abdur Rashid (55), Sabbir Munna (48), Md. Sahabuddin (47), Md. Sakib (42), Md. Ali (42) and Md. Abid (42). However, Md. Nasim (38), Md. Mahtab (37), Md. Bulu (36), Md. Masud (36), Md. Israil (35), Md. Khurshid (35), Md. Jamil (34), Md. Sohel (32) and Md. Anwar (32) claim that they can speak Urdu quite comfortably as after their birth; they have been surrounded mostly by their Urdu speaking family members, parents and neighbors all the time. As a result, they have been heavily exposed to their native language Urdu and less exposed to Bangla.

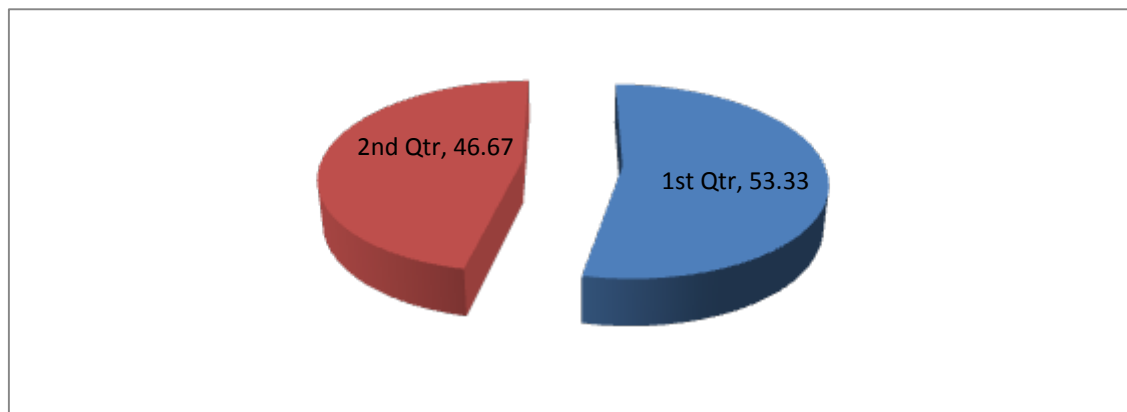


**Figure 4: Fluency in Urdu**

On the other hand, 46.67% of the respondents have claimed that they can speak Urdu at ease, but not as comfortably as the respondents of that 53.33%. This 46.67% includes Md. Sonu (29), Md. Chan (29), Md. Nadim (28), Md. Rubel (28), Md. Sarwar (28), Md. Sajib (27), Md. Khurshid (27), Md. Forkan (26), Md. Jewel (23), Md. Ansar (23), Md. Masum (22), Md. Nazir (21), Md. Foysal (20) and Md. Bacchu (19). From their age it is quite observable that like it is mentioned by Farzana (2008) in the literature review; it is the different social settings, which they have gone through as a consequence of the shift of a state from East Pakistan to independent Bangladesh and the other significant changes

of the different organs of the state associated with it, which have influenced their use of mother tongue a little.

Being asked when and how they have started using Bangla, 53.33% of the respondents has said that, they have started using Bangla sooner as they have decided to switch their professions and have chosen hair dressing as their profession. This 70% includes hair dressers like Abdur Rashid (55), Sabbir Munna (48), Md. Ali (42), Md. Sakib (42), Md. Mahtab (37), Md. Israil (35) and Md. Khurshid (35). They had to learn how to dress hair before coming to this profession.



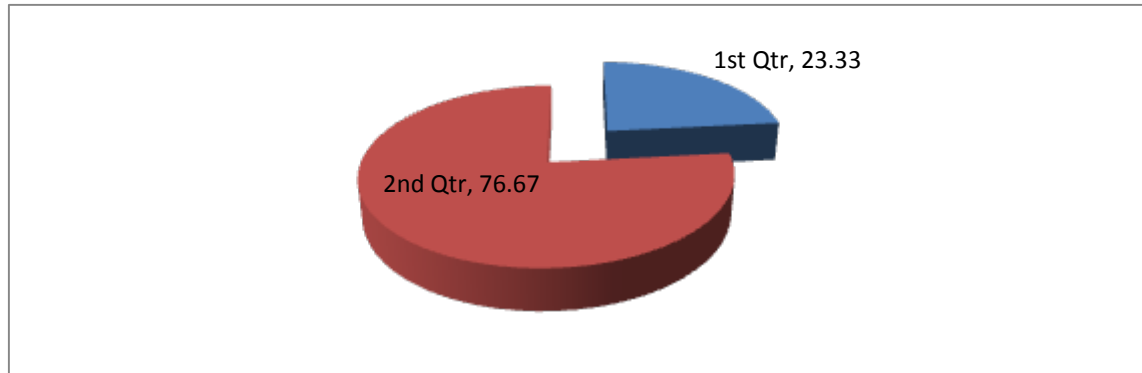
**Figure 5: Professional Use of Bangla**

These Bihari hair dressers, who have become so experienced in this profession today, did not know at all how to dress hair when they made up their mind to be hair dressers. They somehow managed to make contact with the Bangladeshi hair dressers, those who used to dress hair in those areas at that time. As novices, first they had to convince those Bangladeshi hair dressers to let them allow working with them and hence learnt dressing hair by working. In order to make contact with the Bangladeshi hair dressers and to understand their instructions, these Bihari hair dressers had to learn Bangla. As

mentioned by Hudson (1996) in the literature review that, the use of languages are not only determined by the social rules, but also by the different circumstances in a particular society, is very much applicable for both the first 53.33% and the second 46.67% respondents because, the remaining 46.67%, this includes hair dressers like Md. Sonu (29), Md. Nadim (28) and Md. Foyisal (20), has said that, they have started using Bangla, when they have come to work in these barber shops and have seen other Bihari hair dressers are using Bangla as a must with their Bangladeshi customers and business partners to run their shops.

When they are asked about their expertise in Bangla, almost 100% of the respondents have said that, they can understand the meaning while reading, writing, listening and speaking Bangla. This may happen that, their long tradition of code switching on different commercial and other purposes during their long-time stay in Bangladesh, has developed both their receptive skills, which are reading and listening, also the productive skills, which are writing and speaking. However, their reading and writing skills are not so developed as their listening and speaking skill because they have received almost no formal education in Bangla.

When they are asked about their choice of codes while having conversation with their family members, 23.33% has said that, they like to stick to Urdu and rarely use Bangla while having conversation with the elder members, members of their same age and even with the younger members. This 23.33% includes hair dressers like Abdul Sattar (65), Abdur Rashid (55) and Sabbir Munna (48).



**Figure 6: Code Switching with Family Members**

On the other hand, 76.67% has said that, they usually use Urdu while having conversation with the elder members, members of their same age and younger members, but unconsciously switch between Urdu and Bangla with these members of their families too. However, this they do least with the elder members and more frequently with the younger members. This 76.67% includes hair dressers like Md. Ali (42), Md. Sakib (42), Md. Mahtab (37), Md. Israil (35), Md. Khurshid (35), Md. Sonu (29), Md. Nadim (28) and Md. Foysal (20). This code switching with the younger members of the family occurs because these younger members go to different schools and colleges of Dhaka city, where the medium of classroom instruction is Bangla and they meet new classmates who are Bangladeshi. This turns them into good speakers of Bangla and they frequently switch between Urdu and Bangla while having conversation at home. In the literature review, Amuda (1994) also mentioned about such switching of codes in a conversation by speaker(s) who are unaware of it like the one performed here between the abovementioned 76.67% of the respondents and the younger members of their families.

When they are asked about their choice of codes while talking to their Bangladeshi neighbors, almost 100% of the respondents have said that, they use Bangla.

It is quite understandable that, in order to communicate ideas and information effectively, addressor has to choose a language which is familiar to the addressee and which can be used by the addressor as a means to best convey the message to the addressee. Paolillo (2011), in the literature review, defined such code switching as situational code switching. In this case, the respondents are the addressers and their Bangladeshi neighbors are the addressee with whom they have to interact on a regular basis to fulfill different needs and purposes of their daily life successfully.

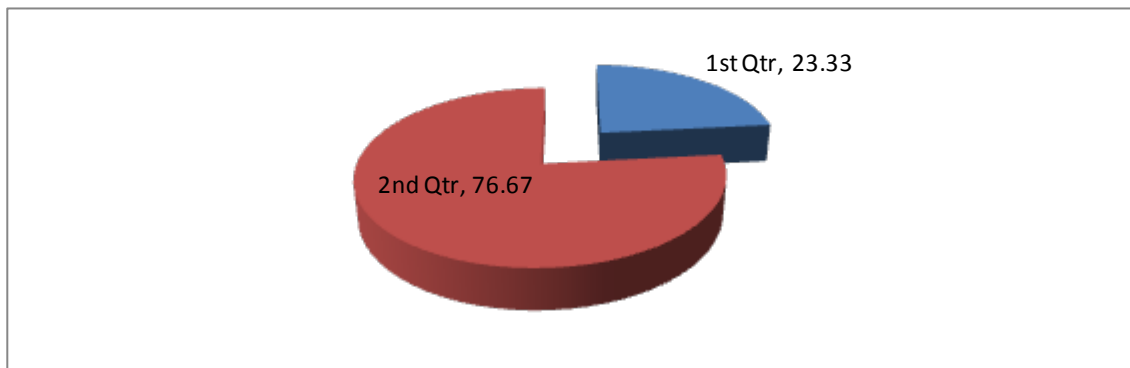
When they are asked about their use of Urdu while working at their workplaces, almost 100% of the respondents has said that, even if they do not want to, it often happens that they drop into Urdu word(s) from Bangla, which they may find more appropriate or, suitable to clear the ambiguity arises when they are having conversation among themselves. This they do as a tendency which is formed because of their everyday use of Bangla with their customers in the shops. Instantly after dropping word(s) from Bangla in Urdu, they will return to Urdu and will carry out their conversation in Urdu once again. In the literature review, Amuda (1994) talked about such code mixing in a conversation, where neither the situation nor the topic is changed, but the code mixing takes place.

When they are asked about any code switching done by them while working at their workplaces, almost 100% of the respondents has said that, they switch from Urdu to Bangla when Bangladeshi customers arrive at the shops. With the arrival of the Bangladeshi customers changes the circumstance of the shops and the respondents switch from Urdu to Bangla to carry out conversation with the Bangladeshi customers. In the literature review, Paolillo (2011) mentioned about such change of circumstances and the

switching of codes associated with it. However, this situational code switching is not performed by the respondents when any Bihari customer arrives at the shops.

The existence of a vibrant diglossic situation is noticed here as 100% of the respondents have said that, besides using Urdu they also have to use Bangla on various occasions. The socio-linguistic arrangement of the country, has actually assigned both the languages different roles to play and different functions to accomplish in the society. In the literature review, Wardhaugh (2002) talked about the existence of such diglossic situation in a society, where two distinct codes show clear functional separation and two codes are used for entirely two different sets of circumstances.

Being asked if such switching between Urdu and Bangla is resulting in the reduction of the use of their Urdu gradually, 23.33% of the respondents has answered that it is not. Among this 23.33% are Abdul Sattar (65), Abdur Rashid (55), Sabbir Munna (48), Md. Sahabuddin (47), Md. Sakib (42), Md. Ali (42) and Md. Abid (42). The feeling is very much mutual and strong, when it is about their native language and the prestige issue associated with it. Their language Urdu is a significant symbol of the identity of their community. So, still after being frequent code switchers and citizens of Bangladesh, Urdu still has a special place in their hearts.



**Figure 7: Code Switching Resulting in Language Reduction**

On the other hand, 76.67% of the respondents, this includes hair dressers like Md. Sonu (29), Md. Nadim (28) and Md. Foysal (20), has answered that it is resulting in the reduction of their use of Urdu gradually.



## Chapter 5: Research Findings

The findings of this research are:

- Every particular country has its own constitution and laws regarding its state language and other language issues of the country. If a minority language is not encoded in those laws, then it becomes very difficult to maintain that minority language.
- Being able to interact with the people of majority group successfully by speaking the majority language is the only reward that the speakers of minority language get.
- There are always some social, economic and political factors that lead a society to switch from using one language to using another. However, if the people of a minority group are conscious enough of the importance of their language and believe that, their language is an imperative symbol of their group's identity, it is likely to resist the language switch.
- In a variety of institutionalized contexts, it is very important for people of minority language group to use their native language continuously in the home as well as outside the home.
- Extended exposure should be given to the language of a minor community.
- Positive attitude should be shown to the language of people with distinctive ethnic identity.
- To let them play their part independently, positive attitude should also be shown to the ideas of language maintenance.

- To slow down language switch relatively successfully, not one but all the dynamics should work in an integrated cohesive way.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **6.1 Conclusion:**

The Biharis are considered to have a controversial contribution in the 1971's Liberation War of Bangladesh. After the war was over and Bangladesh won the war over Pakistan and earned its independence, many of these Biharis were denied by the Pakistan government to be taken back to their promised homeland Pakistan and the weak foreign policy of Bangladesh government failed to come up with any effective solution to this problem. Consequently, this good number of Biharis started living in different areas of Bangladesh. Some of them started living in camps and very few of them could afford rented houses. Gradually, they started getting married among themselves and they have formed their new generation here in Bangladesh. Most of these people of new generation do not have the hope or do not want to go back to Pakistan. In today's socio-economic and cultural context, it is not quite a feasible option for these Bihari camp dwellers to go back to Pakistan. Rather they prefer to live their life here in Bangladesh. However, though denied by their own Pakistan government, still many of the mainstream Biharis say that, Pakistan is their homeland and not Bangladesh. So, still after being frequent code switchers between Urdu and Bangla, they have not yet completely shifted to Bangla by abandoning Urdu.

A wide range of different varieties of language(s) is spoken by the speakers of different language communities of different parts of the country. Any country should have its well-thought and well-planned language planning strategies to decide which language should function how in which domain and hence should be given which status following which guidelines in the national boundary. Implementation of fairly-structured

and fairly-distributed language policies not only solves dissatisfactions among the different language communities of a country, but also provides a reasonable and practical solution regarding which language receives which status. So, this planning has to be done very wisely by the policy makers of the country to designate any language the status, it deserves in the society accordingly.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

- The government should be made aware by the minority community that, they would not sustain any discrimination in getting jobs or getting admission in educational institutions for their minority languages.
- Beside the Non Government Organizations, Government Organizations should play sincere and active role in conducting more quality research works on various undiscovered but valuable features of different minority languages.
- Effective and swift steps must be taken from the Government to save different minority languages.

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## **Appendices**

### **BRAC University**

#### **Department of English and Humanities**

#### **ENG 698: Dissertation**

### **Appendix 1**

#### **Questionnaire**

- What is the duration of your stay in Bangladesh?
- What is your profession? Are you engaged in any other profession(s)?
- How long have you been in this profession?
- Is this your family's profession?
- Are you a fluent speaker of Urdu?
- When and why did you start speaking Bangla?
- How is your expertise in Bangla?
- Do you switch to any other language while having conversations in Urdu with the elder members of your family? If yes, why?
- Do you switch to any other language while having conversations in Urdu with the members of your same age of your family? If yes, why?
- Do you switch to any other language while having conversations in Urdu with the the younger members of your family? If yes, why?



- Which language do you use while talking with your Bangladeshi neighbors and friends? What is the purpose of using that particular language while having conversation with your Bangladeshi neighbors and friends?
- Do you use Urdu at your work place? How frequent is the use of Urdu and what is the nature of such use?
- Do you switch to Bangla when you are working sometimes? If you switch to Bangla, then in which particular situation and why?
- Do you use same code or different codes in other different domains/circumstances?
- Do you think such switching between Urdu and Bangla is resulting in the reduction of Urdu gradually?

## Appendix 2

Table used for arranging the collected data

| Criteria                               | Responses                               |  |
|--|---|--|
|  | Responses in Percentage                 | Responses in Percentage                          |
| Duration of Stay in Bangladesh         | More than 30 Years:                     | Less than 30 Years:                              |
| Hair Dressing as Profession            | Only Profession:                        | Other Profession(s):                             |
| Duration of Professional Engagement    | More Than 10 Years:                     | Less Than 10 Years:                              |
| Hair Dressing as Family's Profession   | Family's Profession:                    | Not Family's Profession:                         |
| Fluency in Urdu                        | Use Very Comfortably:                   | Can Use at Ease:                                 |
| Professional Use of Bangla             | Before Starting Hair Dressing:          | After Starting Hair Dressing:                    |
| Expertise in Bangla                    | Quite Developed in All the Four Skills: | Not Developed/ Developed in Particular Skill(s): |
| Conversation with Elder Family Members | Switch Codes:                           | Do Not Switch Codes:                             |
| Conversation with Same-                | Switch Codes:                           | Do Not Switch Codes:                             |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| aged Family Members   |   |   |
| Conversation with Younger Family Members                                    | Switch Codes:                                       | Do Not Switch Codes:  |
| Conversation with Bangladeshi Neighbors                                     | Switch Codes:                                       | Do Not Switch Codes:  |
| Conversation among Themselves at Workplace                                  | Mix Codes:  | Do Not Mix Codes:   |
| Conversation with Bangladeshi Customers                                     | Switch Codes:                                       | Do Not Switch Codes:  |
| Use of Code(s) in Other Different Domains/Circumstances                     | Same Code in Other Different Domains/Circumstances: | Different Code(s) in Other Different Domains/Circumstances: |
| Reduction of Use of Urdu because of Switching Codes between Urdu and Bangla | Yes:  | No:   |

Thank You