

CODE MIXING CONSTRAINTS;

FROM GRAMMATICAL TO THE MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK:

A STUDY IN

KASHMIRI-ENGLISH MIXED CODE

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

TO

SAJAD HUSSAIN WANI

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR

KASHMIR-190006

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Certificate

It is certified that the present work “**CODE MIXING CONSTRAINTS; FROM GRAMMATICAL TO THE MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK: A STUDY IN KASHMIRI-ENGLISH MIXED CODE**” is original and was done by Sajad Hussain Wani under my supervision. The dissertation, in part or full, has not been submitted for any other degree or Diploma in this or any other university.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad Dhar
Head
Dept. of Linguistics
University of Kashmir
Kashmir-190006

Dr. Aadil Amin Kak
Sen. Lecturer
Dept. of Linguistics
University of Kashmir
Kashmir-190006

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List of Abbreviations

- * = Ungrammatical sentence or construction
- @ = Found in code switching relation.
- nom = Nominative case.
- dat = Dative case .
- gen = Genitive case.
- erg = Ergative case.
- poss = Possessive case.
- masc = Masculine case .
- fem = Feminine.
- sing = Singular.
- pl = Plural.
- pr = Present.
- prg = Progressive.
- pst = Past .
- fut = Future.
- pp = Preposition.
- S.no. = Serial Number.
- CM = Code Mixing.
- CS = Code Switching.
- BW = Borrowing.
- NB = Nonce Borrowing.
- CV = Convergence.
- CL = Congruent Lexicalization.
- BL = Base Language.
- ML = Matrix Language.
- EL = Embedded Language.
- MT = Mother Tongue.
- FT = Foreign Tongue.
- K = Kashmiri.

K-U CS = Kashmiri-Urdu code switching.
K-E CM = Kashmiri-English code mixing.
K-E CS = Kashmiri English Code Switching.
K-U CM = Kashmiri Urdu Code Mixing.
S-E CM = Spanish English Code Mixing.
M-E C = Marathi English Code Mixing.
F-E CM = Farsi English Code Mixing.
D-E CM = Dutch English Code Mixing.
H-E CM = Hindi English Code Mixing.
MHE = Mixed Hindi English.

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1. Introduction

1.1 **Introduction:** The research in the last half of the twentieth century has advanced the field of language contact and the associated language contact phenomena to a greater extent. The field of language contact has emerged as an important area of research not only in the domain of historical and sociolinguistics but also in other fields like phonology, morphology and syntax.

“Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same persons. The language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact.” (Weinreich 1953: p.1)

For a linguist, the consequences of language contact are of prime importance. The influence of participating languages on each other's structure, as well as their interaction at socio-psychological levels are some of the aspects of language contact which are of primary importance to a linguist. It has been shown through different studies that the effects of language contact are not symmetric but asymmetric in the sense that the effects of language contact on involved languages are not equal but the two languages in contact are effected differently and to different extents.

“Whenever languages are in contact, one is usually considered more prestigious than the other. The prestige language is often considered more beautiful, more expressive, more logical and better able to express thoughts and the other language is felt to be ungrammatical, concrete and coarse.” (Grosjean 1982: p. 120-121)

“Whenever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of favour or disfavour towards the languages involved.” (Haugen 1956: p.95-96)

It is because of this unequal status of languages in contact for the users (bilinguals), that one language usually becomes dominant over the other. This dominance occurs at different levels including linguistic, psychological and social levels involved between the given languages.

1.2 Language Interaction Phenomena: The bilingual brain is the locus of language contact and different language interaction phenomena occur in a bilingual's brain and spread to bilingual societies. The language interaction phenomena include phenomena of code mixing (CM), code switching (CS), borrowing (BW), congruent lexicalization (CL) and convergence (CV) etc. The study of these phenomena have been carried in two different but interrelated directions i.e., structural and sociolinguistic factors associated with the language interaction phenomena.

The boundaries between language interaction phenomena are yet to be drawn. CS is sometimes used as a cover term for many language interaction phenomena (CM, nonce borrowing (NB)) and is mainly distinguished from BW (Poplack 1980, Gysels 1992, Myers scotton 1992). However, some scholars (Kachru 1978, 1983, Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980) have stressed to distinguish CM from CS. CM involves the transition from using linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses etc) of one language to those of another within a single sentence. Grosjean (1982) calls CM as "The alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance and conversation" (p.145)

Singh (1985) reserves CM for intra-sentential mixing and CS for any diglossic situation where only one code is employed all the time or cases where the code alternation refers to structurally identifiable stages or episodes of speech events. Similarly many scholars like Muysken (2000) avoided using the term CS as a cover term because they believe that switching suggests alternation only, as in the case of switching between turns or utterances, but not necessarily insertion. They prefer to use CM as a cover term to cover the cases of both CS (Intrasentential only) and BW (e.g.; Pfaff, 1979). Pfaff and Poplack however suggested to distinguish between CS and BW.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Kachru (1983), Singh (1985) reserved the term CS for inter-sentential switching and CM for intra-sentential switches. The reason is that only CM (i.e.; intra-sentential CS) requires the integration of the rules of the two languages involved in the discourse.

"Code mixing entails transferring linguistic units from one code to anotherone may consider code switching as a process which can result in code-mixed varieties. A multilingual or multidialectal person is generally able to associate a function and an effect with various types of language or dialect mixes." (Kachru 1983: p.194)

Another language interaction phenomenon which is closely related to CM is borrowing (BW). As discussed earlier, many linguists including Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980) and Myers scotton (1993) have stressed the importance of separating CS from BW. According to Poplack (1980), one of the best criterion for their distinction is on the basis of integration as shown in Table 1.1.

Type	Phonological	Morphological	syntactic	Code-switching
1.	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
2.	No	No	Yes	YES
3.	Yes	No	No	YES
4.	No	No	No	YES

Table 1.1 Levels of Integration into Base Language (Poplack 1980)

Thus CM and CS are distinguished in terms of intrasentential and intersentential criteria whereas CM and BW are mainly distinguished in terms of integration and frequency of usage. However, a borderline between these language interaction phenomena are yet to be drawn .

Eastman (1992) concludes, “Efforts to distinguish code mixing ,code switching , and borrowing are doomed.” (p.1) and that it is crucial that we “...free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in languages as a borrowing or a switch ; if we want to understand the social and cultural processes involved in the code-switching.” (p.1)

1.3 Syntactic Constraints on CM: Until early seventies CM was considered as a random process:

“No one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints, and we must, therefore, describe it as the “irregular mixture” of two distinct systems.” (Labov 1971: p.45)

It was Lance (1975) who first of all investigated the question whether CM is constrained and concluded that it involves no constraints. Lance (1975) suggested that certain kinds of lexical items are more susceptible to switching than others but he pointed out that there

are no restrictions on CS. Lance based his conclusions on his study of mixing by Mexican Americans in Texas.

Timm (1975)'s study was among the early studies which tried to establish some syntactic constraints on mixing in her study of English Spanish CM produced by Mexican Americans in California. She proposed that there were some prohibited sites for mixing. Her constraints were based on the acceptability judgments of invented examples.

Thus starting from seventies many systematic attempts have been made to explain the constraints on CM. In this respect many early studies on CM (Gumperz 1970, Timm 1975, Pfaff 1979, Kachru 1978, Sridhar and Sridhar 1980, Poplack 1980) are of great importance. Timm (1975) noticed that a code switch may not occur between a verb and its object pronoun. Pfaff (1979) noticed additional constraints on CS involving adjectives and nouns. These early studies were considered with the basic facts of CS and did not attempt to provide anything approaching an explanation of grammatical phenomena in CM.

1.4 Poplack's constraints: Poplack worked on the Puerto-Ricans in New York analysed a large number of data and formulated some universal syntactic constraints. The constraints which were formulated by Poplack (1980, 1981) include:

(a)**The Equivalence Constraint:** Codes will tend to be switched at points where the surface structures of the languages map onto each other.

(b) **The Free Morpheme Constraint:**A switch may occur at any point in the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface constituent cut and still retain a free morpheme.

The idea in (a), given Poplack's examples, is that code switches are allowed within constituents so long as the word order requirements of both languages are met at S-structure (b), stated differently, tells us that a code switch may not occur at the boundary of a bound morpheme.

1a. <i>*told</i>	le	<i>S-E CM</i>
told	to him	
(I) told him.		

(Poplack 1981 : 176)

1b. *le	<i>told</i>	<i>S-E CM</i>
to him	told	
(I) told him.		

(Poplack 1981 : 176)

1c. * <i>him</i>	dije	<i>S-E CM</i>
him	i told	
(I) told him.		

(Poplack 1981 : 176)

1d. *dije	<i>him</i>	<i>S-E CM</i>
i told	him	
(I) told him.		

(Poplack 1981 : 176)

2. *estoy	<i>eat-</i>	iendo	<i>S-E CM</i>
i am	eat	ing	
I am eating.			

(Poplack 1981 : 586)

For Spanish and English Equivalence constraint will predict an impossible switch between adjective and noun because these have different word orders (noun-adjective in Spanish and adjective-noun in English).It also predicts that switching is impossible between verb and object for a language pair with SOV (subject-object-verb) and SVO (subject-verb-object) word order. Poplack observed that less fluent bilinguals switch less intrasententially than the proficient ones.

1.5 Joshi's Approach:In Joshi (1985)'s system, the language which a code-switched construction is judged to be "coming from" is defined as the matrix language (ML), while the other language is the embedded language. A "control structure" permits shifting from a matrix language to an embedded language but not vice versa. Thus, switches are asymmetrical in this system. Joshi (1985) further proposes the Closed-Class Constraint which stipulates that a code switch is impermissible between a closed-class item and an

open-class item; however, this constraint applies only to switches into the embedded language.

According to close-class constraint, close-class items (e.g., determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, possessives, auxiliaries, tense, helping verbs) can not be switched. For example, in Joshi's (1985) data, a Marathi post-position cannot be switched for the English pre-position in (3).

3.*some	<i>chairs-</i>	War	<i>M-E CM</i>
some	chairs	On	
On some chairs.			

(Joshi 1985: 195)

1.6 DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh's Approach: DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) proposed that there is an anti-government requirement on code switching boundaries. Their constraint is also known as the Government constraint, the main postulates of which are:

- a. If L_q carrier has index q , then Y_{qmax} .
- b. In a maximal projection Y_{max} , the L_q carrier is the lexical element that asymmetrically c-commands the other lexical elements or terminal phrase nodes nominated by Y_{max} . The proposed constraint has the virtue that it refers to an independently motivated principle of grammar (government) However, it falls short of the basic requirement of descriptive adequacy. Because government holds between a verb and its object and between a preposition and its object, it predicts that a verb or preposition must be in the language of its complement.

1.7 Mahootian's Approach: Mahootian (1993) and Mahootian and Santorini (1995) proposed an account which focuses on the complement relation in phrase structure. Thus, as Mahootian (1993) put it, the operative principle is that the language of a head determines the phrase structure position of its complements in CS just as in monolingual contexts. Mahootian (1993) used a corpus of Farsi-English code switching data which she collected in naturalistic observations. In Farsi, objects occur before the verb, contrasting with basic word order in English. Mahootian (1993) observed that in code switching contexts the language of the verb determines the placement of the object, as in (4)

4 . <i>you</i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>buy</i>	Xune-	ye	Jaedid	<i>F-E CM</i>
you	ll	buy	house-	poss	new	
You ll buy a new house.						

(Mahootian 1993)

Heads determine the syntactic properties of their complements in code switching and monolingual contexts alike.

1.8 Belazi, Rubin and Toribio’s approach: Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) propose the Functional Head Constraint, arguing that it emerges from principles independently motivated in the grammar for other phenomena. According to these researchers, a code switch may not occur between a functional head and its complement.

To explain the facts, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) appeal to “feature checking,” independently motivated to be at work in numerous other phenomena. However, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) also add an additional item to the feature stack. According to them, an additional language feature, such as [+Spanish] or [+English], is checked together with other features. If the features do not agree (a Spanish functional head with an English complement, or vice versa), then the code switch is blocked. They formulate their constraint as the Functional Head Constraint. It states that the language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head. Since it applies to f-selected configurations only, switches between lexical heads and their complements are not constrained. Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) also noticed that modification structures provide a special challenge, since these do not involve functional categories. Thus, they posit the Word-Grammar Integrity Corollary (A word of language X, with grammar GX, must obey grammar GX) to account for code switching phenomena in these structures.

1.9 Strategies of Neutrality or Relativized constraints in CM: The search for relative constraints started during mid-1980’s. Relativized constraints are also called as the strategies of neutrality. This search of relativized constraints resulted from the interaction of universal principles and aspects particular to each code mixing situation. This search becomes essential in relation to vast cross-linguistic data. The search for strategies of

neutrality or relativized constraints further widens the scope of the concept of neutrality on the theoretical level. Some important strategies of neutrality during code mixing include:

(a). **Homophonous Diamorphs:** In closely related languages, neutrality can be achieved by a word being phonetically identical or very similar in the both languages. This idea is systematically explored in Clyne’s work and Crama and Van Geldern (1984) following Dutch-English mixing :

<i>5. weet je</i>	know	what	she	is	doing?	<i>D-E CM</i>
do you	know	what	she	is	doing.	
Do you know what she is doing ?						

(Van Geldern 1984: From Appel and Muysken 1987, p.126)

(b) **Neutralization by morphological means:** Morphological means are very frequently used to achieve neutrality. With nouns case- suffixes are used which function as morphological neutralizers. An example may be drawn from the Hindi-English data in Disuillo , Muysken and Singh (1986) :

<i>6.bread</i>	ne	naas maar	diya	<i>H-E CM</i>
bread	erg	Ruin	aux	
The bread ruined it.				

(Disuillo, Muysken and Singh 1986 : From Appel and Muysken 1987, p.127)

Perhaps the ergative particle ‘ne’ serves to neutralize offending English element bread; to which it is attached .Similarly, in 7 dative ‘ke’ serves to neutralise telephone.

<i>7. telephone</i>	ke	taar	kat	gayee	<i>H-E CM</i>
telephone	of	wire	cut	went	
Telephone wires are damaged.					

(Disuillo , Muysken and Singh 1986 : From Appel and Muysken 1987, p.127)

Thus nouns, adjectives were found to be neutralised by morphological case markers which could be free or bound morphemes. A large number of verbs were similarly found

to be neutralized by the introduction of a helping verb, often a form such as “make” or “do”. This is very common in Indic languages. Examples include Surinaam Hindustani, Dutch and English mixed verb.

onti kare “To hunt” (Surinam)

beeri kare “To bury” (Surinam)

train Kare “To train” (English)

bewijs kare “To prove” (Dutch)

(Kishna 1979: From Appel and Muysken, p.127)

Note that the above process does not apply to borrowings only but it is a completely productive process. In fact, there is a lexical structure of the type (V kare) available to insert alien elements in which “kare” (do) serves as the helping verb. Thus, here helping verb can be thought of as forming a complex with the verb from other languages and acting as a neutralizer of these mixed elements.

(c) **The doubling strategy:** One of the important strategy of neutrality was found in Japanese English CM. Here verb from both the languages is used to avoid the word order conflicts. Thus there can be a number of these strategies interacting with the general constraints mentioned before.

1.10 Asymmetry in Language Interaction and the Concept of a Base Language or Matrix Language (MLF): One of the important questions in language interaction phenomena as well as in the study of constraints on code mixing is on the participation of the given languages in the parole or day to day speech of a bilingual. Certain scholars have talked about asymmetry in language interaction phenomena and this is more true of BW and CM where usually elements of a prestige language enter the less prestigious variety with which it is in contact. CS between two languages is a symmetric process requiring equal degree of competence in both languages with their separate grammars. These scholars regard CM as a two stage decision process. In the first step the bilingual decides which base language (BL) to use and in the second stage he decides whether to switch or mix from other language. BL has been defined in various ways which include:

(a) Psycholinguistically, it makes most sense to think of a BL as the dominant language of the bilingual speaker making the switch or mixing languages. Thus BL is most important in determining a speaker’s verbal behaviour.

(b) Sociolinguistically a BL or a host language is that language in terms of which the discourse situation is defined, the unmarked linguistic code in a particular setting.

(c) Grammatically, the BL is the language which may impose a particular constraint for a particular case of mixing or switching if the notion makes any sense at all.

The notion of a BL has raised many questions regarding language interaction phenomena as well as the constraints for a particular case of mixing or switching. Some scholars do not accept the notion on the question of the empirical validity of finding a BL in a given social setting. The most important work on the concept of BL was done by Carol Myers Scotton (1993 -2006) who developed various models accounting for explanation of constraints in terms of a BL. Most important among these models are Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model and 4M model. This explanation of constraints in terms of Matrix language (ML) definitely involve the unequal or asymmetric participation of the two languages of a bilingual speaker.

Doron (1983), points out that the first word of a sentence determines the host or BL. Joshi (1985) proposed that the properties of the BL determine whether mixing is possible or not. Joshi came up with an asymmetric model on the basis of the data from Marathi/ English and considerations from the mathematical theories of parsing. Crucial to Joshi's work is the notion of close-class items or function words which can't be mixed or switched. Another important model pertains to Azuma (1993)'s work who formulated the Frame-Content hypothesis stressing the importance of a BL.

The most important contribution in this direction is however, that of Myers Scotton as pointed out earlier. Through her different models; most importantly MLF model in this connection, she has explained the construct of a ML extensively. According to this model, the matrix language (ML) provides the framework in which the elements of the other language i.e.; embedded language (EL) are inserted. ML is the grammar providing language and in constructions involving ML+EL constituents, ML grammar is preferred. Myers Scotton(1993) proposed constraints in the form of certain principles which include :

(a) **Morpheme Order Principle:** The ML determines the order of the elements in mixed constructions i.e.; from the perspective of structure, ML is important than EL.

(b) **System Morpheme Principle:** In ML+EL constructions, all functional elements or system morphemes that have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e.; participate in the sentence thematic role grid) will come from the ML .

(c) **Blocking Hypothesis:** In mixed constituents, only certain EL content morphemes or lexical elements may occur. In ML+EL constituents, a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with the ML with respect to the three levels of abstraction regarding sub-categorisation . One of the biggest criticism which MLF faces was the lack of incorporation of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors in the explanation of the base language (Kamwangamalu 2000,Gardener Chloros etal 2003) .

In response to various criticisms, MLF was modified from time to time and many dimensions were added to this model. The prominent dimensions which were added to MLF include 4-M model (1999), the Abstract Level Model (1999), classic and composite code switching (2000) , Uniform Structure Principle (USP, 2002), Late Outside Restriction Principle (2002), the Composite Matrix Language (2002), the Differential Access hypothesis (2002), the Early System Morpheme Hypothesis (2002), and the concept of congruence(2003) . These models were added to incorporate the exceptions which were earlier raised in response to original formulation of the MLF model.

Myers Scotton talked about classic and composite code switching. In classic code switching, only one abstract structure is dominating both ML and EL constituents whereas in composite code switching more than one abstract structure govern the surface form of ML and EL constituents. In classical code switching a speaker has enough knowledge of ML whereas in composite code switching a speaker has ambiguous intentions about the desired ML (Scotton and Jake, 2000).As evident from MLF, morphemes were divided into two main classes:

1. **The Content morphemes**

2. **The System morphemes:** The MLF model classified morphemes by distinguishing content morphemes from the frame-building system morphemes. Content morphemes assign or receive thematic roles in the clause in which these occur. e.g., verbs and nouns are prototypical content morphemes as these form the case assigners and case receivers.

1.11 A New Approach to Morphemes: The 4-M model: Scotton and Jake (1999) proposed a four-way distinction (content morphemes and three types of system morphemes) between types of morphemes. Content morphemes and system morphemes have already been dealt with. This mode deals with how morphemes are conceived in linguistic competence and system morphemes are activated at two different level.

i). **The Early System morphemes:** The Early System Morphemes are activated at the lemma level i.e., both are conceptually activated. Content morphemes, of course, assign or receive thematic roles. The lemma which underlie the content morphemes are elected by the semantic and pragmatic feature bundle that is selected at the conceptual level (pre-linguistic level). The early system morphemes are also activated at the lemma level but indirectly because the lemmas underlying content morphemes point to these (Bock-Levelt 1994). Early system morphemes do not receive or assign thematic roles. These are always realized without going outside the maximal projection of the content morphemes that elect these. Thus, the French determiner “le” and “la” depend on the head nouns for their form. Similarly, when English “the” expresses definiteness, it also is an early system morpheme.

ii). **Late System Morphemes:** These are distinguished from early system morphemes because these are not activated at the lemma level and are unlike content morphemes as these never receive or assign thematic roles .These late system morphemes are assigned at the formulator level. These have got slots at the lemma level but their form depends on information only available when constituent assembly occurs in the formulator. The formulator assembles the constituent structure of maximal projections, based on information sent to it from the lemmas. Late system morphemes have been classified into two types:

a) **Bridge Late System Morphemes.**

b) **Outsider Late System Morphemes**

iii). **Bridge Late System Morphemes:** These are similar to early system morphemes in that these depend on the information within the maximal projection in which these occur but these do not add any conceptual structure to a content morpheme. These unite elements within a maximal projection and hence the name bridge system morpheme .

These satisfy requirements of well-formedness within a constituent, sometimes combining two constituents together to form a large one. e.g.; in English the genitive possessive “of” as in “friend of the family” is a bridge late system morpheme. Such a bridge morpheme is not co-indexed with any other form; it’s form depends upon the directions at the level of the formulator that require case to be realized in this way in this type of English construction .

iv). **Outsider Late System Morphemes:** These depend on the grammatical information outside of their own maximal projection. The result is that the form of such morphemes is only available when the formulator sends directions to the positional / surface level for how the larger constituent (the CP) is unified .e.g.; in English, in the present tense, the form of the verb that is co-indexed with a third person singular noun or pronoun must look to that noun or pronoun for it’s form. e.g., the dog bite-s the boy. These morphemes are called outsiders because these look outside their immediate maximal projections for information about their form.

1.12 **The Uniform Structure Principle:** This principle applies the concept of uniformity to bilingual production and states, “A given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this constituent type must be observed whenever the constituent appears. In bilingual speech, the structures of the ML are always preferred, but some EL structures are allowed if certain conditions are met.”(Myers Scotton 2002) . This principle or restriction allows bilingual clauses to observe the same well-formedness conditions as the monolingual clauses. If the frame-building morphemes (Late system Morphemes) come only from one language, uniform structure is preserved. Thus the same principles of U.G. are ensured for both mono as well as bilingual speech.

1.13 **The Concept of Mistiming in CS:** Mistiming causes EL plural markers to come with content morphemes; the ML morpheme is accessed too, because it meets the preference of the USP to maintain ML structures in bilingual clauses. Presumably the directions in the formulator satisfying the call for ML structures are blind to “existing” EL structures.

1.14 **The Minimalist Framework** : The Minimalist program is based upon a long

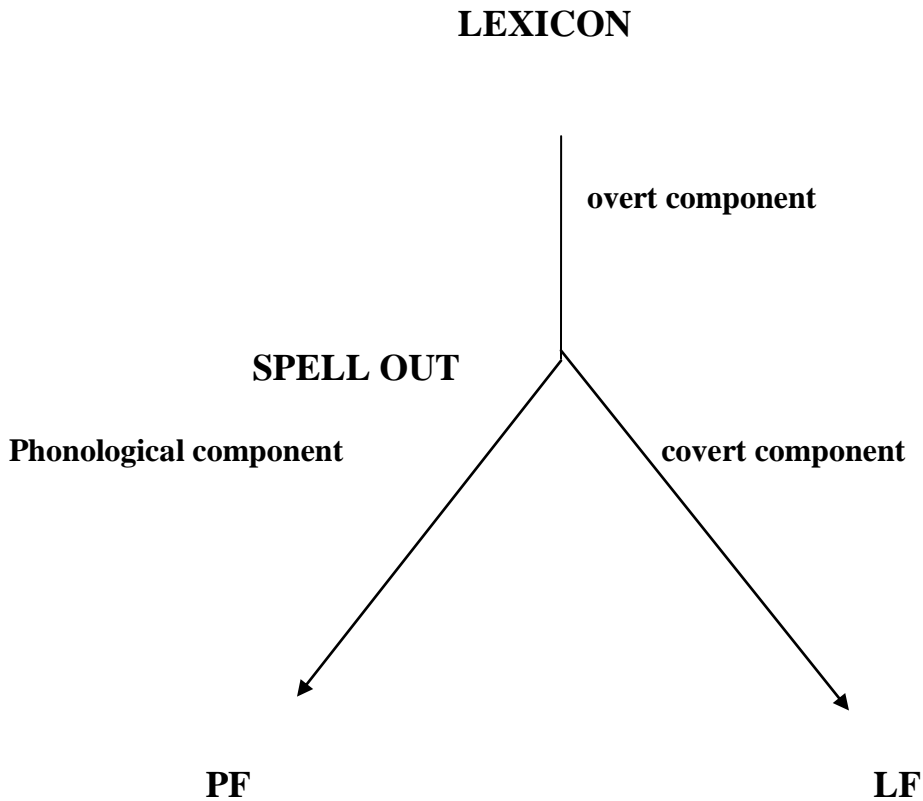


Fig 1.1 The Minimalist Framework

history of work in the theory of syntax, much of which has served as an important transition to the new framework. In the above figure 1.1 **PF** stands for phonetic form or what has been called as the surface structure whereas **LF** stands for logical form or the interpretive level. At some point in the derivation, an operation Spell-Out applies to strip away from the derivation those elements relevant only to PF; what remains is mapped to LF by a subsystem of C_{HL} called the covert component. The elements relevant only to PF are mapped to PF by operations unlike the covert component, operations which comprise the phonological component. The phonological component is also regarded as a subsystem of C_{HL} . The subsystem of C_{HL} which maps the lexicon to Spell-Out is the overt component (often called overt syntax).

A very important aspect of minimalism is that all learning is lexical, and all parameters are micro-parameters associated with individual lexical items. This makes a rather

different conception of bilingualism possible, since it is no longer necessary to regard grammars as compartmentalized in some way in the language faculty. In this model, then, there are two central components: C_{HL} , a computational system for human language, which is presumed to be invariant across languages, and a lexicon, to which the idiosyncratic differences observed across languages are attributed. Even phrase structure is derived from the lexicon in the minimalist program. In the minimalist framework, C_{HL} is invariant across languages, and the Lexicon does not need to be privy to sociopolitical distinctions like Spanish, Nahuatl, Kashmiri and Chinese. The difference between an SVO language like English and an SOV language like Korean, for instance, is defined in terms of the strength of features in the object DP (determiner phrase) (weak in English, strong in Korean); apart from this sort of parametric variation, there are no differences in the rules of syntax, allowing a great simplification in our conception of bilingualism. But the phonological component, responsible for mapping the numeration to PF, is of a very different character. These rules build structure in a way that syntax does not, and in doing so they often refer to specific morphological material with its phonetic content. The PF component is subjected to another principle referred to as PF disjunction Theorem which states:

- (i) The PF component consists of rules which must be (partially) ordered with respect to each other, and these orders vary cross-linguistically.
- (ii) Code switching entails the union of at least two (lexically-encoded) grammars.
- (iii) Ordering relations are not preserved under union.
- (iv) Therefore, code switching within a PF component is not possible.

Because it may be deduced from independently discovered facts about the language faculty, it is termed a “theorem” rather than a “principle.”

It appears, then, that a bilingual speaker has a grammar organized as in Figure 2.1. In Figure 2.1, $MS(Lex(L_n))$ is the lexicon of L_n after morphological principles of word formation have applied. PF, also sensitive to inflectional material, applies after Spell-Out, but its application is restricted to the “morphological words” (stems with affixal material) of its own system. Thus, in $(PF_x(Lex(L_x)) \cup PF_y(Lex(L_y)))$, $Lex(L_x)$ is the lexicon of language x , identified in terms of its inflectional material, and $Lex(L_y)$ is the lexicon of language y , also so identified. Both of the rule systems PF_x and PF_y may apply in the

mapping of the derivation to PF, but they cannot apply to elements from each other's lexicons. Alternatively, within Optimality Theory, the PF component consists of constraints which must be ranked with respect to one another and is not dependent upon a particular phonological framework.

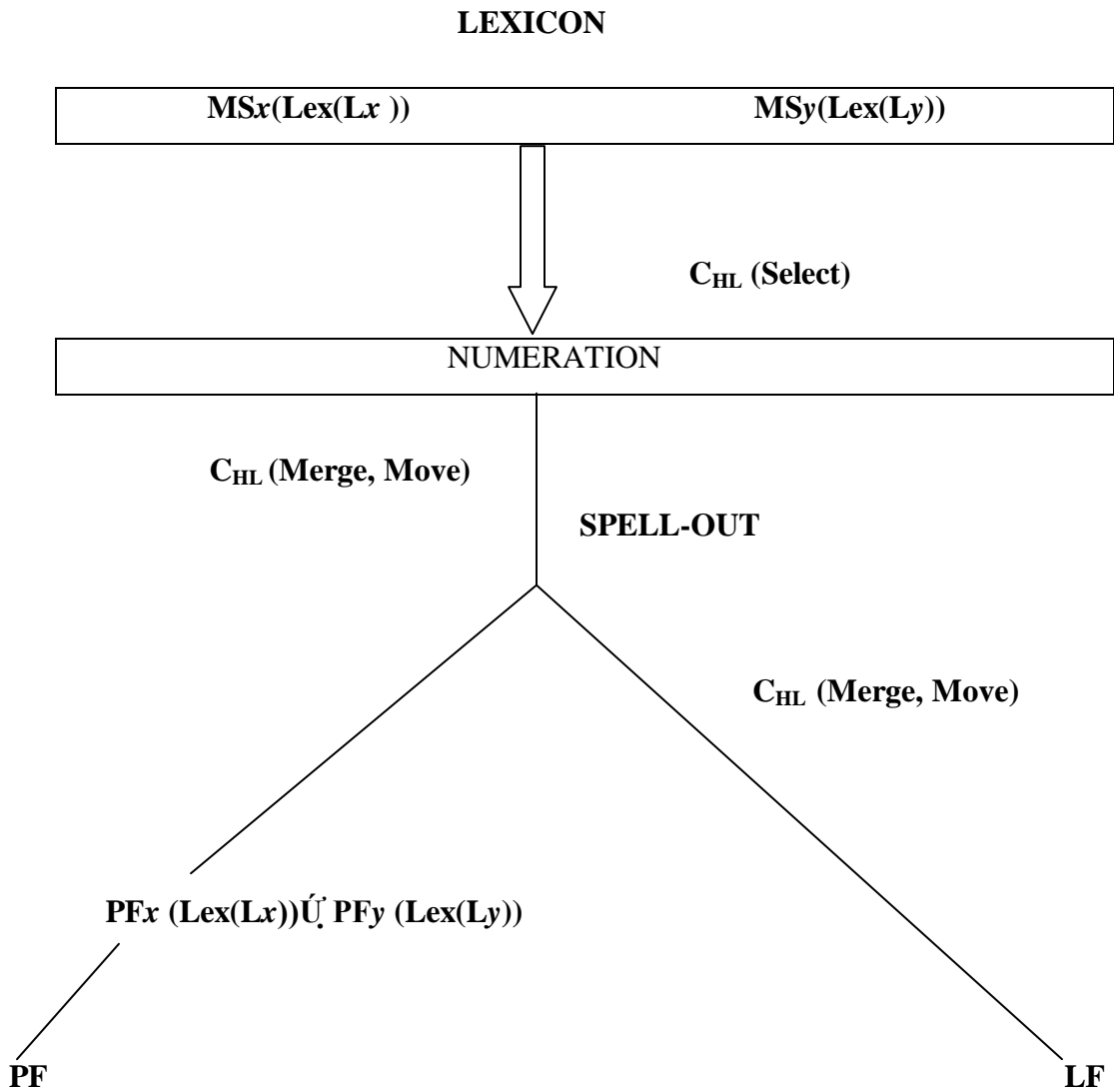


Figure 1.2: A Bilingual Minimalist Grammar with Disjoint Morphological Components.

Let us further assume, along with Chomsky (1995a), that X0s are inputs to PF. Poplack's observations regarding certain code switched constructions follow straightforwardly. The complex [X0 W1 W2] applies at PF.

However, since elements cannot be mixed at PF, the result is ill-formed; an undefined term (affix) remains regardless of whether the complex is analyzed by PF_x or PF_y. Similarly, a construction is ill-formed if code switching occurs below X₀: the stem is analyzed by the phonological system of PF_x but the morphological material belongs to PF_y.

1.15 Macswan's Minimalist Approach to CS: The approach taken in the analysis of code switching by Macswan (1999) is minimalist in two respects :

1. First, it is hypothesized that nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars, an assumption which makes use of minimal theoretical apparatus (corresponding to “virtual conceptual necessity”).
2. Second, the particular analyses developed for data presented by Macswan are restricted as much as possible to mechanisms made available in the Minimalist Program.

Other recent theories of code switching were also reviewed in terms of the Spanish-Nahuatl corpus, and each one is evaluated by Macswan. Attention is then given to extending the approach developed in minimalist framework to an analysis of other corpora; in many cases, apparent conflicts in basic findings are reconciled. The framework used for analyzing code switched data is the minimalist framework, developed in Chomsky (1995a) and elsewhere, in which lexically encoded parametric variation drives overt and covert movements under the direction of an invariant computational system (C_{HL}). On this approach, differences between languages relate to differences in the lexicon, mapped by C_{HL} into various surface forms. As in Chomsky (1995a), these parametric differences have been restricted to the functional categories of the lexicon. Macswan also reviewed other theories of code switching in terms of his data and analyzed other code switching corpora. Macswan after analyzing various theories found that there is some disagreement regarding code switching boundaries in the literature.

Macswan summarizes the descriptive facts of the code switching corpora reported in the literature as well as through his own data. Macswan also briefly discussed a class of proposals made within a speech planning framework, exemplified in work by Azuma (1991, 1993), de Bot (1992) and Myers scotton (1993b, 1995). These approaches rely

upon work on sentence production by Fromkin (1971) and Garrett (1975) and frequently use Levelt's (1989) Speaking model. He concludes that a general pattern has indeed emerged. No code switching-specific constraints which have been posited in the literature can account for the range of facts considered in his research and those which focus on merger relations (sub-categorization) have also been shown to be inadequate. Moreover, all of the Spanish-Nahutal data analyzed has been accounted for in terms of principles motivated to explain monolingual data, and the same approach has been used to data reported in other corpora.

According to Macswan, code switching-specific constraints cannot account for the data under analysis, and since the data under analysis may be explained without reference to such constraints, they may be assumed not to exist by general principles of scientific parsimony. He, therefore, conclude, as anticipated, that:

1. Nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars.
2. Native bilingual code switchers are exquisitely sensitive to the subtle requirements of the languages they use, just as non-code switchers are.
- 3 .code switchers have the same grammatical competence as monolinguals for the languages they use.

That is, monolinguals and bilingual code switchers avail themselves of the same grammatical mechanisms. Code switching provides a new window of evidence regarding the existence of null affixes since switching at PF (below X₀) is not allowed. Such inquiry will lead to greater understanding in the theory of grammar, the nature of bilingualism and the architecture of the bilingual language faculty, and a multitude of other topics.

1.16 **CM Grammars:** The possibility of a code mixing grammar has been raised by different scholars working on CM in different countries. Many proposals have been forwarded from 1970s by different scholars for the existence of such CM grammars.

“The analysis of bilingual behaviour has shown that a group actually has not only two sets of rules from L1 and L2, but three L3.....” (Oksaar 1972: 500)

“Code mixing involves functioning in a diasystem, and as a consequence developing other linguistic code comprising formal features of two or more codes.” (Kachru 1975: 79)

Poplack (1980) has also raised the possibility of existence of a code mixing grammar as a “third grammar” which constrains the interaction of the two systems in mixture.

Poplack also suggested that CS was “a discrete mode of speaking probably emanating from a single code switching grammar composed of overlapping sectors of the grammars of L1 and L2.” (Poplack 1980: 615)

Pandit (1986) in her work on mixed Hindi-English (MHE) proposed that it is not a pidgin, or a dialect of Hindi or English, or a style of Hindi or English, but is a distinct code.

Myers scotton (1993) concluded about language interaction phenomena that Just as other naturally occurring linguistic data, code switching is governed by structural principles of well-formedness,i.e.; possible combinations can be predicted. The same mixed grammar approach lies at the heart of Macswan (1999)’s minimalist approach to CS.

Thus from above discussion it becomes evident that the possibility of the existence of a mixed grammar has never been rejected and different scholars have supported the existence of a mixed grammar.

2. Kashmir as a Multilingual Area

2.1 **Introduction:** Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is the northern-most state of India and shares its boundary with Pakistan in the west and, Afghanistan and China in the North, Tibet in the East and Punjab in the south. Srinagar is the summer capital of the state of J&K. The J&K state covers an area of 86,024 square miles and is divided into three provinces Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, which are linguistically, geographically and ethnically and linguistically separate from each other. Ladakh province has the largest area and the Kashmir province has the highest population among the three provinces. High mountain ranges demarcate the Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh provinces. The Kashmiri province lies towards the North-Western part of the state and mountain ranges keep the valley away from the outside world.

Linguistically, Kashmir can be regarded as a “multilingual area”. The main mother tongues (MTs) in the state are Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Punjabi, Pahari, Gojri and Ladakhi. Urdu and English are the two official languages. Kashmiri, Ladakhi and Dogri hold premier position in Kashmir, Ladakh and Jammu provinces respectively.

Regarding the environs in terms of language groups, the Kashmir province is surrounded by four major language groups: Tibeto-Burman languages in the North-East like Ladakhi and Balti, Burusakshi language in the North-West, Gilgit and Pahari in the East and Aryan languages like Gojari, Dogri, Chibali etc. in the South.(Bhatt 1987)

2.2 **Linguistic Scenario of Kashmir: From Past to Present:**The history of Kashmir has a strong bearing on the language preferences of the people in Kashmir in terms of day to day interaction and literary activities. The historical upheavals led to changes in religion, customs and above all languages. Education, both religious and secular, played an important role in dissipating knowledge of languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic in the past and Urdu and English at present among the populace, which in turn led to the influence of these languages on Kashmiri.

Regarding languages in the Pre-Brahmanical period, very little is known about Kashmiri. It is generally believed that the indigenous Nagas had a language of their own but almost nothing is known about it. In the Brahmanical period, Sanskrit was in the limelight. According to Grierson(1919), for more than two thousand years Kashmir had been a home of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history,

poetry, romance, fable and philosophy. Sanskrit held the field at that time and Kashmiri scholars like Punglacharya, Kshemendra, Anandvardhan, Abhinavgupta, Bilhana and others were well known in Kashmir and outside. During the time of Ashoka (3rd century B.C.), Buddhism spread in Kashmir. Kashmir became an important centre of Buddhism and many Buddhist missionaries went abroad to spread their religion from Kashmir. It is seen that despite transition in religion the language for literary purposes remained Sanskrit, while Kashmiri presumably remained the language of masses. Sanskrit's influence on Kashmiri at present is seen in the form of lexical borrowings only.

The Muslim era in Kashmir started in the 14th century AD and added another dimension to the linguistic scenario of Kashmir. With the advent of Muslim era Persian and Arabic languages were introduced in the Kashmir valley. This resulted in progressive decline of Sanskrit in Kashmir. This was accompanied by the introduction of Arabic, upsurge of Persian and revival of Kashmiri. The transition from Sanskrit to Persian was not abrupt but slow. Even after the end of Hindu rule, Sanskrit remained the medium of official communication and record. (Sir Aurel Stein, 1900). This is evident from inscriptions and the works of Sanskrit scholars in the Muslim period.

Seru (1980) presumes that Persian must have steadily percolated in Kashmir because of the influx of the Muslims during the later Hindu period from the North-West India where the Muslim rule had already spread and was well established. The Muslims also brought along the concept of Madrasa and Maktab. Thus Persian enjoyed a position in Kashmir which was previously enjoyed by the Sanskrit language and even the influence of Persian was more wide spread than the Sanskrit.

Like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic also left their impact on Kashmiri. Khan (1978) quotes Tara Chand (1967) as stating that Persian which continued to be the official language for more than 400 years in Kashmir acquired the status of the language of culture and enlarged and influenced Kashmiri vocabulary to a great extent. Kashmiri writers borrowed Persian epithets and the Kashmiri poets turned to the Persian themes. The poetess queen Habba Khatoon experimented with the Persian meters. Thus one can see that both Sanskrit and Persian languages added many dimensions to Kashmiri language. With the fall of Muslim rule in Kashmir in 1819, Persian language in Kashmir received a heavy setback. So large was the influence of Persian language and culture in Kashmiri

that Kashmir was also named as Chotta Iran (small Iran). Although Persian language scholars were functional upto middle of the 20th century, but gradually it went out of vogue.

After decline of Persian it was Urdu language which next entered the linguistic scenario of Kashmir. The Dogra King Pratap Singh made Urdu the official language of the state at the beginning of the twentieth century. Urdu started replacing the place of Persian and some Kashmiri writers also wrote in Urdu language. After 1947, the popularity of Urdu grew at a tremendous rate in Kashmir. Being the official and educational language of the state, Urdu language was acquired at a larger scale and attained the status of prestige language in valley. In the last four to five decades a large group of bilinguals with Urdu as their second language. Kashmiri borrowed extensively from Urdu and the process is still continuing.

Urdu entered Kashmir in a new social setup. Although Kashmiri and Persian have remained in Kashmir for a considerable time, their impact at present is seen mainly in the form of borrowings only. This was mainly due to poverty and illiteracy of common masses of Kashmir who can at most afford to borrow from these prestige languages. Sanskrit and Persian at most remained foreign languages in Kashmir because these languages were never the languages of the common masses and hence one can't speak of Kashmiri-Sanskrit or Kashmiri-Persian bilingual masses in Kashmir of that time.

Number	1911	1921	1931	1941	1961	1971	1981	2001
Total	2.42	2.78	3.67	7.46	16.80	21.71	33.90	59.8
Male	5.04	4.94	6.40	11.83	23.7	29.39	31.97	69.6
Female	0.06	0.20	0.32	2.12	8.52	12.68	24.66	48.1

Table 2.1 Literacy rates (%) in Srinagar(1911-2001)

As evident from table 2.1, the introduction of Urdu at the beginning of the twentieth century is accompanied by a corresponding increase in literacy and the medium of education was in Urdu, the official language. Urdu seems to have come a long way and influencing domains which were previously untouched by Persian and previously Sanskrit, the most ancient recorded contact language of Kashmir.

In the post 1947 scenario, the state of Jammu and Kashmir became the only state where Urdu was given the official status. The use of Urdu in the educational sector is observed

in its use as a subject and more importantly as the medium of instruction in all government schools up to class 10th till 2003. Urdu is presently the most commonly used language after Kashmiri in the verbal repertoire of an educated Kashmiri. Urdu has also emerged as the most important language in the mass media sector in Kashmir. Radio Kashmir is designated as an Urdu station and the largest numbers of newspapers are published in Urdu (Kak and Wani 2005). All these factors have in turn made Urdu a prestige language in Kashmir.

A number of factors have strengthened the roots of Urdu language in Kashmir. Kashmiri-Urdu bilingualism is of common occurrence in the present day Kashmir.

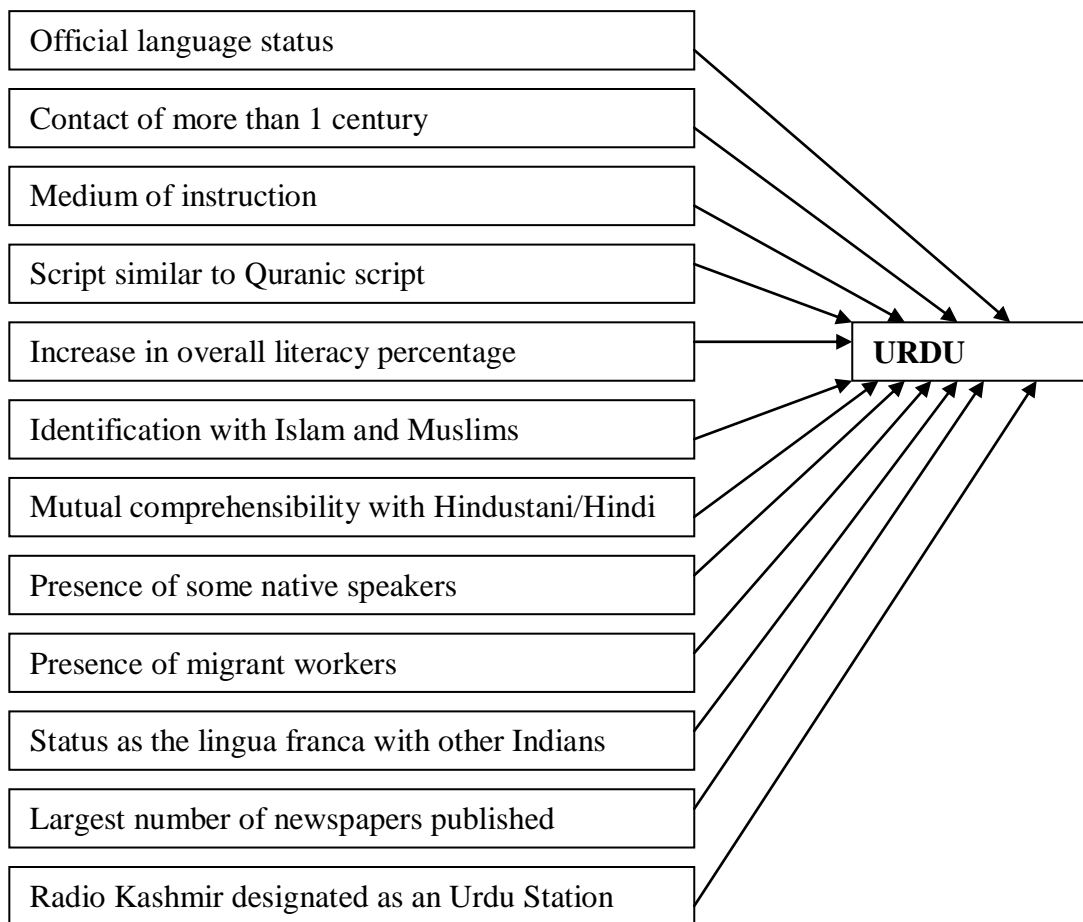


Fig 2.1 Figure showing various factors responsible for the stable and regular contact of Urdu with Kashmiri and resulting Kashmiri-Urdu Bilingualism.

Unlike Sanskrit and Persian Language, Urdu is not a foreign language in Kashmir but has become a Second language in Kashmir and even a mother tongue in some families. This is what has been called as “trickling of Urdu from schools to home.”(Kak 2003)

At present many scholars agree that a local variety of Urdu has developed in Kashmir and there are other scholars who believe that Kashmiri spoken at present is an Urdunized version of it. The nature and results of Kashmiri-Urdu contact is essentially different from nature and results of Kashmiri-Sanskrit and Kashmiri-Persian contact.

Another language which entered the linguistic face of Kashmir was global English. Contact between Kashmiri and English is of recent origin around thirty to forty years in spite of English being introduced around a hundred years ago. The journey of English in Kashmir was not as smooth as that of Urdu. There were many negative factors (marked (-) in Fig 2.2) which stopped influx of English into domains of Kashmiri and hence prevented English from entering those domains where Urdu has already established its position.

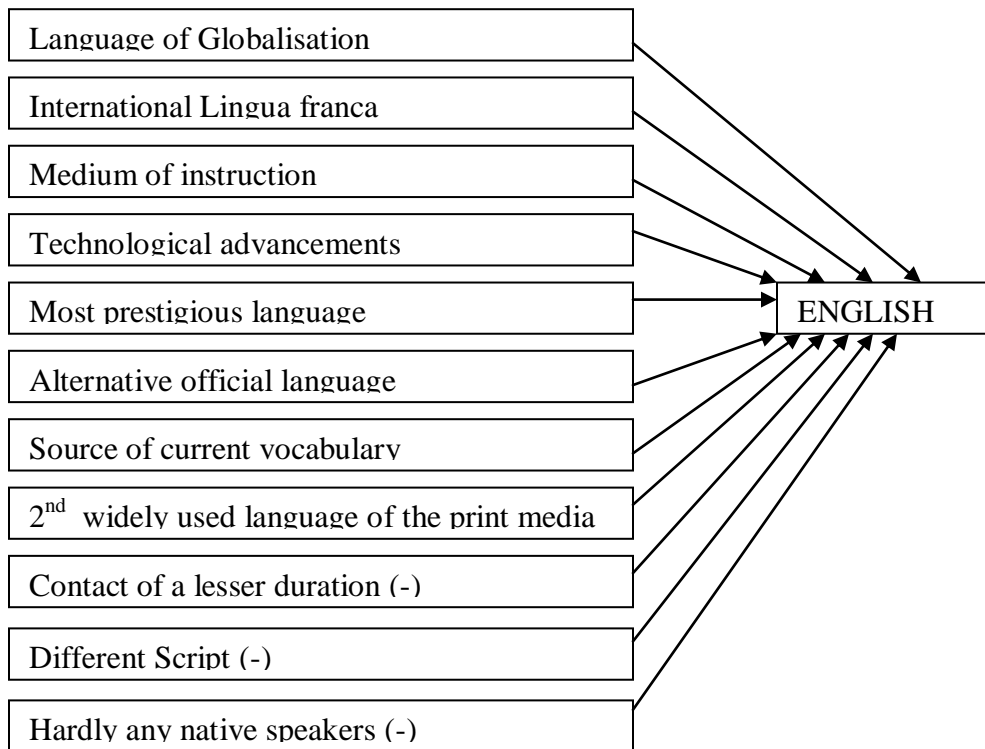


Fig 2.2 Showing various positive () and negative (-) factors associated with the English language in Kashmir.

English in Kashmir has a slow start due to a number of factors. e.g; Dogra King's apathy towards education of Kashmiries, low literacy percentage, greater inclination towards education in religious schools (Darasgahs and Patshalaas) where use of English was far

from the reality. English was considered as a language of “Christianity” and as a “language of devil”. Furthermore, Urdu also acted as a step sister to hinder the spread of English in valley.

In spite of a slow start of English in Kashmir, the emergence of English as a global language and along with it a plethora of factors in the last forty years has led to the growth and development of English in the valley. Some of these factors include use of English in higher education, scientific and technical development in English, introduction of cable network and development of positive attitudes towards English language.

Thus after a slow start English at present has established its position in Kashmir very strongly. According to Kak (2002), languages in Kashmir can be arranged in a hierarchy with English attaining the top most position whereas Kashmiri attains the bottom most position with Urdu occupying an intermediate position. In the last three decades; English has greatly interacted with Kashmiri language at the lexical level mainly in the form of English vocabulary being mixed in Kashmiri language. It is the syntactic study of this interaction of English vocabulary with Kashmiri language which forms the subject matter of this thesis.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that Kashmir is a multilingual area where many foreign languages have flourished and have effected the native mother tongues including Kashmiri. The interaction of Urdu and English languages with the Kashmiri language is of different nature than what it was with Sanskrit and Persian. As pointed out earlier; in spite of a long contact, Sanskrit and Persian remained as foreign languages whereas it is not case with Urdu and English. People are increasingly adopting English and Urdu in their informal domains in Kashmir and it is a matter of time to see as to what extent these languages will effect the Kashmiri language.

2.3 Kashmiri language : An Assessment of Past and Present: Kashmiri is extensively used in the Kashmiri province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri forms the mother tongue of majority population in Kashmir province. The provincial division is not linguistic but geographical, as Kashmiri is also predominantly spoken throughout the hilly and mountainous regions of the Jammu province and covers all districts viz. Doda, Udhampur , Rajouri ,Poonch, Jammu and Kuthwa. Kashmiri is also spoken in some areas of Kashmir which are under Pakistan and by the immigrant Kashmiries in India and abroad

Grierson(1919) claims that Kashmiri has only one true dialect i.e.; Kishtiwari and a number of mixed dialects like Pogali, Siraji, Rambani and some mixed varieties in the farther east of Riasi. Kishtiwari is spoken in the Kishtiwari region, Siraji Kashmiri is spoken in some rural areas of Doda and Ramban tehsil which is under heavy influence of other Pahari dialects. The position of Kashmiri vis-a-vis the Indo-Aryan language family is controversial. Some scholars consider Kashmiri as an Indo-Aryan language while others place it under the Dardic branch of the Aryan group.

Grierson also mentions two dialects, Muslim Kashmiri and Hindu Kashmiri of Kashmiri on the basis of religion. Kachru (1969) renames these two forms as Persianized Kashmiri and Sanskritized Kashmiri. According to Grierson (1919) Kashmiri is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a literature. Kashmiri literature dates back to over 750 years, this is, more or less, the age of many a modern literature including English.

Looking at the historical account of Kashmiri language, Kashmiri has always been an unofficialised, unpatronized and language of illiterate masses. Going back in time, it is observed that in the ancient times Kashmiri had a rich literary tradition associated with it with its own ancient script 'Sharda', which incidentally was also used to write Sanskrit. The earliest available Kashmiri work been attributed to the 13th century. Across time, Kashmiri had its gallery of poets and poetesses. However, strangely it has been observed that Kashmiri, though the indigenous language of the valley, had never had the royal or the official favour granted to it. Across time, it was Sanskrit during the ancient period, Persian in the medieval period and Urdu in the modern periods, which were granted the prestigious positions, and had been the official languages and the languages of the court. The demarcation was clear, with the languages being distributed across different domains

and serving different functions. As a mother tongue Kashmiri has never enjoyed the position which it ought to. At present Kashmir is doubly subjugated under the pressure of Urdu and English.

The latest development in favour of Kashmiri was the Government's decision to make Kashmiri an essential language of the curriculum in schools till the fifth class in schools from 2001 and it is being taught as a subject in many government and private schools. Besides, Kashmir university has a well established Kashmiri department and Kashmiri is being introduced in different colleges.

From the above discussion; it becomes clear that Kashmiri at present is interacting with English and Urdu languages and it is this interaction of English and Kashmiri which forms the subject matter of this dissertation.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction: The methodology employed by a scholar is mainly determined by the research topic. A particular research methodology is mainly dictated by the nature and goals of research. Descriptive methods in social science are employed to arrange and describe the information, which is collected. Social phenomena and processes which are not yet properly discussed and described, are studied scientifically on the basis of this method.

This study “Code Mixing Constraints; From Grammatical to the Minimalist Framework: A Study in Kashmiri-English Mixed Code” falls purely in the theoretical domain. Thus it can be classified under “basic” or “fundamental” research.

3.2 Aims and Objectives of this Study: This study is aimed to be an addition to the literature on the syntactic constraints on CM and is designed to provide an alternative K-E CM facet to the world literature on CM. The various aims and objectives of this study can be summed as:

1. To evaluate K-E CM in different historical proposals and perspectives.
2. To evaluate K-E CM in different current proposals and perspectives.
3. To evaluate the notion of CM grammar with respect to K-E CM.
4. To evaluate the notion of a Matrix language with respect to K-E CM.
5. To evaluate Myers-Scottons CS models with respect to K-E CM.
6. To evaluate Macswan’s Minimalist Framework of CM with respect to K-E CM.
7. To evaluate the classification of language interaction phenomena.
8. To formulate a K-E CM grammar.

3.3 Method, Approach and Design: The approach in this study is purely objective and this study mainly relies on the data collection from naturalistic settings. This study is a simple syntactic study and does not claim any exploration of socio-psychological factors, so this study does not use any control measures on settings from which data is collected. The data from naturalistic settings is complemented from other studies which have been carried on Kashmiri English code mixing (K-E CM). This study does not involve any quantitative techniques or quantification but is a purely qualitative study.

Keeping in view the objectives of this study, three districts of valley i.e.; Srinagar, Anantnag and Pulwama were chosen as primary settings for data collection. The data

was collected through both participant and non-participant observation using tape-recordings from both formal as well as informal naturalistic social settings. The final data comes of about 25 hours of tape recordings. Besides those examples have also been used which are collected by personal observations through years; the researcher being a member of the same speech community.

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction: As mentioned before, in the last five decades, English has been in regular contact with Kashmiri and due to this contact; hundreds of English words are used in day to day speech of Kashmiries. The usage of English lexicon is wide spread ranging from informal to formal domains. Almost all the semantic fields of Kashmiri language have a good percentage of English lexicon. English lexicon is mixed both due to necessity as well as due to prestige. The analysis will start from the mixing of nouns:

4.2 Mixing of Nouns: English nouns form one of the largest class of words which are mixed in Kashmiri language. English nouns from all the semantic fields were found to be mixed in Kashmiri. English nouns ranging from informal use to formal use are becoming a part and parcel of Kashmiri language and are increasingly mixed in Kashmiri. Some of the important semantic fields where nouns are mixed include:

A .Semantic field of day to day life:

8.	me	kor	dand-	an	<i>brash</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	i-erg	did	teeth-	dat	brush	
I brushed my teeth.						

9.	tam-	is	chi	<i>inner</i>	naev	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	has	inner	new	
He has a new inner.						

B. Semantic field related to technical and IT sector:

10.	mobayl-	as	gaey	battery	khara:b	<i>K-E CM</i>	
	mobile	dat	happened	battery	spoil		
The mobile battery spoiled.							
11.	material	kar	internet-	i	pethi	download	<i>K-E CM</i>
	material	do	internet	abl	on	download	
Download the material from the internet.							

C. Semantic field related to academics:

12.	assignment	kar	submit.	<i>K-E CM</i>			
	assignment	do	submit				
Submit the assignment.							
13.	Seminar	chi	kalido:d	tula:n	<i>K-E CM</i>		
	Seminar	are	headache	rise			
Seminars cause headache.							

D. Semantic field related to Entertainment:

14.	yi	<i>movie</i>	che	<i>superhit</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>	
	this	movie	is	superhit		
This movie is a super hit.						

15.	ath	<i>danc-</i>	as	che	Farah	<i>choreographer</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	dance	dat	is	Farah	choreographer	
Farah is the choreographer of this song.							

E. Semantic field related to registers:

16.	tam-	Is	kaerIkh	<i>sonography.</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>	
	He	dat	did	sonography		
He has undergone sonography.						

17.	mye:n	<i>leave</i>	tra:v	<i>K-E CM</i>		
	my	leave	drop			
Submit my leave						

The above examples clearly show the coverage of English lexicon over almost all the semantic fields of Kashmiri language

Another tendency which is noted in K-E CM is increasing use of English nouns and consequent replacement of Kashmiri and Urdu lexicon. Because many words are common between Persian and Urdu, in this dissertation all such lexical items will be referred Urdu irrespective of the fact whether these have been borrowed in Kashmiri

from Persian or Urdu. Due to prestige associated with English lexicon many Kashmiri native words are directly replaced by the English lexicon. Similarly many core borrowings from Urdu are replaced by English lexicon as shown in Table 4.1:

Nouns

Kashmiri	Urdu	English
1.....	<i>bewaku:f</i>	Non-sense
2.....	<i>imtiha:n</i>	Exam
3. <i>Je:ri,to:s</i>	<i>pare:Sani</i>	Tension
4. <i>SAAdy</i>	<i>khuSi:</i>	.....
5.....	<i>muSkil, sakhti:</i>	Difficulty
6.....	<i>maza, lutuf</i>	Taste
7.....	<i>dilCaspi ,mazi</i>	Interest
8. <i>such</i>	<i>ehsa:n</i>	Favour
9. <i>gatul</i>	<i>kA:bil</i>	Intelligent
10. <i>bana:n chu</i>	<i>Imkaan</i>	Possibility
11. <i>o:khun sA:b</i>	<i>vOsta:d</i>	Sir, Teacher
12. <i>samkhun</i>	<i>mA:lun, milna:</i>	Contact
13. <i>ze:Char</i>	<i>lamba:yi</i>	Height
14. <i>pi:t</i>	<i>sandu:k</i>	Trunk
15. <i>hA:l</i>	<i>a:dat</i>	Habit
16.	<i>reva:j</i>	Fashion

Table 4.1 Showing interaction between Kashmiri, Urdu and English nouns in the present day Kashmir.

From the above table, it becomes clear that English is delexifying Kashmiri from the Urdu lexicon. Similarly many cultural borrowings are unique in English language (lexicon pertaining to English culture) which are fastly adapted by Kashmiries particularly by Kashmiri youth.

4.3 Mixing of Adjectives: English adjectives are freely mixed in Kashmiri language. In both Kashmiri as well as in English adjectives precede nouns and hence there is a smooth mixing of adjectives i.e.; Kashmiri adjectives are easily replaced by their English equivalents.

A wide range of adjectives from English have been found in present day Kashmiri. Words like cute, beautiful, nice, intelligent, hard, soft, frustrate, cool are of day to day occurrence and it is more true for youth who consider these English adjectives more appropriate contextually. Some adjectives like mad, crazy, flirt, fool, lazy, loose are euphemistically more appropriate than their Kashmiri equivalents.

18.	su	chu	<i>frustrate</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>	
	he	is	frustrate		
He is frustrated.					
19.	ath	chu	<i>red</i>	<i>colour</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	has	red	colour	
This has red colour.					

20.	su	chu	<i>Intelligent</i>	bach	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	is	intelligent	child	
He is an intelligent child.					

21.	su	chu	<i>weak</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	is	weak	
He is weak.				

Adjectives

Kashmiri	Urdu	English
1.....	<i>asIl</i>	Good
2.	<i>khara:b</i>	Bad
3.....	<i>kA: bil</i>	Intelligent
4.....	<i>ima:nda:r</i>	Trustworthy
5.	<i>lafanga:</i>	Vagabond
6.....	<i>zaru:ri:</i>	Important
7.....	<i>ta:za:</i>	Fresh
8. <i>a:lis</i>	<i>kA:hil</i>	Dull
9. <i>rA:mits</i>	<i>bad kirda:r</i>	Bad character
10. <i>fA:tir</i>	<i>pa:gal</i>	Mad
11. <i>mond</i>	<i>bewaku:f</i>	Fool
12. <i>YalI</i>	<i>Cha:lu</i>	Flirt
13. <i>dodur</i>	<i>Kamzo:r</i>	Weak
14. <i>dor</i>	<i>mazbu:t</i>	Strong
15. <i>rut</i>	<i>asIl</i>	Nice

Table 4.2 Showing interaction of English, Urdu and Kashmiri adjectives in the present day Kashmir.

4.4 **Mixing of Adverbs:** Adverbs have different properties depending on the subclass to which they belong and English adverbs show a mixed behaviour between close class and open class items. They do not mix as freely as nouns or adjectives and their mixing is not totally restricted. An adverb will mix or not mix depending upon the subclass of adverbs to which it belongs.

Adverbs

Kashmiri	Urdu	English
1.....	<i>te:z</i>	Fast, Quick ,Active
2. <i>va:r va:r</i>	<i>a:hista: a:hista:</i>	Slow, slowly
3. <i>va:riyah</i>	@ <i>bohot</i>	@Very
4. <i>vini (now)</i>	.....	.....
5. <i>tami vizi (That time)</i>	@ <i>usi vakht</i>	.....
6. <i>dAchun</i>	@ <i>da:ye:n</i>	@Right
7. <i>kho:fur</i>	@ <i>ba:ye:n</i>	@Left
8. <i>teli</i>	@ <i>tab</i>	@Then
9. <i>kar</i>	@ <i>kab</i>	@When
10. <i>yeti</i>	@ <i>yahan</i>	@Here
11. <i>tati</i>	@ <i>vahan</i>	@There

Table 4.3 Figure showing interaction of English, Urdu and Kashmiri adverbs in the present day Kashmir.

@ indicates only found in CS relation to Kashmiri and not replacing the native equivalents.

From table 4.3 it becomes clear that adverbs of state from English are usually mixed in Kashmiri whereas other subclasses can be found in only code switched relation with the Kashmiri sentence because these adverbs stand for a whole sentence or contain a proposition.

4.5 **Mixing of Verbs:** Verbs like nouns and adjectives are freely mixed in Kashmiri. Verbs of all classes have been found to get mixed in Kashmiri. The mixing of verbs is different from the mixing of nouns and adjectives in many respects.

Like nouns, hundreds of English verbs have also been found to occur as code mixes in Kashmiri language but the incorporation of English verbs is not random but rather involves a number of compromise strategies which are almost evident with every mixed verb. Similar to what Kishna (1979) postulated, in K-E CM also, a structure (V kar) is available in which verb is inserted. Auxiliary “kar” (do) with its different forms like “karI” (will do), “karaan” (doing), etc act as a site where English verbs are mixed.

22.	tam-	is	chu	<i>lecture</i>	<i>prepare</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	He	dat	be-masc-sing	lecture	prepare	to do	
He has to prepare the lecture.							

23.	tam-	is	chu	software	<i>install</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	He	dat	has-pst-masc	software	Install	to do	
He has to install the software.							

24.	asi	kor		<i>enjoy</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	we –erg	do-pst-masc		enjoy	
We enjoyed.					

25.	tam-	is	chu	so:ruy	<i>calculate</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	He	dat	has-pst-masc	all	calculate	to do	
He has to do all the calculation.							

26.	tam	-is	gov	va:riyah	<i>feel</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-pst-masc	very	feel	
He felt it very badly.						

27.	tam	-is	gayi		<i>death</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-pst		death	
He died.						

28.	tam	-is	gatchi	<i>programme</i>	<i>terminate</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-fut	programme	terminate	
His programme will terminate.						

29.	<i>film</i>		gaey	end	<i>K-E CM</i>	
	film –nom		happen-pst	end		
The film ended.						

Thus from the above examples it becomes clear that the mixing of verbs is different from nouns and verbs in that it involves an auxiliary “kar” (do) and its different forms or another word “gov” (happened) and its different forms before it can be mixed in Kashmiri. Thus no verb from English is mixed unless it is accompanied by either of these two words from Kashmiri.

4.6 **Mixing of the close class items (Pronouns, Determiners, Prepositions, conjunctions and Interjections):** The close class items include pronouns, determiners, prepositions, conjunctions and interjection. Besides it includes other case markers.

Pronouns

Kashmiri	Urdu	English
<i>1.bi (I)</i>
<i>2.me (me)</i>
<i>3.tsi (you)</i>
<i>4.su (he)</i>
<i>5.tihInz(their feminine)</i>
<i>6.tihund(their masculine)</i>
<i>7.se(she)</i>
<i>8.tim (they)</i>
<i>9.timan(them)</i>
<i>10tAmis(him)</i>
<i>11.tAmsund(his)</i>

Table 4.4 Figure showing interaction of English, Urdu and Kashmiri pronouns in the present day Kashmir.

As evident from above no English pronoun was found to be mixed in Kashmiri . The table clearly shows that in terms of pronouns no interaction takes place between Kashmiri and English.

Similarly conjunctions from English are never mixed from English into Kashmiri and same is true for prepositions and determiners .

Conjunction

Kashmiri	Urdu	Kashmiri
<i>1.beyi (and)</i>	<i>o:r</i>	.....
<i>2.kyazi (because)</i>	<i>kyunki</i>	.....
<i>3.zi(that)</i>	<i>ki</i>	.....
<i>.....(but)</i>	<i>le:kin</i>	.....
<i>.....(but)</i>	<i>magar</i>	.....
<i>ami mu:ju:b (So)</i>	<i>isiliye:</i>	.....
<i>.....(If)</i>	<i>agar</i>	.....

Table 4.5 Figure showing interaction of English, Urdu and Kashmiri conjunctions in the present day Kashmir.

Preposition/Postposition

Kashmiri	Urdu	Kashmiri
<i>1.Peth (above,at,over,on)</i>
<i>tal(under, below)</i>
<i>manz (in)</i>

Table 4.6 Figure showing interaction of English prepositions, and Urdu and Kashmiri postpositions in the present day Kashmir.

Thus from above discussion, it becomes clear that close class items never are used from English in Kashmiri. Kak (1995) has also found highly negative acceptability scores for sentences in which close class items were mixed i.e.; such sentences are not found in K-E CM.

As far as interjections are considered , they are used as tags or tag-switches and can't be called as code mixes as these do not fill the basic requirement of CM .

From the above tables (4.1 to 4.6), we can conclude that open class items (nouns, verbs, adjectives and to some extent adverbs) are easily replaceable. In past Urdu replaced Kashmiri words which are now being replaced by English words. On the other hand no English close class item was found to be mixed in Kashmiri and hence English close class items do not react with Kashmiri close items as shown in Table 4.4 to 4.6. In case of open class items (Table 4.1 to 4.3) it is third English column which is full (filled) and first Kashmiri column is blank at many places because these words have no viable Kashmiri equivalents but only viable Urdu equivalents. On quite opposite (Table 4.4 to 4.6), the first Kashmiri column is full (filled) whereas third English column is blank because English close class items do not mix and interact with Kashmiri close class items.

4.7 Different Approaches to Constraints on CM and their Application to K-E CM:

4.8 **Poplack's Constraints and K-E CM:** Poplack's "Free Morpheme constraint" is violated in K-E CM on a large scale. Almost all the English nouns are attached with a Kashmiri suffix for assignment of case, gender and number. Thus it involves mixing between English free morpheme and Kashmiri bound morpheme. This can be shown as follows:

<i>English Free Morpheme</i>	<i>Kashmiri bound morpheme</i>	<i>Resulting mixed Word</i>
bus	<i>+i (fem- pl.)</i>	= buses
bus	<i>+an (masc- pl- erg)</i>	= (in) the buses
bus	<i>+i (fem- Sing- dat)</i>	= of bus.
computer	<i>+uk (masc- Sing- gen)</i>	= of the computer.
computer	<i>+an (masc- pl- dat)</i>	= computers.
Cardboard	<i>+ich (fem- sing- gen)</i>	= of the cardboard.
book.	<i>+i (fem- pl)</i>	= books

Table 4.7 Showing interaction between English Free Morphemes and Kashmiri Bound Morphemes.

Talking about Poplack(1980)'s "Linearity Constraint " or "Equivalence Constraint", it is followed in K-E CM . English and Kashmiri have almost same word order including Adj-noun sequence, noun-verb sequence. English is prepositional whereas Kashmiri is postpositional and hence no mixing occurs at such points following Equivalence constraint.

30.	*me	thov	me:z-	as	<i>on</i>	kalam	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	kept	table	dat	on	pen	
I kept pen on the table.							

31.	*me	thev	kursi	<i>over</i>	<i>copy</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	i	kept	chair	over	copy	
I kept the copy over the chair.						

4.9 Joshi's Close Class Constraint: Joshi's close class constraint is fully followed in K-E CM as evident from table 4.4 to 4.6. There is no mixing of English close class items in Kashmiri. On the other hand mixing between Kashmiri close class items and English open class items is allowed.

4.10 Discuillo, Muysken and Singh's Approach: According to this approach mixing does not occur between verb and object and postposition and object. This constraint in K-E CM is not followed and switches are observed between English verbs and Kashmiri objects as well as Kashmiri verbs and English objects.

32.	me	kor	<i>tolerate</i>	va:riyah	kenh	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	did	tolerat	very	something	
I tolerated many things.						

33.	tam	kor	su	<i>depress</i>	pannyav	kathav	si:t	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	did	him	depress	own	talks	with	
He depressed him with his talks.								

34.	me	chalo:v	<i>voice-recorder</i>				<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	played	voice-recorder				
I played the voice-recorder.							

Similarly switches do occur between Kashmiri postpositions and English objects but a switch has not been observed between an English preposition and Kashmiri objects and this can be explained in terms of base language.

35.	me	thov	<i>te:bl-</i>	as	peth	spoon	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	kept	table-	dat	on	spoon	
I kept the spoon on the table.							

36.	me	chu	chair-	i	peth	<i>capacitor</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	have	chair-	abl	over	capacitor	
I have the capacitor over the chair.							

37.	*me	chu	chair-	i	<i>on</i>	<i>capacitor</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	have	chair-	dat	on	capacitor	
I have the capacitor on the chair.							

4.11 Mahootian's Approach: According to this approach; language of a head determines the position of a complement and as for as K-E CM is concerned; the word orders are same so there is no question of determination of placement of complement. However, in terms of preposition and post-position it is found that the position of English complements is determined by the Kashmiri postposition which follows Mahootian's approach as shown in 35, 36 and 38:

38.	me	thae:v	<i>ja:r-</i>	as	manz	kunz	<i>K-E CM</i>
	I	kept	jar-	dat	in	key	
I kept the keys in the jar.							

4.12 **Belazi, Rubin and Toribio’s Approach:** Kashmiri and English have the same word order and this constraint can not be tested except in case of Kashmiri post- position which determines the place of the English complement as shown in the above example (38).

4.13 **Strategies of Neutrality in K-E CM and the Concept of a Matrix Language (ML):** ‘Relativised constraints’ or ‘Strategies of neutrality’ are used by native speakers during CM to adapt foreign elements or embedded language (EL) constituents in the BL or ML. These strategies are also observed in K-E CM .It is assumed here that close class items of BL interact with open class items of EL as well as BL in such a way that their lexical properties are satisfied (Principle of Lexical Satisfaction (PLS)). In other words, the EL open class items are neutralized by close class items of BL. These strategies are always provided by the BL. In K-E CM as well, similar phenomenon is observed and these strategies include application of Kashmiri case suffixes and Kashmiri operators or auxiliary verbs to neutralize English code-mixed nouns and verbs respectively. Consider examples (39)-(41) which are observed to be highly acceptable and English nouns with Kashmiri case markers are of frequent occurrence in K-E CM.

39.	yi	che	<i>creativity-</i>	i	hinz	kath	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	is	creativity-	dat	of-gen-fem	talk	
This is a matter of creativity.							

40.	Yi	chu	<i>presitge-</i>	uk	masli.	<i>K-E CM</i>
	This	Is	prestige	gen	matter	
This is a matter of prestige.						

41.	taem-	is	che	<i>mind-</i>	ich	cel-	i	down	<i>K-E CM</i>
	He	dat	has	mind	gen	cell	pl	down	
He is mentally unfit.									

Similarly, English verbs used in K-E code-mixed sentence are neutralized by Kashmiri operators like karun ‘to do’ and its different morphological forms like kara:n ‘doing’, kar

‘do’, kor ‘did’, as well verbs are also combined with Kashmiri word gov ‘happened’ and its different forms .

42.	<i>heavy food</i>	gatchi	avoid	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	heavy food	should	avoid	do	
Heavy food should be avoided.					

43.	tam	kor	<i>number</i>	<i>dial</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	did	number	dial	
He dialled the number.					

44.	kashir-	i	hinz-	i	kenh	ja:yi	che	yiva:n	ja:n	<i>consider</i>	karni	<i>K-ECM</i>
	kashmir-	dat	of-gen	sing	some	places	are	come	good	consider	doing	
Some places of Kashmir are considered good.												

(Kak 1995: p.67)

45.	tam	-is	gatchi	so:ruy	<i>terminate</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-fut	everything	terminate	
His everything will terminate.						

46.	<i>story</i>	gayi	end	<i>K-E CM</i>
	story –nom	happen-pst	end	
The story ended.				

The acceptability of example (44) with English verb ‘consider’ and Kashmiri operator (karni) was observed to be very high. In comparison, the mixing of English verb without the Kashmiri operator (47) had the least acceptability score (Kak 1995).

47.	*tem	made	az	martsvangan	tsetin	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he-erg	made	today	chilli	chutney	
He made chilli chutney today.						

(Kak 1995: p.67)

This contrast between the acceptability of (44) and (47) can be explained only when it is assumed that Kashmiri is the base language and it provides the required strategies of neutrality.

It was further observed that no Kashmiri noun occurs with an English suffix (*Noun in BL and suffix in EL). Neither was any Kashmiri (BL) verb combined with English (EL) operator or auxiliary verb.

48.	*su	o:s	khevan	da:ni-	z	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he-nom	was	eating	pomegranate	pl	
He was eating pomegranates.						

49.	*tam-	is	do	bi	madad	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	do	i	help	
I will help him.						

50.	*tam-	is	do	bi	help	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	do	i	help	
I will help him						

4.14 **Sociolinguistic Factors and ML:** Structural similarity does not always result in code-mixing. Social and psychological factors are equally responsible for its occurrence. Sociolinguistically, a ML is the language in terms of which the discourse situation is defined - the unmarked code in a particular setting. Sociolinguistically speaking, it is the language which is considered more basic i.e. more important in a given discourse situation in a given social setting. In a given social setting one language is considered to be more important than the other depending on the sociological patterns of the society. Psycholinguistically, it has been argued that fluency in two languages for a person is never equal; one language always dominates another. Similarly, in a society, one language is considered more important in determining discourse situation and that language is considered as the base language for that society. It is important to point out that ML is subjected to temporal and spatial variation i.e. ML changes with time and from region to region depending on a number of socio-psychological factors.

In present day Kashmir English is looked upon as the language of education, knowledge, and prestige, and is associated with the elite class. Consequently, English vocabulary to a great extent is replacing Kashmiri vocabulary. As discussed earlier there are many semantic fields for which English vocabulary items are preferred because they are associated with prestige. Consider the following example:

51.	yi	<i>result</i>	chu	<i>discouraging</i>	<i>disgusting</i>	ti	<i>politically</i>	<i>motivated</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	result	Is	discouraging	disgusting	and	politically	motivated	
This result is discouraging, disgusting and politically motivated.									

In sentence (51) the number of English words is more than that of Kashmiri words, but it can nevertheless be regarded as a sentence with a Kashmiri base. Other such examples include:

52.	<i>by chance</i>	che	ni	yitch	<i>opportunity</i>	<i>daily</i>	me:laan	<i>K-E CM</i>		
	by chance	is	not	such	opportunity	daily	get			
By chance one does not get such an opportunity daily.										

53.	yi:tsah	chani	<i>expectation-</i>	i	<i>increase</i>	gatchan	tyutah	<i>rude</i>	bani	su	<i>K-E CM</i>
	as much	your	expectation	s-pl	increase	happen	so much	rude	make	he	
The more expectations you have, the more rude he will be.											

54.	ami	<i>component</i>	si:t	gatchi	<i>voice</i>	<i>quality</i>	<i>increase</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>		
	This	component	with	will	voice	quality	increase			
The voice quality will increase with this component.										

Such K-E code mixed sentences are becoming more and more frequent in daily speech of a Kashmiri. In other words such code-mixed speech is becoming unmarked in the present day educated Kashmiri society. Thus sociological patterns in the present day Kashmir have given rise to a kind of Kashmiri heavily mixed with English lexical items. But it can be safely argued that Kashmiri still remains the most important language in defining discourse situation and on this basis as well can be called the ML in sociolinguistic terms.

Kak (1995) also observed an acceptability score of 70% for K-E CM sentences which is a high score considering that people generally react negatively to code mixed sentences in the formal settings where the monitor is active and also that the sentences included several invented examples.

In this regard it can be further argued that for some Kashmiries living outside Kashmir, Kashmiri cannot be identified as ML in their K-E code mixed speech. This is because their sociological and psychological patterns of language use and levels of proficiency are different than that of Kashmiri native speakers residing in Kashmir, again showing

the contextual dependency of the ML. E.g.; data from Bhatt (1997) of those Kashmiries who live in Delhi and have higher proficiency in English . His examples include:

55.	dopun	ki	tamis	<i>mi:j</i>	nokri	<i>in</i>	<i>bombay</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	said	that	she	got	job	in	bombay	
She said that she got job in bombay								

(Bhatt 1997 : 231)

56.	<i>she</i>	<i>got</i>	<i>her</i>	tankha:	<i>today</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	she	got	her	pay	today	
She got her salary today.						

(Bhatt 1997 : 229)

In (55) and (56) Kashmiri cannot be identified as the ML. This can be attributed to different socialization patterns of Kashmiris having exposure to non-Kashmiri environment and possessing higher levels of English proficiency.

Psycholinguistic Notion of ML: Psycholinguistic factors also play an important role in determining the BL. Muysken (2000) proposes that psycholinguistically, the most activated language of a bilingual speaker is the ML. Myers-Scotton (2002) also proposed that both languages are activated but in different degrees, one language i.e.ML/BL (Base language) is more activated than EL. However, in K-E CM there does not seem to be any particular justification for saying that BL is activated more than EL, rather it would not be inappropriate to suggest that activation of both is required without any particular preference to ML. This is postulated with reference to PLS where focus is on ‘Word grammar’ and the ‘Strategies of Neutrality’ which though provided by ML functional items are the result of EL insertions.

The assumption can also be linked to the point that code mixed utterances are said to follow a separate code mixing grammar (Ervin-Tripp (1968), Oksaar (1972), Kachru

(1975) , and Pandit (1986) which requires the activation of both EL and BL grammar without any preference. Similarly, activation depends on type of mixing and extent of mixing which in turn depends on a number of structural and socio-psychological factors in addition to bilingual fluency. Here it can be argued that the prestige associated with English plays a role causing the code mixer to be more careful of using the code mixed sentence in good grammatical form.

However, psycholinguistically it makes most sense to think that the ML is that language which is the most dominant language of a bilingual speaker making the switch (Appel and Muysken,1987) and is most important in determining his/her linguistic performance . It has been found that each kind of code mixing whether conscious or unconscious can be linked to an effect and function. It can be well argued that in present day Kashmir thousands of English words are used for linguistic, sociolinguistic or psycholinguistic necessity. Thus, even after heavy code mixing, Kashmiri remains dominant in determining linguistic performance of a Kashmiri speaker and hence Kashmiri forms the BL in K-E CM in psycholinguistic terms.

57.	yi	<i>assignment</i>	chi	<i>impressive</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	assignment	Is	Impressive	
This assignment is impressive.					

58.	yi	<i>question</i>	o:s	<i>mind boggling</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	This	question	was	mind boggling	
This question was mind boggling.					

The prestige attributed to English can be said to influence K-E code mixing as well and in such cases the prestige symbols (English lexical items) are embedded in a Kashmiri base, which in a way can be said to associate the mother tongue with prestige. Thus, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic patterns of a Kashmiries are developed in such a way

that justifies the role of Kashmiri as a BL. The opposite view i.e. taking English as the base and Kashmiri as the EL is simply illogical and unconvincing.

4.15 Myer Scotton's CM Approach and K-E CM: The different properties of K-E CM partially agrees with what has been proposed in MLF. Whether it is distinction of content morpheme and system morpheme or whether it is system morpheme principle, K-E CM fully agrees with these two principles. However about morpheme order principle our data has some reservations, although code mixed utterances have a structure which is one among different possibilities of ML structures but it is not wholly determined by the ML but as it has already been explained in discussion of relativized constraints that it results due to compromise strategies between EL and ML elements. Another important point is that the same combination is again and again observed in code mixed structures. This will further be explained in the discussion of CM grammar.

Our findings also have certain reservations for the level of abstraction which surrounds MLF and its different ramifications. As observed from our study there is excess of abstraction in MLF and its consequent ramifications. The system morpheme principle can be explained in more concrete terms that is in terms of bilingualism and types of bilingualism. As already discussed in unit 1 Myers Scotton's models were criticized for not incorporating sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors.

Similarly when we look at Myers Scotton's different constraints, these can be explained in terms of sociolinguistic factors as well. Talking about system morpheme principle it has been observed in contact situations that people mix only content morphemes and system morphemes are not mixed as they are not carriers of either culture or prestige. (cultural and core borrowings) and same can be used as an explanation for system morpheme principle rather than explaining this principle in terms of speech production models. The mixing of grammatical particles occurs where speakers have equal proficiency and equal frequency of usage of both languages. In such cases the concept of base language becomes redundant and it points to the phenomena of congruent lexicalization and convergence.

Similarly the concept of mistiming as proposed by Myers scotton is never found in K-E CM. No plural marker has been found to be used from English in K-E CM. The explanation is simple that close class items from English are never found in K-E CM.

Close class items mix only in cases of proceeding convergence or congruent lexicalization or other such factors as increasing similarity between the language pair. According to 4M-model pronouns are content morphemes in those languages where they can assign or receive a case. This prediction leads to conclusion that pronouns can be mixed between those languages whose pronouns are content morphemes. In both Kashmiri as well as in English pronouns are content morphemes but an English pronoun was never found to be mixed in K-E CM. Thus this prediction of 4M-model is not followed in K-E CM.

The biggest difference from Myers Scotton's approach is that like her approach it is believed that ML framework dominates but unlike her approach it is not considered as only ML grammar but a grammar operating with system morphemes from ML but which in turn are determined by EL content morphemes as well as ML content morphemes as predicted by PLS,projection principle as well as word grammar corollary. In K-E CM ML framework ensures the applicability of USP as system morphemes from English are never used.

4.17 Macswanian Minimalist Framework and K-E CM: Our study agrees with what has been proposed by Macswan as for as he talks of a mixing grammar in minimalist terms and as for as he talks about the competence of bilingual persons. But Macswan's rejection of those models which are based on production including MLF and its ramifications is not justified as shown by K-E CM. MLF is important as far as it talks about the morpho-syntactic framework and system morphemes provided by ML. The concept of CM grammar will be discussed later but ML is still prominent although is not so prominent as is proposed by Myers scotton and is not belittled to extent to which it has been reduced by Macswan. Thus our findings regarding Myersscotton and Macswan's models can be summed as:

1. K-E CM agrees with MLF in terms of ML framework.
- 2.Unlike MLF , ML grammar is not followed but a mixed grammar is followed.

3. The findings in K-E CM do have certain reservations regarding abstractions which surrounds MLF and its various ramifications. It is proposed here that these principles can be explained in more concrete terms which include both social and psychological factors.

4. Myerscotton's dominance of ML framework is followed but at the same time code mixed structures are not following ML grammar but a mixed grammar which has its own set of rules which are shaped by ML content and system morphemes on the one hand and by EL content morphemes on the other hand.

5. Regarding Macswan's minimalist approach, it is found to be valid in the two ways i.e.; CM follows its grammar and code mixers possess equal competence to monolinguals.

6. It must be noted that it was found unlike Macswan that the participation of languages in CM is asymmetric and ML has a relevance in explaining ML framework in mixed grammar although it is shaped by the interaction of ML and EL system and content morphemes and is a different grammar.

7. The minimalist assumption that ordering relations are not preserved in union is not followed in K-E CM as the resulting frame in CM is a possibility in ML frames and is not totally different from ML as well as EL.

8. Similarly PF Disjunction theorem is violated in K-E CM as mixing occurs at phonological level.

Thus this study proves as well as disproves both Myerscotton and Macswan's assumptions or approaches to CM constraints. While it disapproves of the extra abstraction in Myerscotton, at the same time it disapproves of oversimplification in Macswan. Whereas Myerscotton is working in terms of speech production models (Fromkin 1994) only, Macswan never deviates from the minimalist framework. The conclusion from the above discussion is that Code mixing constraints have their own framework dictated by code mixing rules and can't be reduced to either speech production models or to the minimalist framework.

4.18 CM Grammar and K-E CM:The code mixed structures in K-E CM are not unique or special but they are uniform. A code mixed structure has a form which is repeated again and again and this recurrence of uniform structure is what made this study to categorize or systemize such recurring forms in a rule. When an English content morpheme is mixed in Kashmiri ML it is always in a particular systematic way and never randomly. This is this systematicity which has been captured here in the form of CM rules of K-E CM.

4.19 CM Rules of Nouns in K-E CM:Taking the example of English nouns, it is observed that English nouns when incorporated in Kashmiri have been found to be neutralized by Kashmiri suffixes indicative of changes in number, gender, person, as shown in the table 4.7.

Thus, it is observed that when a noun which is gender-wise neutral in English language is used in Kashmiri ML, it is assigned a gender. This assignment of gender can not be explained in terms of ML phonology alone but this assignment of gender is a matter of interaction of linguistic principles of both ML and EL in accordance with PLS, in addition to how a particular EL item is cognitivized by the bilingual speakers. Whereas “bus” is assigned a feminine gender; “computer” is assigned a masculine gender. To further provide reasoning to the above mentioned statement, consider the word “kaar”. Phonologically it is equivalent to the English word “car” and to the Kashmiri word “kaar” meaning “work”. In spite of the phonological similarity, these two words when used in Kashmiri are provided different genders; the English “car” is assigned feminine gender and the Kashmiri “kaar” is assigned masculine gender. Examples like these indicate that ML phonology alone cannot be said to be the main determining factor for the assignment of gender. Similarly, many other homophonous words are assigned different genders on the basis of how these are cognitivized by the bilingual speakers. Overall, it can be said that a number of factors come into play in this phenomenon, it can be the ML phonology which may be playing an important role, it may be the phonological shape of the EL item, it may be how a particular EL item is cognitivized by the bilinguals and so on. Consider the following examples:

59.	tim-	av	che	<i>factory</i>	traevmitch	<i>K-E CM</i>
	they-	erg	be-fem	factory	start-pst-fem	
They have started the factory.						

60.	tim-	av	chu	ka:rkha:ni	tro:vmut	<i>K</i>
	they	erg	be-masc	factory	start-pst-mas	
They have started the factory.						

61.	*tim-	av	chu	<i>factory</i>	tro:vmut	<i>K-E CM</i>
	they	erg	be-masc-sing	factory	start-pst-masc	
They have started the factory.						

62.	*tim-	av	che	ka:rkha:ni	traevmits	<i>K</i>
	they	erg	be-fem-sing	company	started-fem	
They have started the company.						

63.	<i>dancing</i>	che	tamysin	<i>hobby</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	dancing	be-fem-sing	her- nom- gen- fem	hobby	
Dancing is his/her hobby.					

64.	natsun	chu	tamysund	shogul	<i>K</i>
	dancing	be-masc-sing	his –nom-gen-mas	hobby	
Dancing is his/her hobby.					

65.	<i>*dancing</i>	chu	tamysund	<i>hobby</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	dancing	be-masc-sing	his- nom- gen-mas	hobby	
Dancing is his/her hobby.					

66.	*natsun	che	tamysInz	shogul	<i>K</i>
	dancing	be-fem-sing	her- nom- gen-fem	hobby	
Dancing is her/his hobby.					

In the above examples (59-66) , “factory”, “dancing” as well as “hobby” are neutral in the EL ; whereas the Kashmiri equivalent of “factory” i.e. “ka:rkha:ni” is masculine and takes masculine grammatical particles (“chu” (be-masc-sing) , “tro:vmut” (start-pst-masc); the EL lexical equivalent “factory” in Kashmiri-English code mixed sentence takes feminine grammatical particles (“che” (be-fem-sing). Here, ML phonology plays a primary role in assigning female gender to “factory” which is quite opposite to the previously mentioned example of “car”. Same applies to the ML element “shogul” which takes masculine grammatical particle(“tamysund” (his-nom-gen-masc)), whereas in code mixed utterances it’s lexical equivalent “hobby” takes a feminine grammatical particle (“tamysin” (her-nom-gen-fem)). But the case of “dancing” is interesting, there are no homophonous words or similar sounding words in Kashmiri phonology but all the code mixed nouns ending with suffix “-ing” (gerundive nouns) have been found to assume feminine gender whether it is “fighting”, “reading”, “swimming” , “writing” etc. Thus, these code mixed nouns have assumed a gender irrespective of whether their lexical equivalent is a masculine noun or independent of ML phonology. The lexical equivalent of “dancing” (“natsun”) is cognitivized as a masculine noun in ML and it’s phonology also confirms to masculine nouns like “pakun”(“walking”), “tchatun”(“cutting”) , “tarun” (“crossing”) but equivalent lexical items , “dancing” , “walking” , “cutting” and “crossing” have confirmed to the rule of code mixing grammar which makes all English

nouns of such structure mixed in Kashmiri assume feminine gender in code mixed structures. Furthermore, non-dependency of ML phonology is proved by the fact that EL predicative adjectives ending with “-ing” like “cunning”, “charming” take masculine as well as feminine gender governed by their head nouns. Thus, through this illustration of gender distribution in ML, EL and code mixed utterances; it becomes clear that code mixed utterances follow a different gender system which is not totally governed by either of the two languages but is a result of the interaction of the two language systems in question. It is a different system governed by its own rule system.

The above given examples illustrate that although most of grammatical particles or more truly outsider late system morphemes (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2002) are contributed by the ML, it is not the grammar of ML which is adhered to but there is a strategy of compromise between ML and EL lexical and functional items, and the shape of ML grammatical particles is determined by the lexical properties of both the EL as well ML content words. The explanation provided for the above code mixed utterances (59-66) is that EL elements in code mixed situations interact not only with the ML functional items but also with the content morphemes of ML satisfying their lexical properties (PLS). Accordingly in this process a different syntactic form results which is different from both the ML and the EL and a different rule system or code mixing grammar is followed which is quite regular when the two languages maintain a code mixed relationship.

Thus, some rules governing mixing of nouns in the case of Kashmiri-English can be formulated as:

1. When an English noun is mixed with Kashmiri (ML); it is assigned a gender which is not totally determined by ML.
2. English gerundive nouns (ending with –ing) when mixed in Kashmiri always assume a feminine gender.

4.20 CM Rules of Verbs in K-E CM: Like nouns, hundreds of English verbs have also been found to occur as code mixes in Kashmiri language but the incorporation of English verbs is not random but rather involves a number of compromise strategies which are almost evident with every mixed verb. Similar to what Kishna (1979) postulated, in Kashmiri-English code mixing also, a structure (V kar) is available in which verb is

inserted. Auxiliary “kar” (do) with its different forms like “karI” (will do), “karaan” (doing), etc was said to be a strategy provided by the ML. However, there is another way of looking at it i.e. EL verbs dictate the framework by demanding auxiliaries from the ML for acceptability of the code mixed structure. This systematicity can be explained by the fact that “code mixing” grammar contains a higher frequency of constructions involving auxiliary verbs as almost every EL verb must be accompanied with a ML auxiliary (or operator) in order to exist in a code mixed structure. It can well be said that the shape of auxiliary is determined by the EL verb and not by the ML; thus again a compromise strategy and a resulting “separate rule system” or “code mixing grammar”. e.g.;

67.	tam	-is	chu	<i>lecture</i>	<i>prepare</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	be-masc-sing	lecture	prepare	to do	
He has to prepare the lecture.							

68.	tam	-is	chu	<i>software</i>	<i>install</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	be-masc-sing	software	install	to do	
He has to install the software.							

69.	asi	kor	<i>enjoy</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>			
	we-erg	did-pst	enjoy				
We did enjoy.							

70.	tam-	is	chu	so:ruy	<i>calculate</i>	karun	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	has-pst-masc	all	calculate	to do	
He has to do all the calculation.							

71.	tam-	is	gov	va:riyah	<i>feel</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-pst-masc	very	feel	
He felt it badly.						

72.	tam-	is	gov	<i>shock</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-pst	shock	
He was shocked.					

73.	tam	-is	gatchi	<i>programme</i>	<i>terminate</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	dat	happen-fut	programme	terminate	
His programme will terminate.						

74.	<i>Show</i>		gov	<i>end</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	show		happen-pst-sing	end	
The show ended.					

It has been observed that no verb from English can be mixed until it is supplied by an auxiliary from the ML, or English verbs when mixed in Kashmiri always demand an auxiliary and can never occur singly. Broadly speaking, English verbs can be classified into two types in K-E CM depending on the auxiliary they take when mixed in Kashmiri.

English verbs taking auxiliary “karun”(to do) and its different forms like “kari” (do-fut), “kor” (do-masc-pst), “ker” (do-fem-pst), etc will be referred to as active verbs as these auxiliaries are always governed by agentive verbs or associated with agentive verbs. English verbs taking auxiliary “gatchun” (to happen) and its various forms like “gov” (happen-pst-masc), “geyi” (happen-pst-fem), “gatchi” (happen-fut), etc will be referred to as passive verbs as these verbs are governed by object verbs or verbs associated with the patient. All English verbs when mixed with Kashmiri fall in either of these two classes and never occur singly.

Some code mixing rules governing the mixing of English verbs in Kashmiri can be formulated as under:

1. English verbs when used in Kashmiri-English code mixed structures can never occur singly but always demand an auxiliary from the ML whose shape these essentially determine. On the basis of the auxiliary, EL verbs can be classified as active and passive verbs in the code mixed structures.
2. Those English verbs which demand Kashmiri auxiliary “kar” (do) and its different forms are called active verbs. e.g., “prepare”, “install” ,“enjoy” and “calculate” as in examples 67, 68, 69 and 70.
3. Those English verbs which demand Kashmiri auxiliary “gov” (happen-pst) and its different forms are called as passive verbs. E.g.; “feel”, “shock”, “terminate” and “end” as in examples 71,72,73 and 74.

Thus, in code mixing structures, certain type of structures are recurring which can be called as code mixed structures having ML framework dictated by mixed grammar. The various strategies of neutrality definitely point to a code mixing grammar where mostly certain kind of structures are favored resulting from the compromise strategies between the given languages. It must be pointed out that code mixing grammars are neither static nor stable systems, but these definitely shape the structure of the ML as hundreds of code mixes may attain the status of borrowings and these code mixed structures get integrated in the structure of the ML as is the case of hundreds of Urdunized expressions in present day Kashmiri.

4.21 **CM Rules of Adverbs in K-E CM:** As mentioned earlier adverbs are a wide class consisting of many subclasses which exhibit properties of both open class as well as close class items and hence their behaviour in CM depends on the subclass to which they belong to.

Regarding mixing of English adverbs in Kashmiri ML a rule can be formulated as evident from table 4.3:

1. Only adverbs of state and direction from English are mixed in Kashmiri ML .e.g.;

75.	su	chu	kara:n	kaem	<i>quickly</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	is	do	work	quickly	
He does the work quickly.						

76.	su	chu	<i>sincerely</i>	no:kri	kara:n	<i>K-E CM</i>
	he	is	sincerely	job	do.	
He sincerely does his job.						

77.	tho:da	pakna:v	<i>right side-</i>	as	<i>car</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	little	move	right side	loc	car	
Move your car a little bit to the right side.						

2. Adverbs of time and place (less common) are also used but in code switched relation and are not mixed within an identifiable ML clause.

78.	Kar	cham-	ov	chay	.....	<i>just</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>K-E CS</i>
	when	take	fut-pl	tea	.....	just	now	
When we will take tea?..... Just now.								

79.	kati	samkheyi:	ra:hi	.....	<i>there</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>party</i>	<i>K-E CS</i>
	where	met-2 nd pr.	rahi	....	there	in	the	party	
Where you met Rahi?. There in the party.									

4.22 **CM Rules of Adjectives in K-E CM:** Kashmiri adjectives are easily mixed in English because they precede nouns in both English as well as Kashmiri. Due to equivalence in their positions , these mix freely in Kashmiri and hence there is no need for their special adjustment as shown in table 4.2.

4.23 **Mixing of Close Class items:** Close class items include pronouns , prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. As a code mixing rule for close class items in K-E CM we can formulate a rule, “Close class items are never mixed from EL in ML in case of K-E CM.” This rule is strictly observed in K-E CM but their mixing can be discussed separately:

4.24 **Mixing of Pronouns and K-E CM :** According to Myers scotton (2006) , pronouns can be regarded as content morphemes in those languages where pronouns are case receivers or case assigners. Looking at both English and Kashmiri, pronouns are case receivers and hence can be regarded as content morphemes. But quite contradictory to this, English pronouns are never found to be mixed in Kashmiri as shown in table 4.4. Thus CM rule for mixing of pronouns in K-E CM is that Pronouns are never mixed from English in K-E CM.

4.25 **Mixing of Conjunctions and K-E CM :** Regarding mixing of English conjunctions in Kashmiri , it was found that no English conjunction is mixed in Kashmiri although these are positional equivalents in both the languages as shown in Fig 4.5. Thus CM rule of conjunctions is, “ No conjunction from English is mixed in K-E CM .” following Close Class Constraint.

4.26 **Mixing of Prepositions and K-E CM:** No preposition from English was found to be mixed in K-E CM because Kashmiri is a postpositional language and this strictly follows the linearity constraint of Poplack.

“No preposition from English is mixed in K-E CM”

The interaction between these languages is liable to change and with increasing fluency in English; it is possible that some close class items may be mixed in Kashmiri in future. As evident from above tables (4.1 to 4.6); many close items from Urdu have already infiltrated in Kashmiri and it is a different process from what is called as CM, discussion of which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

4.27 **There Lies a Language Interaction Continuum:** The data collected in this study served as a motivation for looking at the systematic nature of language interaction phenomena. Consider the following example:

80.	tam-	is	cheni	nye:k	insa:n	sinz	pehcha:n	<i>K</i>
	he-	dat	hasn't	virtuous	person	of-gen	recognition	
He can not recognize a virtuous person.								

81.	potr-	i	dag	lalna:viny	che-ne	sahal	<i>K</i>
	son-	dat	pain	bear	isn't	Easy	
It is not easy to live with the grief of a demised son.							

82.	tse	khe	bati	.....	<i>nahin</i>	<i>Abi</i>	<i>nahin</i>	<i>K-U CS</i>
	you	eat	rice	.....	no	now	No	
You eat rice! No, not now.								

83.	yi	kari	<i>absorb</i>	va:ryah	<i>moisture</i>	<i>K-E CM</i>
	this	do-fut	absorb	much	moisture	
It will absorb much moisture.						

The examples (80-83) are representative of main language interaction phenomena occurring in the present day Kashmir valley with Kashmiri-Urdu code switching as the unmarked behavior of speech on the one hand whereas Kashmiri-English code mixing as unmarked speech behavior on the other hand. It, however, does not exclude Kashmiri-English code switching and Kashmiri-Urdu code mixing which are also observed but the most frequent and pervasive mode of speech is as specified in the above given examples which, however, is liable to change with the change of various factors in addition to passage of time .

The above examples can also be looked as the four examples of four language interaction phenomena i.e. borrowings, nonce borrowings, code switching and code mixing. The impact of Sanskrit and Persian can be felt in present day Kashmiri only at the lexical level i.e., Persian and Sanskrit lexicon is found in the present day Kashmiri mainly in the form of borrowings (examples 80 and 81). Depending on the nature of lexicon Grierson(1953) has classified Kashmiri in two dialects, i.e. Persianised Kashmiri (example 80) and Sanskritised Kashmiri (example 81) spoken by two major communities i.e. Muslims and Hindus. No solid records are present which can show that the impact of Sanskrit or Persian on Kashmiri was above lexical level. One of the reasons why Kashmiri survived was the illiteracy of Kashmiri native speakers. As records show; less than 10 percent of population of Srinagar city was literate at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another reason which could be cited for the lesser effects of Sanskrit and Persian is the absence of mass media which has largely contributed in the spread of Urdu and English in Kashmir valley and the resulting sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic impacts on Kashmiri language and Kashmiri speakers. Thus language interaction phenomena can stop at the level of lexicon determined by a given social context i.e., what has happened as a result of contact of Kashmiri and Sanskrit or Kashmiri and Persian. In fact it is the socio-political factors which have determined the result of the language interaction phenomena.

This interaction can be represented as:

Kashmiri+ Sanskrit → *Sanskritised Kashmiri*

Kashmiri+ Persian → *Persianised Kashmiri*

First Sanskrit and Persian entered in the form of code mixes and many of these code mixes vanish away, some were retained as nonce borrowings in which some attained the status of borrowings depending on a number of linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors.

Sanskrit and Persian have never attained the status of informal or home languages and even after many centuries of contact, Persian and Sanskrit remained languages of prestige, somehow separated from the day to day life of native Kashmiries. Thus the impact of Sanskrit and Persian stopped at the lexical level giving us the first three stages of language interaction continuum i.e., code mixing, nonce borrowing and borrowing.

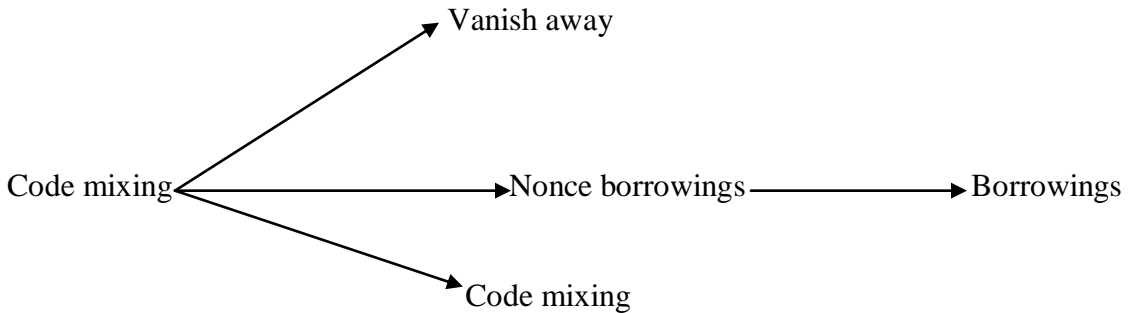


Fig4.1 Figure representing the language interaction continuum at the lexical level

However, the language interaction phenomena are not restricted to the lexical level. The third language which was introduced in Kashmir as an official language in the beginning of the twentieth century was Urdu which share much of it's lexicon with Persian and Sanskrit languages and this paved the way for paralleling the structures of Kashmiri language towards Urdu language. The entry of Urdu in Kashmir was accompanied by the increase in literacy as well as the booming out of mass media in every corner of the valley.

Urdu occupied the domains which hitherto occupied by the Sanskrit and Persian languages. The impact of Urdu didn't restrict itself to the lexical level but extended above lexical level on linguistic level and at socio-psychological level its impact was much more than the preceding languages. In normal language contact context it is only open class items of lexicon which are mixed or borrowed but as shown in the above tables (4.1 to 4.6) that not only open class items but also closed class items of lexicon of Urdu are now used in day to day speech of Kashmiries.

At the socio-psychological level it can be said that Urdu has attained a status of an informal or home language in Kashmir or what has been called as the trickling of Urdu from school to home (Kak 1995). The impact of Urdu has extended above the lexical level and full sentences of Urdu language can be observed in day to day speech of educated Kashmiries or what can be called as the process of code switching, where two base languages or two grammars can easily be identified. Many urdu words are being adopted in Kashmiri due to increase in fluency of urdu which can be called as nonce –borrowings of Urdu in Kashmiri. Thus an effective language contact can lead to the impact of a language above lexical and formal level and the next stage of language interaction can be identified as the process of code switching.

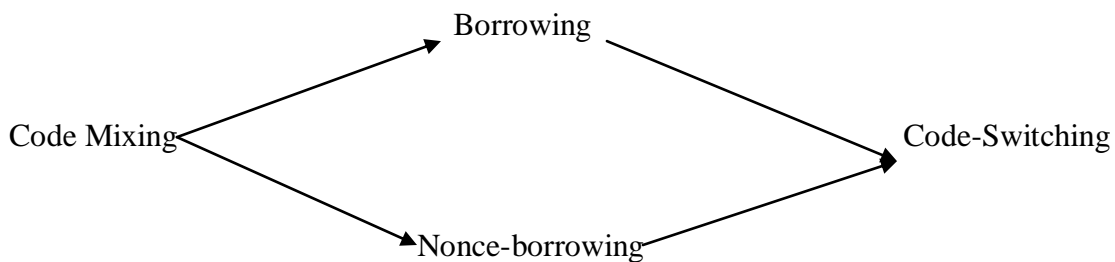


Fig 4.2 *Figure showing the language interaction continuum at the sentence level*

Starting from Sanskrit and Persian; Kashmiri was sharing a major portion of its lexicon with Urdu language and due to a very strong ethno-linguistic vitality of Urdu language in Kashmir; Urdu attained the status of informal code switched language. Thus the similarity of Kashmiri with Urdu was on increase and Kashmiri grammar has started moving towards Urdu language due to heavy borrowing of both open and closed class items in addition to parallel usage or code switching of Urdu in most formal context or

what can be called as the “Congruent lexicalization of Kashmiri with respect to Urdu language”. Congruent lexicalization is a term used by Muysken (2000) for intense language contact situations where two languages are increasingly moving towards a single grammar as a result of an effective language contact.

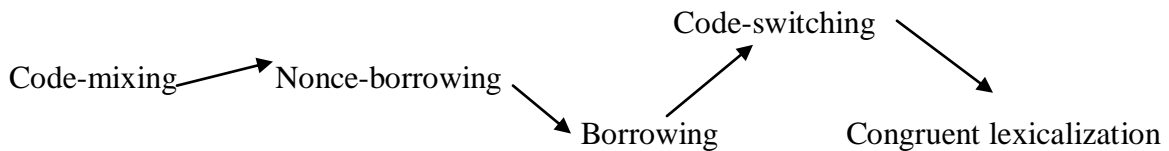


Fig4.3 Figure representing language interaction continuum at the grammatical level

However, the congruent lexicalization of Kashmiri with respect to Urdu has stopped due to introduction of global English which is the most prestigious language in the present day Kashmir.

As discussed earlier English forms the primary choice for code mixing in the present day Kashmir due to a number of linguistic and socio-political and psychological factors. As a result of increasing impacts of global English Kashmiri language is being de-lexified from Urdu lexicon and re-lexified with English lexicon. Thus borrowings are prone to be replaced by the de-lexification process as is case with Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu borrowings in the present day Kashmir.

Thus English language at present in Kashmir can be said to be at the lexical stage of language interaction continuum and at the threshold of sentence level of language interaction continuum .Time will determine the impacts of global English on Kashmiri language.

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that language interaction is not random but the linguistic interaction between two languages is systematic and a function of accompanying socio-political, economic and psychological factors. From above study, it becomes clear that there lies a language interaction continuum which originates at the lexical level in the form of code mixes and progresses in the form of nonce-borrowings and borrowings as was case with the contact of Kashmiri with Sanskrit and Persian languages. However, when the contact between the two languages is more intense; the language interaction continuum supersedes the lexical level in the form of code switching as in case of Kashmiri –Urdu contact. Under conducive conditions language interaction

continuum can move to the level of grammar or what has been referred to as the congruent lexicalization of two languages (Muysken 2000).

Thus language interaction phenomena occur in a systemic way and there is a clear possibility of distinguishing these processes from each other quite contrary to what Eastman (1992) concluded. From our study, it becomes clear that by incorporating socio-political and psychological factors language interaction phenomena can be distinguished from each other as the systematicity of language interaction continuum is totally determined by the systematicity of the accompanying socio-political and psychological factors.

5. Conclusion

This study of K-E CM has shown a mixed validity for different approaches to constraints. Some of the constraints were found to be valid whereas some were violated in K-E CM. The study was interesting in the sense that many constraints were validated as well as violated simultaneously. e.g. Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint was violated whereas Linearity constraint was followed uni-directionally i.e.; when one language is considered as a base language and same was true for close class constraint which also requires the construct of the base language.

While checking the validity of different constraints it becomes quite obvious that the construct of base language can not be negated in K-E CM. The validity of different constraints can be explained only by considering the construct of a base language.

This study has shown only a partial agreement with the MLF (1993) and 4-M (2002) models. Although the System morpheme Principle was followed and the notion of content vs system morpheme was valid enough but two points were noted about MLF where this study differ. First the MLF was observed to be very much abstracted to the processes of speech production inside the human mind. Many principles including system morpheme principle can be explained in sociolinguistic terms and same is true for uniform structure principle (USP, 2003). Similarly, non-mixing of English pronouns in Kashmiri can't be explained with the help from Myers scotton's models. The incorporation of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic dimension becomes inevitable.

The biggest difference between MLF and this study is that the MLF believes in follow-up of ML grammar whereas this study points to only a ML framework dictated by a mixed grammar.

The evaluation of K-E CM in the Macswanian framework or the minimalist framework shows that this approach is valid only up to the extent of considering competence of code mixers equal to that of monolinguals. The PF disjunction theorem is also violated in K-E CM as mixing at phonological takes place frequently in K-E CM. The demand for a code

mixed grammar in minimalist framework is also valid in K-E CM but the role of ML framework in K-E CM can't be denied.

Similarly, Macswan's rejection of universality of constraints is not fully validated in K-E CM. Societies differ from each other but there are certain things in all societies which are general if not universal. So this study supports the generality of certain constraints although it does not reinforce the notion of the universal constraints. The generality of constraints can again be explained in terms of certain sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic terms.

About code mixing grammar, this study has shown how a particular ML structural framework is found in mixed code structures. This particular framework is dictated by the PLS and the rules of this framework can be stated in terms of CM grammar. It is also concluded that general contact specific CM grammars can be constructed. The rules of CM grammar are liable to change like any other grammar with the change in related dimensions.

Similarly the linguistic situation in present day Kashmir pointed to the fact that language interaction phenomena are not random but can be arranged in terms of a continuum which again is dictated by sociolinguistic as well as psycholinguistic factors in addition to other related dimensions. So what important conclusion comes from our study is that CM and other language interaction phenomena can't be abstracted either in the Speech production models (Myers scotton) or the minimalist approaches (Macswan). Any explanation of Language interaction phenomena is incomplete unless relevant dimensions (sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, etc)are incorporated.

Regarding the universality of constraints, it can be stated that language contact situations are not universal but they are not modular as well. There are situations which can be called as general contact situations and general constraints can be stated as well. The language contact situations in the world will fall on one point of language interaction continuum. Language contact can proceed from mixing to congruent lexicalization stage and contact can stop at mixing, borrowing or any other stage of language interaction continuum determined by the particular linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors.

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