

**CODE-SWITCHING IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PUNJABI IN THE
LOWER MAINLAND**

by

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Abstract

Punjabi language is widely used throughout the Lower Mainland, BC. It is the third most spoken immigrant language after Mandarin and Cantonese. Although Canada's Official Bilingualism policy promotes English and French as official languages, many accommodations are made for immigrant languages such as Punjabi. As a result, it continues to thrive. Due to the close proximity of the two languages, Punjabi commonly makes use of English through code-switching. The use of code-switching is looked at in this thesis through an analysis of Lower Mainland radio and Bhangra music. The data for this project has been collected through listening to and transcribing radio segments and music lyrics. The data utilized was collected from two programs, Roshni and Punjabi Takeover, which both air on RED FM, a Surrey based Punjabi radio station. Analysis finds that Punjabi and English exist in interaction on Lower Mainland radio and in Bhangra music being played on Lower Mainland radio, through the use of code-switching. The use of code-switching is situational and depends on context. Code-switching is both functional and symbolic. There are a variety of motivations for it, including translation, attention attraction, and the negotiation of dual identities, also referred to as bi-lingual or bi-cultural identities. In this way, code-switching can support and maintain the use of Punjabi language for speakers with a variety of abilities in the language, preventing total language loss.

Lay Summary

Punjabi in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia is often mixed with English. This is called code-switching, and is a result of interactions between two groups who speak different languages, and where bilingualism is common. In this case, the minority language (Punjabi), takes on features of the dominant language (English). While some hold that mixing comprises the integrity of a given language, this thesis argues that code-switching can be considered a form of language maintenance. Code-switching allows for Punjabi speakers to use Punjabi whether they can speak it fluently or not. Speakers have the choice to mix with English if they need to, or if they want to do so in order to show a connection to both Punjabi and Canadian/Western identities. Code-switching is explored here through an analysis of Punjabi spoken on a local radio station, and Punjabi used in Bhangra music that is played on the same station.

Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Jasmine Kaur Sandher.

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For Nile and Ezra

1 Introduction

Punjabi language has been used in Vancouver for over a century, and like most languages, it has changed and developed over time. This thesis explores the current usage of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland, as well as one of the ways the language is maintained: through the use of code-switching. Code-switching, or the switching between two languages in the same linguistic exchange, is a popular form of speaking in bilingual communities, especially when two or more language communities live in close contact (Zentella, 2). Through an analysis of language use on RED FM, a popular Vancouver radio station that specializes in multi-cultural programming and particularly that oriented towards the Punjabi Canadian community, I show that Punjabi is often mixed with English. I will argue that this can be seen as a form of language maintenance: a method used to maintain Punjabi among Diaspora communities. In this way, the Punjabi language is established and used among Punjabi Diaspora communities, at dynamic exchange and interchange with English.

1.1 The History of Punjabi language in BC

The first wave of Punjabi migration to Vancouver occurred shortly before the turn of, and in the early part of, the twentieth century. However, by 1908, the Continuous Journey Regulation was put in place to ensure that migration from British India to Canada was impossible. It required that immigrants from India arrive on a continuous journey to Canada, which was then made impossible by the closure of direct routes. (Johnston, 2014, 16-17) Such exclusionary immigration policies stunted the growth of the Punjabi community during that time. Johnston states that in 1908 when immigration from India stopped, over 5000

Indians had entered Canada. Half of those were only passing through Canada to go to America. For the half that stayed in Canada, work was sparse, and some left for the West Coast of the United States where they found work. (2014, 18) Punjabi language was used in these communities of men, many of whom did not speak any English as they had “come to North America directly from rural areas.” (Johnston, 2014, 19) Johnston states that their only form of entertainment was to gather together and socialize, so the men would gather “in groups on Powell Street or Main Street and [speak] loudly in their own language.” (2014, 20) This attracted negative attention from Vancouverites at the time (Johnston, 2014, 20), but these were the beginnings of Punjabi use in Vancouver – when Punjabi communities were beginning to form. Moreover, from the same time period, early records of Punjabi use can be seen in the Ghadar newspaper, which was established in 1913 (Tatla, 2003, 93) and was used to spread the Ghadar Party’s mission on the West Coast of the United States and in Vancouver. The Ghadar Party was a revolutionary party “formed by South Asians in San Francisco in 1913, which attempted and desperately failed to instigate an Indian Army-led rebellion against British Rule during the First World War.” (Johnston, 2013, 1) The Ghadar Party “had active support from the pioneer population of Punjabi Sikhs...living [and] working...in BC.” (Johnston, 2013, 1-2) In addition to the Ghadar newspaper, Tatla reveals 5 Punjabi language newspapers that were produced in Canada between 1909 and 1942 that were associated with the Ghadar Party. These were: Sudesh Sewak (1909), Pardesi Khalsa (1910), Sansaar (1912), India and Canada (Punjabi and English, 1930) and Social Sudhar (1942). (2003, 93)

Punjabi language use grew dramatically in the 1970’s. According to Sadhu Binning, author, activist, and former Lecturer of Punjabi at UBC, after Punjabis found out that

Canadian immigration laws had changed in the 1970s, a lot came as visitors, especially from 1970-72. (Binning, and cited by Murphy, 2008) This new wave of “visitors,” as they were called, “included a large number of educated youth,” and Binning notes that “the degree of confidence and self-esteem these people carried was different than their earlier counterparts” (Binning, 2006, 281). He states that this new community was bolder, and had to “distinguish itself both within the larger white community, and within the older Punjabi community,” (281). Members of this community were responsible for founding the Punjabi Cultural Association (1972) and the Punjabi Literary Association of Vancouver (1973), as well as *Watanon Dūr (Far From Home)* (1973), a Punjabi journal printed in Gurmukhi (Murphy, 2008). In the 1970’s, Punjabi literature began to flourish and a community of Punjabi writers was beginning to take shape. In an interview, Binning recalls that the 1970s was when the foundation for Punjabi literature in Vancouver was laid. Binning began to edit *Watanon Dūr* in 1976 (Murphy, 2008). Eventually, he would co-edit it with Balwant Sanghera, who co-founded the Punjabi Language Education Association. The title, *Watanon Dūr*, meaning ‘far away from the homeland’, reflected a commitment and an attachment to Punjab as home.

However, this view that ‘home’ was left somewhere in the past began to change within this second wave of migrants. It was this community of people who began the arduous task of both complicating and sorting out what it meant to be both Punjabi and Canadian. Through literature, art, and protest, the members of this new community began to make connections to their original home as well as make ties with a new home, re-imagining what ‘home’ meant to them. Murphy distinguishes this feature of the Punjabi-speaking diaspora community in Vancouver as “the dynamic nature of place making” (2015, 2), and points out that the renaming of *Watanon Dūr* to simply *Watan*, was a reflection of Punjabis now seeing

Canada as their home (2015, 2). In addition to “[providing] a platform for Punjabi writers living in Canada to publish their writings,” (Hundal, interview, January, 2013) the magazine served as a way for local Punjabi writers to contribute to and reflect on the formation of a new Punjabi Canadian identity. Hundal reflects on the renaming of the journal:

We changed the name of the magazine to *Watan* because we wanted to make a statement that we are living in Canada and it is our country now. We are here and we are not far from the motherland. Before changing the name to *Watan*, we used to publish the magazine under the name of *Watanoñ Dūr*. By changing the name of the magazine to *Watan*, we announced that we are Canadian now. (Interview January, 2013)

As Murphy notes, the change from *Watanoñ Dūr* to *Watan* was a significant one, reflecting a claim to a new homeland. This was a significant time for Punjabi language, allowing Punjabi speakers to claim a new homeland where their language would become an integral part of their identity and of their presence in Canada. After the change of the title to the publication, Binning also released a bilingual (English/Punjabi) collection of poetry entitled *No more 'Watanoñ Dūr'*, which, as Murphy writes, “[has] articulated forcefully [a] re-imagination of time and space partially by bridging a linguistic gap alongside a geographical one...” (2015).

This re-imagination also meant a new way of looking at Punjabi language. The language in this new environment has come to be used in school systems, in business, at the local government level, and in media. The focus of this thesis is the use of the language in the domain of broadcast radio, through examination of Punjabi language use on an

exemplary talk radio program and bhangra music that is played during a music-oriented program on the same station, RED FM. These programs are heard and engaged with by an estimated 100,000 listeners throughout the Lower Mainland (not including online listenership) (Sekhon, Personal Interview), and reflect the way that Punjabi is used throughout the Lower Mainland. The exploration of Punjabi use through these programs reveals a high level of language mixing in the form of code switching in some exchanges, and minimal language mixing using only loan words in others, showing that the way Punjabi is used on the programs is dictated by context.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The goal of this thesis is to explore the place of Punjabi, and how it is used. I set out to explore how Punjabi is used in the Lower Mainland by listening to a segment of radio programming from the Surrey based Punjabi Radio station, RED FM. With an estimated listenership of 100,000, this station was chosen over other stations that broadcast in Punjabi because of how many listeners it reaches. The number of listeners here is indicative how many people understand, and in some cases participate in the way that Punjabi is used on the station.

I listened to ten episodes each of two programs, “Roshni” and “Punjabi Takeover”. The first is a daytime program that discusses a variety of topics, and includes interview segments with guests, as well as caller participation. The second is a late night music based program. Most of the content is bhangra music, and there are spoken segments between the music, as well as some interviews with both local and international music artists. These two programs were chosen because of their contrast to one another. The structure of each

program as well as the language used on each is notably different. While “Roshni” is more formal, “Punjabi Takeover” has a more casual style. These differences dictate the way that language is used on each program, as will be shown in chapter 3.

Interview research was not conducted for this study. A choice was made to look at the textual content from the radio station to gain an objective understanding of what Punjabi language use looks like on Lower Mainland radio. The data was collected from 20 episodes all together, and was transcribed, transliterated, translated, and analyzed. The analysis of data is supported through a variety of scholarship.

In the first chapter, I explore the ways that Punjabi has flourished in Canada, despite the prediction that most immigrant languages die out by the third generation. Chapter one provides a discussion of the nation’s language policy, statistics on its most spoken languages, and the status of Punjabi in Canada, and in BC in particular. With these statistics, I discuss the relevance of the nation’s language policy in BC.

In the second chapter, I explore code-switching between English and Punjabi on the talk-radio programs Roshni and Punjabi Takeover on RED FM, a popular Surrey based radio station. In this chapter I analyze code-switching between Punjabi and English. My own observations are supported by research and by information provided by the Director of Programming at RED FM. Here, I include a discussion of how code-switching works to maintain a bi-lingual identity, and how this works to maintain Punjabi use throughout the Lower Mainland. The term ‘maintenance’ is used to refer to the fact that the language is currently being used in many realms, and maintenance is shown here through the use of Punjabi on Lower Mainland radio, and through the exploration of lyrical content that is

played on Lower Mainland radio. I do not use the term ‘maintenance’ to suggest intergenerational transmission.

Recent Punjabi popular music has also reflected the maintenance of bi-lingual identities, and this is explored in the third chapter through an analysis of Punjabi popular music that is being played on RED FM. As RED FM is the most popular Lower Mainland Punjabi Radio station, we can conclude that the music played on the station caters to the musical preferences of its listeners. The aim of this chapter is to analyze language use in songs played on Punjabi Takeover, which is a late night music oriented program on RED FM. The host and deejay, Nick Chowlia, plays mostly bhangra content, showcasing both international and local bhangra. From the data I collected from RED FM, I conclude that language mixing between Punjabi and English in Punjabi popular acts in favour of the maintenance of Punjabi language, and the fact that it is being played on a Lower Mainland station suggests that such language choices as reflected in these lyrics resonates with listeners.

The aim of this thesis is to showcase how Punjabi is being used in Lower Mainland Punjabi language radio media, highlighting the importance of code-switching in language maintenance. Code-switching is a marker of bilingualism, and whether it shows proficiency in both languages, or limitations in either language, it allows for the maintenance of Punjabi in the contexts explored in this thesis.

2 Punjabi in Vancouver: An Overview

In this chapter, I explore Canadian language policy and its relationship to the status of Punjabi in Canada, as well as map out the current uses of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland. The beginning of this chapter provides general language statistics that give a sense of how much Punjabi is spoken in Canada, and gives a brief background on the history of the Punjabi language in Canada. In the first section I then discuss language policy and ideology in Canada, providing a context for the discussion of Punjabi's place in the linguistic economy of the country. In the subsequent sections I explore the broad range of ideas, concerns, and accomplishments that are associated with the Punjabi language. One perspective that is shared by some academics, writers, and community members at large is that by not being included in Canada's language policy (Canada follows the Official Bilingualism model, which includes French and English), Punjabi may not survive future generations. However, I show the ways in which Punjabi is flourishing through a discussion of its status in Lower Mainland British Columbia, noting the accommodations that are made for Punjabi language, as well as a multitude of forms in which it is currently being used. I also include a discussion of some of the ideologies around mixed Punjabi, and language mixing in general. I have included both sides of this discussion in an attempt to provide a holistic discussion of the status of Punjabi in Canada.

To give context for a discussion of Punjabi language within Canada, and within BC, I will begin with a brief breakdown of language statistics that show the proportions of English, French, and non-official/non-aboriginal languages spoken at home throughout Canada, and

throughout BC. Through Statistics Canada, language statistics are looked at in multiple aspects, such as languages spoken at home, languages spoken at work, mother tongue language, and knowledge of (a particular) language. I have chosen to compare languages spoken at home. Without conducting interviews, there is no concrete way to know why people make particular language choices at home versus outside of the home, as language choices are complex and dynamic. With this in mind, I have chosen to provide statistics for home languages because I believe this category will best showcase language choices, rather than language requirements. I chose not to provide statistics for languages spoken outside the home because many times there are language requirements for the workplace and at school. Furthermore, the categories of mother tongue languages and knowledge of languages do not provide any information as to whether those languages are still spoken by the respondents. I will provide statistics for languages spoken at home that reflect the total number of results from both single and multiple responses. These numbers reflect households that speak a single language, and multiple languages at home.

The 2016 Census data from the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages shows that throughout Canada, 63.7% of the 34,767,250 respondents to the census speak English only at home, and another 20% of respondents speak French only at home. 0.5% reported speaking both English and French at home. 0.2% reported speaking English, French, and a non-official language at home. 3.7% reported speaking both English and a non-official language at home. 0.4% reported speaking both French and a non-official language. 11.2% of people reported speaking only non-official/non-aboriginal languages at home, and 0.3% of people speak aboriginal languages. Most people speak only English, or only French at home. The third largest category is of only unofficial languages (not including Aboriginal

languages) spoken at home. These figures show us that only a small portion of the population reports speaking English and another language, whether it is official or unofficial (only 4.4%). These figures show the importance of English and French as official languages in Canada, as they are used by large portions of the Canadian population. The 11.2% who speak a language that is both unofficial (not English or French), and non-Aboriginal are particularly relevant to this study, as this group includes those who speak Punjabi at home. According to Statistics Canada, 1.6% of the Canadian population reports speaking Punjabi at home (this includes Punjabi alone, and Punjabi with another language). (2016)

However, if we look at provincial statistics, we can also see that the use of English at home is better dispersed throughout Canada, while the use of French at home occurs mostly in Quebec and contiguous provinces. For example, in the 2016 Census, statistics from Quebec show that 87% of respondents speak French at home, while statistics from Canada outside of Quebec show that only 4% of respondents speak French at home. (Statistics Canada). Furthermore, BC statistics from the same Census show that French is spoken at home by .6% of respondents (French alone, or French and one or more languages). (OCOL) By comparison, 79% of BC residents speak English at home (English alone, or English and one or more languages) (OCOL), and presently, 17.6% of BC respondents speak Punjabi at home. (Statistics Canada)

Building on these statistics, in order to provide a context within which to speak about Punjabi in Canada, the next section gives an overview of Canadian language policy and the history of how it came to be, and its effects on minority languages. It also introduces the idea that in Canada, there is a difference in Official Bilingualism, which promotes English and

French as official languages, and the ideologies surrounding language at the state, provincial, and local levels.

2.1 Language Policy in Canada and Language Ideologies in Canada

The Canadian state is officially bilingual; the nation's two official languages are English and French. This reflects the language ideology that undergirds the Canadian state. Language ideology is defined by Watts as "a set of beliefs about the structure of language and/or the functional uses to which language is put which are shared by the members of a community" (68, 1999). The Canadian bilingual policy thus expresses a set of beliefs about language.

Official Bilingualism in Canada only refers to English and French. The term itself does not include anyone who speaks English and any minority language, and promotes "bilingualism" as describing only those who speak English and French. French and English are seen as the languages of the "two founding races" (Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, 1967, Appendix 1), and even the languages of Canada's First Nations are left out of this picture. While Canada is, in practice, a multi-lingual nation, the state protects the bilingualism policy.

In 1963, under the Pearson government, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was created to

Inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the *two founding races*,

taking into account the contribution made by *other ethnic groups* to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. (Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, 1967, Appendix 1; italics added)

What the B&B Commission did from 1963-1970, in some ways, caused more harm than good. Any linguistic contribution made by non-French speaking ethnic groups was ignored, aside from a few Aboriginal languages that did gain official status in a few provinces, but not federally (Ricento, 484). No immigrant languages have gained official status at the federal or provincial level, in more than 40 years since this Commission came about. What the B&B Commission was brought about to do, in essence, was to recommend Official Bilingualism *of English and French*, which was done in 1969. That year, the Official Languages Act was passed, “for bilingualism to be allowed in all institutions of the Federal Parliament and Federal bureaucracies.” (Ricento, 478).

The B&B Commission was also brought on to encourage a Multiculturalism policy, which was done in 1971, under the Trudeau government. One of the many mandates of the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy was to “make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins” (Justice Laws Website). However, the policy was seen by some as a measure to “deal with the ‘other’ ethnic groups essentially ignored in the Official Languages Act.” (Ricento, 478). Both policies together created a way to make English and French official, while also creating a place for minority languages without giving them official status. Some critics of the Multiculturalism policy have seen this as an attempt to appease minority communities by creating the illusion of a multi-linguistic

policy. Thobani has argued how a white, European identity dominates in the cultural realm, through the ideology of multiculturalism. She states that “Multiculturalism is a way of imagining the nation itself, which allows it to live with the difference of others, while claiming this difference to enhance its own cultural superiority” (145).

Ricento points out that “the disconnect between Canada’s official language policy of dualism and the actual complex linguistic and cultural diversity of Canada becomes more apparent every day,” (487). He notes that the image of the pluralistic mosaic that Canada uses to portray itself fails, as its Official Bilingualism policy actually does not take in to account that many Canadians are bilingual and trilingual in English or French and one or more immigrant languages. (2013) This is to say that Canada’s official language policy reflects a particular ideology with regard to official languages, but minority languages are spoken and supported throughout the country in many ways. Throughout Canadian provinces, different ethnic demographics dictate the different languages spoken in those provinces. In BC specifically, Punjabi is one minority language that is spoken commonly. Over the last 100 years, Punjabis have settled in many Canadian provinces, creating strong roots. Punjabi language is alive here, and is thriving. Although Official Bilingualism promotes a particular set of beliefs about language in Canada, the reality is that language in Canada is diverse, and this is supported in many ways.

2.2 The Status of Punjabi in BC’s Lower Mainland

In BC and Ontario, the two provinces with the most ethnic diversity, contrary to the assumptions that undergird the federal bilingual policy, a multitude of languages are spoken. The Canadian state expresses its awareness of this fact: Welcome BC, a provincial program

designed to guide new immigrants settling in BC, states on its website that “after English, the most common languages spoken at home are Cantonese and Mandarin, Punjabi, German, Tagalog, French, Korean, Spanish, and Farsi.” The website also states that “in 2011, 26 percent of people in BC spoke a language other than English or French as their first language.” (Welcome BC) National language policy therefore does not accurately represent the variety of languages spoken in Canada.

In his edited volume *Language Ideological Debates*, Jan Blommaert asks “what makes the difference between a successful language ideology – one that becomes dominant – and other, less successful ones?” (1, 1999). As we see in the case of Canada, it is not explicit policy that informs all successful language ideologies, but the accommodations that are made for languages when there is a clear need for them. (Blommaert, 1999) The Official Bilingualism policy in Canada is both dominant and successful; however, it is not the only successful language ideology. The everyday practices of the Canadian state, in fact, express a set of ideological commitments that exceed the confines of the bilingual model. In Canada, federal, provincial, and local governments accommodate minority languages. In particular, accommodations for Punjabi are made at every level. For example, Transport Canada offers Punjabi language signs (for directions) in the Vancouver International Airport. At the provincial level, the BC government website shows how many instructional and informational pamphlets and forms are offered in Punjabi. And in certain parts of the Lower Mainland, there are street signs in Punjabi. The language is also important in local Lower Mainland businesses, where we see signs on store fronts in Punjabi, Punjabi in bathroom stalls, and even ATMs give the language option of Punjabi. From province to province, ethnic and cultural demographics vary, language use varies, and thus, language ideologies

on-the-ground vary. In this way, the linguistic needs of communities are supported by institutions and government, and language ideologies operate at the local level in a way that differs from national policy.

Thus, despite not being a part of Official Bilingualism in Canada, Punjabi continues to flourish, especially in the Lower Mainland, BC. As mentioned above, statistics show that 17.6% of B.C. residents speak Punjabi at home. It was reported as the main immigrant language spoken at home in BC on the 2016 Census (with 222,720 speakers), followed by Mandarin (202,630 speakers) and Cantonese (200,285 speakers). (Statistics Canada) Sadhu Binning points out that along with being widely spoken in the homes of Punjabi-Canadian communities throughout different parts of Canada, Punjabi is used in various other domains. For example, he states that “for the first time [since Punjabi settlement in Canada] Punjabi is being used in business, media, and cultural activities” (Translation, page 7, Binning, 2009). The 2016 Census reported that with 142,650 speakers, Punjabi was the fourth most spoken home language in Vancouver after English (1,309,225 speakers), Cantonese (164,160 speakers), and Mandarin (163,830 speakers). French is spoken at home by 14,865 Vancouver residents. This shows, by contrast, how much more prevalent Punjabi is than French in Vancouver.

As Canada’s other official language, French is taught in BC schools as a second language. However, students in BC have the option of learning other languages besides French, which is another accommodation made for minority languages in this province. Punjabi, as an immigrant language, has an important role in BC’s school system. For example, according to the BC Association of Teachers of Modern Languages, “Punjabi as a

second language is a four-year program offered as an alternative to French to meet the Ministry requirements for second language study. Students begin their study of Punjabi in Grade 5 and remain together in the program for grades 6 and 7. In order to meet curriculum requirements, students are expected to stay in the Punjabi Language Program from Grade 5 through Grade 8.”

Punjabi programs in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions have become more and more commonplace. Punjabi language, literature, folklore and film classes are taught at four different post-secondary institutions in the lower mainland respectively (UBC, SFU, KPU, and UFV). And Punjabi language courses are offered in 4 Surrey elementary schools from grades 5-7, and in eight Surrey high schools at the grade 8, 11, and 12 levels (Surrey Schools). The Abbotsford school district also offers Punjabi language in grades 5-7 in three elementary schools (Abbotsford School District). There are also at least three private schools designed for intensive Sikh and Punjabi studies: Khalsa School in Surrey, Sikh Academy in Surrey, as well as Dasmesh Punjabi School in Abbotsford. There is also private Punjabi language instruction associated with Sikh Gurdwaras throughout the lower mainland, which offer after school programs or weekend programs in which students can come to learn their heritage language. These types of institutions also offer heritage language education.

Moreover, advocating for the continued growth of Punjabi language in Canada since 1993 is the Punjabi Language Education Association (PLEA), which was founded in the lower mainland by Sukhwant Hundal and Balwant Sanghera, a former teacher who is also described by the Province of B.C. as “a well-respected multicultural advocate” (Order of

British Columbia). PLEA has about a dozen volunteers who help to advocate the use of Punjabi in the lower mainland through events like their speech contests and their annual International Mother Language day celebration. At this event, Punjabi is celebrated through a showcase of speeches, prose, poetry, and discussion.

Presently, Punjabi is thriving in several domains in the lower mainland. For example, Punjabi print media in the Vancouver area alone is reflected through approximately seven newspapers (*Chardi Kala* (referring to the Sikh state of being optimistic), *Punjab Guardian*, *Indo Canadian Times*, *Sach Di Awaaz (The Sound of Truth)*, *Punjabi Star*, *Punjabi Tribune*, and *Punjabi Patrika*. All of these publications are printed in Gurmukhi, which is the Punjabi script of Punjab, India. There are also other print publications that are published outside BC and outside Canada that circulate in the Lower Mainland.

Punjabi radio has been available in the Lower Mainland since Shushma Datt began Radio Rim Jhim in 1987, contributing significantly to building a life for Punjabi in Vancouver. Radio has become a very popular medium where both Punjabi talk radio and Punjabi music can be consumed. Today, Shere-e-Punjab (Lions of Punjab), Spice Radio (formerly Radio Rim Jim and RJ 1200), and Red FM successfully operate with mostly Punjabi and Hindi content. Red FM also has programming in other languages, apart from South Asian language programming. In 2013, a *Vancouver Sun* news article estimated that “80 percent of [Lower Mainland South Asians] listen to Red FM Weekly and 50 percent listen weekly” (Vancouver Sun). Meanwhile, Spice Radio estimates a listenership of 300,000 (Spice Radio). This number accounts for more than the estimated 250,000 South Asians in greater Vancouver, and therefore, must represent a mixed-ethnicity listenership, or online

listenership. This estimation also suggests that the language content on Spice Radio is accessible to a multi-ethnic listenership. This promotes the use of many languages in order to represent the multi-ethnic fabric that makes up Canadian culture.

Another indicator of the strong presence of Punjabi culture and language is the demand for and supply of Punjabi television programming over the last three decades. Thanks to Shushma Dhatt's strong media presence, along with pioneers like Shan Chandrasekhar, Punjabi television programming has been available in Canada since the 1970's. Chandrasekhar is the president and CEO of the Asian Television Network (ATN). ATN "pioneered South Asian programming on television in Canada through its first venture on Rogers Cable System in 1971" (Asian Television). Currently, there are seven Punjabi channels on ATN alone (Asian Television).

Finally, Punjabi literature is one of the foundational markers that has rooted the Punjabi language in Vancouver. It has existed from the beginning of the formation of BC's Punjabi communities, and has continued to develop since then. Murphy points out that "the Punjabi language literary environment of British Columbia is vibrant," (1), showing that members of the Punjabi speaking community have made a place for themselves with their literary work, in marked acts like the aforementioned re-naming of Watan (the Punjabi language literary journal) (2). Literary circles like Kendari Punjabi Lekhak Sabha, Uttari America (Central Punjabi Writer's Association, North America) and Punjabi Lekhak Manch (Punjabi Writers' Forum) are two popular groups that come together currently to share and discuss local literary works and the issues associated with these works. Punjabi literature allows a space for the experience of Punjabi language within the Diaspora to exist in

dynamic forms. It is an important space to reflect on the experiences of the Diaspora community, and one that solidifies a deep connection to Punjabi language as a part of these experiences. Within the Diaspora literature, Murphy names very important literary works that do this, such as *Kathā Kaneḍa (A Collection of Canadian Punjabi Short Stories)* (11). This is just one example of Punjabi-Canadian literature, but it is a notable one, as the stories in the collection reflect on a wide range of topics that are relatable within the Diaspora, both intergenerationally, and spacially. They are topics that reflect racism, identity politics, and the use of language.

Murphy touches on a novel of particular importance, for the purposes of this thesis, called *Vigocā*. It is a novel by Jarnail Singh Sekha, who is from the Lower Mainland. Among a variety of topics that the novel explores, one thing Sekha has done is he has written the novel entirely in Punjabi, while

Portraying its characters as speaking in English... demonstrating linguistically a move from one language to another. But this move does not designate a fundamental shift: characters are deeply engaged with their families and cultures, and the sense of change that is thereby articulated is not absolute, it is linguistic. (Language, then, is not a stand-in for culture here, evoking the sensibility that informs the bilingual creations...that embrace Punjabi and English...) (16).

However, by some Punjabi speakers, the mixing of Punjabi and English is seen as a problem. The issue of language purity, however, is not raised for the first time by Lower Mainland Punjabi speakers. The Punjabi language has been subject to language purity in different contexts as well. Language purists tend to see the influence of other languages on Punjabi as

a threat. One shortcoming of this view is that the identity and political associations that are made with Punjabi language today fail to see that Punjabi, since its development, has been used by different language groups, in various scripts. Murphy makes clear that the history of Punjabi language is more complex than the associations with Gurmukhi (used in Indian Punjab and the associated diaspora) and Shahmukhi (used in Pakistani Punjab) that we hold today (2018, 68-69). She explores Punjabi's associations with Braj Bhasha in the early nineteenth century, stating that Braj is commonly associated with Hindi language. She also tells of the use of Punjabi by Muslim Sufi poets, as well as the "complexity of Punjabi's emergence..." (Murphy, 2018, 69). It is important to note that the associations that are made with Punjabi language are as politicized in the diaspora as they are in Punjab. As is shown in the next section, the emblematic status of Punjabi language for Punjabi national identity, both at home (here, referring to Indian Punjab) and in the diaspora.

2.3 Ideologies Around Mixed Punjabi

The idea of "pure" Punjabi versus "mixed" Punjabi has long been the crux of the debate regarding the survival of Punjabi in Canada. While some advocates for the preservation of Punjabi argue that one mode of language maintenance is to allow for Punjabi to become mixed with English, other advocates argue otherwise, stating that the language will quickly become obsolete if speakers are not careful to preserve it in its "pure" form. This topic has been discussed on radio programs, and in opinion editorials, showing that some Lower Mainland Punjabi speakers want to protect Punjabi from the influence of English. To this point, Lahore-based poet Mushtaq Soofi makes his position quite clear, that languages must be able to evolve and change in order to survive.

Laziness, search of easier means and saving of energy all are responsible for bringing about spontaneous changes in language which to the chagrin of the purists, defy rules and ‘corrupt’ language. Such changes make all the purists, small and great, hark back to the good old days to show the ideal form of language which in fact was considered a pale shadow of its more distant and richer past that had been in reality never there (Soofi)

Soofi thus suggests that languages do not exist in pure forms: they are and always have been influenced by some other language, culture, or context. The influence of Persian lexicon and grammar in Punjabi language, for example, has been debated over by purists. But Bhardwaj points out that Punjabi and Persian both have roots in Indo-Iranian languages (2016, 4). Moreover, the existence of multiple dialects of Punjabi speaks to the power of socio-cultural influences on language. Bhardwaj reminds us that “the structure of language...is the way it is because it has adapted to the needs of language users in their socio-cultural activities...” (Bhardwaj, 2016, 26) I believe Soofi, in making his aforementioned comment, is also making the point that ‘the purists’ must become aware of all of the ways in which languages are influenced to evolve. In a talk he gave in Pakistan in 2014 to promote the mandatory inclusion of Pakistani Punjabi in the Pakistani school system, he said “any language that does not allow its dialects to flourish cannot survive,” (Soofi, as quoted by Masood, 2014, Web). Soofi sees the survival of Punjabi in Pakistan as contingent on the ability for it to take on new forms.

Though in many cases, code-switching is intentional (as discussed later, it can be done for many reasons, including for style, or to target or relate to a particular audience/speaker), it can be viewed as a form of language loss. It presents the language, in this case,

Punjabi, in a form that is unfamiliar to some of its speakers. The language ‘purists’ that Soofi writes about may see Punjabi that is mixed with English as a lacking form of the language. For some advocates of Punjabi, it is important to hear pure Punjabi because it represents true Punjabiyat (Punjabiness), or may represent a lack of knowledge of Punjabi, especially when it is ones’ mother tongue.

As Zentalla notes, “more serious than confusing code-switching with loans is the charge that code-switching represents language deterioration and/or the creation of a new language” (2), and here she is referring to the “-lishes,” such as Chinglish, Spanglish, Japlish, Pinglish, and the like. The “-lishes” can be considered as forms of heritage languages that commonly involve mixing with English, but the intent behind this mixing can be quite different from the intent behind code-switching. Though both are forms of language mixing, Pinglish might be looked at as more of a newly formed dialect. Code-switching, on the other hand, involves moving between the two languages as decided by the speaker, in order to maintain particular functions. Although code-switching is in many cases done with intention, from a purist perspective, linguistic exchanges involving code-switching can seem watered down, or, as I will discuss, may be interpreted as a threat to the heritage community’s boundaries that sustain their cultural identity. As is often seen with speakers who mix Punjabi with English, whether it is by code-switching or using loan words,

speakers of the non-defined mixture...are judged as “different,” or “sloppy,” speakers of Spanish and/or English, and are often labeled verbally deprived, alingual, or deficient bilinguals because supposedly they do not have the ability to speak either Spanish or English well. (Acosta-Belen 1975: 151, as cited by Zentella)

From the perspective someone who advocates for pure Punjabi, this is a common view on language mixing. It is assumed that mixers of Punjabi, for example, do not have enough command of Punjabi to speak it purely, perhaps casting them outside the boundaries of the community. The reasoning behind this may relate to Prasenjit Duara's idea about "the notion of ethnicity and its association with the nation state" (Handa, 56). Duara suggests:

Nationality is formed when the perception of the boundaries of a community are transformed, namely, when soft boundaries are transformed into hard ones. This happens when a group succeeds in imposing a historical narrative of descent and/or dissent on both heterogeneous and related cultural practices... The narrative of dissent is used to define and mobilize a community, often by privileging a particular cultural practice (or set of practices) as the constitutive principal of the community – such as language, religion or common historical experience – thereby heightening the self-consciousness of this community in relation to those around it (as cited by Handa, 56-57).

If we interpret Duara's suggestion in relation to the use of pure versus mixed language, then some may interpret mixed Punjabi as a threat to the identity of the Punjabi community in Vancouver. In her book about negotiating femininity in the South Asian community, Amita Handa talks about the perceived binary between East and West. She describes it as a "power struggle between East and West, and the construction of their respective identities... the meaning of each is constructed through the marking out of symbolic boundaries" (57). Handa is talking about the way that East and West are constructed against one another, making one the opposite of the other. In this case, with regard to language as one of the symbolic markers of the East (in this case, of Punjab), Punjabi being mixed with English would lessen the

degree of Punjabiya (Punjabiness) of the speaker, weakening the image of the Punjabi community, and putting the purity of the language at risk. Handa summarizes this idea with an important point:

South Asian Canadian... nationalist discourses use... certain symbols of community identity as a strategy to assert their own right to cultural (self) determination from a marginal location. Nations can be understood as imagined communities that are built on certain cultural and historical symbols. South Asian community identity in Canada is accomplished by mobilizing certain discourses around ethnicity and cultural preservation. The community imagines itself by using certain historical... notions of traditions [and] culture... (57)

Any language mixing then, in a purist perspective, is seen as a threat to the imagined community, and this is why code-switching is looked down upon by advocates of pure Punjabi. However, what this project shows is that even when code switching is used as a result of a speaker's limited knowledge of Punjabi, code-switching maintains the use of some Punjabi to be used, instead of none at all.

2.4 Conclusion

Punjabi is widely used throughout the Lower Mainland, and the rest of BC. In comparison to other immigrant languages in BC, it is the most used home language in the province. In Vancouver, it is the fourth most used home language. Over the last 100 years since Punjabis have settled in Canada, the language has become deeply rooted. The usefulness of the language is proven in the ways that it is currently being used, and is reflected in the sheer number of Canadians who speak it.

Currently, although the language has likely changed over time and space, it has not phased out, and is actually being used widely, and quite dynamically. Many accommodations are made for Punjabi by federal, provincial, and local governments. As well, Punjabi is also accommodated by several Lower Mainland businesses so that business can be conducted in Punjabi both within the Punjabi community, and in the larger community. There are several forms of Punjabi language media and literature being produced in the Lower Mainland, and Punjabi is recognized as a viable second language option in some Lower Mainland school boards. It is taught publicly and privately, and is also taught at the post-secondary level.

Although Punjabi is flourishing in so many ways, there continues to be some concern around how language mixing will negatively affect the life of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland and throughout the Diaspora. However, language mixing is a common phenomenon among immigrant languages. The ability to mix between English and Punjabi can decrease the potential for total language loss.

Language mixing, and code switching in particular, is a phenomenon that has created a form of Punjabi that is characteristic of diaspora. English mixed with a migrant language is representative of the two identities between which many members of diasporas move fluidly. Punjabi Canadians often use both English and Punjabi to represent the identities they are constantly negotiating. For members of the diaspora whose identities are fluid or mixed, switching between English and Punjabi not only represents their bicultural and bilingual identities, but it also proves to sustain Punjabi language use. The next chapter looks at code-switching between Punjabi and English in more detail, and aims to show how code-switching both represents bi-cultural and bi-lingual identities as well as sustains them.

3 The Role of Code Switching in the Life of Punjabi in Vancouver: Code Switching as a form of mixing in the maintenance of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland

Zentella argues that it is unfair to consider that “code switching represents language deterioration and/or the creation of a new language” (81). She holds that negative perceptions like this “reflect negative evaluations of the linguistic and/or intellectual abilities of those who code switch” (81). Instead, code-switching can be seen as a tool in the maintenance of Punjabi language. Following from Zentella's assertion, this chapter will explore the practice of "code-switching" as a form of maintenance of Punjabi in greater Vancouver/Surrey.

Gumperz defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (as cited by Zentella, 80). In this case, the two grammatical systems are Punjabi and English. To add to Gumperz’ definition, Zentella also notes that “all native speakers demonstrate a tacit cultural knowledge of how to speak their language appropriately in different speech situations, in keeping with their community’s ways of speaking” (80). Zentella worked with a group of New York Puerto Ricans, observing and interviewing them, and documenting their speech interactions as they moved between English and Spanish. Zentella’s point is relevant here because it helps us understand that code-switching is more than just the use of two grammatical systems. It is just as much an exchange that reflects the languages choices being made for reasons that are understood by the participants who share the same cultural knowledge. Moreover, she argues that “code-switching is characteristic of many parts of the world where two or more speech communities live in close contact” (2). Pfaff adds to this,

pointing out that “long-term linguistic and social contact in multilingual communities results in a merge of language-mixing phenomena such as borrowing, calquing, and code-switching” (291).

Zentella notes that code-switching (switching from one language to another, often in the same sentence) is different from word borrowing. Word borrowing, or “loans,” she points out, has to do with English words that have been adapted into a heritage language, both phonologically and morpho-syntactically (81). Zentella uses the example of a word like “lonchar” (“to lunch”) which has been adapted into Spanish from English. Similarly, in Punjabi it is common to say the word “dīpū” to refer to a “depot”. This is an example of a loan word that Punjabi has adapted from English. We do see some of these types of loans in the interactions that are transcribed below. However, we also see English words being used that are not as fully adapted into Punjabi. Zentella points out that some words “may be on their way to becoming... integrated.” (81) This feature of integration is what ties loans and (some) single-word switches together. Loans are words that are already recognized as having become integrated, and single-word code switches may be on their way. Zentella notes that it can be difficult to differentiate between loan words and code-switches that are single words. (81) In both cases, the integration or possible integration of words from a dominant language (in this case) into a minority language is a result of the close contact between both language groups. The data below includes a combination of loans and what could be interpreted as either loans or single-word code switches. What this particular data suggests is that if the words are single word switches in English, they are used for convenience. This is suggested by the contexts in which they are used. For example, in one interaction below, in which one host discusses human rights on International Human Rights Day, he more often refers to

them as human rights than with the Punjabi term “*manukhī hak*”. He could easily use the Punjabi term, but it seems more convenient to use “human rights” in the context of his discussion, which he is having on International Human Rights Day. There are many instances like this within the data transcribed below.

Code switching between Punjabi and English is a common feature of speech in Punjabi language communities in the Lower Mainland. In this chapter, we examine how code-switching is engaged in the late night music program called "Punjabi Takeover", and the daytime talk radio program called “Roshni” which both air daily on the Surrey-based radio station RED FM. Zentella’s work on code-switching aids in the understanding of the reasons behind it. I utilize her categories for code-switching to aid in my analysis of code-switching on RED FM.

3.1 Understanding the Use of Code-Switches

As Zentella points out, switches can happen as a “hallmark of community membership – but also because [there is a shared] “in the head” knowledge of how to use switching for particular communicative purposes,” (92). As shown in Zentella’s research, code-switching happens both out of necessity and by choice. In the case of RED FM, many of the interviews that are conducted in English are done because of the unique information or experience that particular (English speaking) guest has to offer. So the English content is necessary, but is clarified through code switching in the case that a particular audience is assumed not to understand the extent of the English that is being used. In other cases, it could be because a host or a guest wishes to assert a point or attract attention to it, so they switch from one language to another, highlighting the point. And in some cases, code switching is

done to demonstrate knowledge of both languages. One important finding in Zentella's research on Spanglish was the observation that "in the heads of the speakers is the shared knowledge of how to manage conversations, how to achieve intentions in verbal interaction, and how to show respect for the social values of the community, the status of the interactants, and the symbolic value of the languages" (83). Zentella analyzes the language choices made within the interactions she observes based on three factors, which she names "on the spot", "in the head", and "out of the mouth," which roughly translate to where the interaction is happening, what communicative knowledge each speaker possesses, and the speakers' knowledge of the languages being used (83). These three factors determine to what extent code-switching is used.

Zentella's three categories of Footing, Clarification, and Crutching are the conversational strategies that the children she worked with employed. The first category, Footing, "provides the principle that underlies a broad variety of switches: A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman, as cited by Zentella, 93). Footing includes two different sub-categories, and several more sub-categories within these two. The first sub-category within Footing has to do with 'realignment', which includes: topic shift, quotations, declarative/question shift, future referent check, checking, role shift, rhetorical ask and answer, and narrative frame break. The second sub-category has to do with 'appeal/control', which involves: aggravating requests, mitigating requests, and attention attraction. The next category is Clarification and/or Emphasis. To define this category Zentella states that "what monolinguals accomplish by repeating louder and/or slower, or with a change of wording, bilinguals can accomplish by

switching languages,” (96). This category has four sub-categories: Translations, Appositions, Accounting for requests, and Double subject. The third category is Crutch-like Code Mixing. This category is defined by switches that “were precipitated by the need for a word or expression in the other language...” (Zentella, 97). This category has six sub-categories: crutching, filling in, recycling, triggers, parallelism, and taboos.

These categories frame the analysis of the data in this chapter. To provide context on the data collected and its analysis, the following section provides the methodology used for data collection, a background on RED FM, and summarizes its policies and requirements, as well as the requirements of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

3.2 Methodology, Policies, and Requirements

The data used here has been collected from listening to 10 episodes of each program. Roshni and Punjabi Takeover, on RED FM. The episodes of Roshni that were listened to aired throughout December, 2018 (dates listed below). The episodes of Punjabi Takeover that were listened to aired between December 2018 and January 2019 (dates listed below). Multiple interactions from my listening have been transcribed in this chapter, and the next (song lyrics). Where necessary, the language interactions have been transliterated and translated from Punjabi to English. The data in this chapter has been analyzed using Zentella’s categories for code-switching. As noted in the introduction, this chapter includes an analysis of the textual data gathered on the radio (as transcribed), and purposefully does not include interview research. This has been done in an effort to provide an analysis of language use itself, rather than people's ideas about or opinions of language. The following

policies and requirements from RED FM and the CRTC are explained below in order to provide context for the discussion of the language requirements of both entities. The policies and requirements for RED FM were collected through a single personal interview with Pooja Sekhon, Programming Director for RED FM, as well, in order to provide context for the language she analyzed.

RED FM is a Surrey based radio station with an estimated listenership of 100,000. Sekhon informs that this figure comes from a survey conducted by Numeris, a private radio surveying company, throughout the Lower Mainland. This figure does not include online listenership, which varies depending on the program, and does not include figures from other parts of Canada where there is also listenership. The survey also verified that RED FM is the most popular South Asian station in the Lower Mainland, as it has the most local listenership. Moreover, the station's popularity is solidified by the number of corporate ads they receive from companies like Telus, Rogers, the Vancouver Canucks, TransLink, City of Surrey, and the BC Government. These companies advertise with RED FM with the knowledge that they will reach a large listenership within their targeted demographic. (Sekhon, personal interview)

Most of RED FM's programming is in Punjabi, and there is some content in Hindi, and English (although the station's website only describes one program as partly in English, and it is a program in mostly African languages.) "RED" stands for "Reflecting Ethnic Diversity", which the station does by including a variety of minority language programming. On weekend mornings and evenings, there is programming in Urdu Russian, Polish, Malayalam, Bengali, Tamil, Gujarati, Farsi, Hungarian, Twi, Swahili, and Spanish. Because

RED FM offers programming in minority language programming, it is defined as an ethnic radio station.

The CRTC licenses “ethnic television and radio broadcasters that specialize in providing ethnic programming” in order to fulfill the requirement of the Broadcasting Act that states that the Canadian broadcasting system “should reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Canadians, including the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society.” (CRTC) RED FM is considered an ethnic radio station as it fulfills the requirements of ethnic programming as outlined by the CRTC. The CRTC requires that ethnic radio stations devote 60% of their programming to be ethnic. Ethnic is considered any group that did not come from the British Isles, France, and is not Aboriginal Canadian (CRTC). In addition, half their schedules must be devoted to programming in third languages (languages that are not English, French, or Aboriginal languages). (CRTC)

To understand more about the policies and requirements that are specific to RED FM, I spoke with Pooja Sekhon, the station’s Programming Director. She notes that on Punjabi programs like Roshni and on most programs overall, “there is a deliberate effort to speak Punjabi because of the huge Punjabi speaking population in the Lower Mainland.” (Sekhon, Personal Interview). Sekhon also pointed out that the preference of the radio station is to broadcast in Punjabi. To clarify, on the 2016 Census, half of the respondents who reported speaking Punjabi at home reported speaking it along with one or more languages (the other half reported speaking Punjabi only). Of the half who spoke multiple languages at home, 99% reported Punjabi and English together. This speaks to the coexistence of Punjabi and English. The radio station attempts to cater to this population by broadcasting in Punjabi, especially because as Sekhon explains, “the station aims to provide all kinds of information

to new immigrants that have migrated from Punjab.” This is evident in the ads that play on the station. On every episode analyzed for this chapter, there is at least one ad played that targets new immigrants for services completing PR applications, visitor visas, and citizenship.

In my analysis, it was clear that Punjabi is mixed with English on RED FM. When asked, Sekhon clarified that RED FM’s listening audience is assumed to understand basic English. Sekhon informed me that like Hindi, this was done with the assumption that most Punjabi speakers who have been settled in Canada for some time, or new immigrants, understand some basic English. According to the statistics given above, 54% of all Punjabi speakers reported speaking English, showing that the assumption on the part of RED FM that most Punjabi speakers understand some English is justified. Sekhon also added that “the use of English is mostly due to convenience, and because that’s how Punjabi and English [used together] has evolved.” (Sekhon, Personal Interview) Here, one can infer that Sekhon is referring to the loan words, single word switches, and the long form code-switching that is done on the radio. Examples of these instances can be seen in the data in the following two sections.

3.3 Understanding Code-Switches used on “Roshni”

This section explores the data collected from the program Roshni in the month of December, 2018¹. Below, the transcriptions from specific interactions on the program depict the major code-switching patterns that happen on the show. Roshni is a daytime program that airs from 1-2 pm. It is listed as a Punjabi language program on RED FM’s website. On the program, the host, Navjot Dhillon, discusses topics of cultural and social significance. It is an

1 The programs aired on December 3rd, 5th, 6th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 21st, and 27th

interactive program where listeners call in to discuss topics, and Dhillon also brings various guests on air to discuss topics. During the time when I listened, there was also a guest host, Manpreet Randhawa, who was filling in for Dhillon on a few episodes. In my observations of both hosts, having a guest host did not change the general patterns by which English and Punjabi were used.

In addition to the languages used by the hosts, there was also language used in the advertisements and other recorded (not live) elements of the program. English and Punjabi sound bites and advertisements are heard consistently throughout the program. For example, after each of the news reports, a promotional clip plays in English where a male voice says “This is CKYE 93.1 FM in Vancouver, and 89.1 FM in Surrey.” After this identifying information, ads play until the official introduction to the program starts. The ads are mostly in Punjabi, but most of them use some English words. There is an ad for Skyline Auto that played, for instance, after the news report on the December 10 program. The first 22 seconds of the ad is mostly Punjabi, but 10 out of 35 words are in English, and the last 8 seconds of the ad is all in English (8 words, plus a phone number given in English.) In this particular case, almost 40% of the ad is actually in English (18 of 47 words). The next commercial was for Skynet Wireless, and it uses mixed language all throughout. Out of 104 words, 49 are in English, making the ad 47% in English. Therefore, these advertisements--made in-house (at the radio station, using their own personnel)--are almost half in English.

The use of English is prevalent in Punjabi broadcasting on RED FM, especially in the case of loan words and single-word code switches. These single word switches could also be defined as crutching. Crutching is from Zentella’s category of crutch like code mixing, and is done when the speaker cannot recall or does not know the words they are switching (97).

Loan words are words that are borrowed from one language (usually the dominant language) and commonly used in the minority language. The Punjabi spoken in these segments uses many English loans and single word switches or crutches, which are sometimes used for convenience. The interactions below show that often times, 20% to 30% of a segment can be in English, from the use of loan words. In the ads that RED FM airs, up to 50% of the linguistic content can be in English due to the use of loan words and crutches. Loans proved to be very common both in the advertisements on RED FM and on the programs. The transcriptions below provide examples of how loans are used. In any of the transcriptions, the instances where only one word at a time is said in English, it could be an example of a loan, or a crutch. As Punjabi speakers in the Lower Mainland live in an English dominant community, it is natural that they call upon some English words that are used more frequently or commonly than certain Punjabi words.

On Roshni, the interactions that use code switching are the ones in which guests choose to, or can only speak English, or callers who use English. The hosts of the program also code-switch, but as is seen, it is usually to prompt or accommodate their interviewee. The hosts use loan words differently than they use code-switching. Important to note here is that the hosts only use lengthy English code-switches (instead of single words) when they are prompting information from an English speaking guest. These are also the only instances in which they clarify or translate what the other English speaker has said. In all other cases, the hosts use Punjabi with loan words, and they do not clarify or translate when other participants switch to English.

When the hosts Randhawa and Dhillon switch from addressing their listeners in Punjabi, to addressing certain guests in English, and then back, they are using the strategy of

realignment, which falls under the category of Footing. Zentella refers to the specific action they are performing when they are speaking to the guests Yasmine, Imanat, and Andy as a declarative/question shift, where “the language shift accompanies a shift into or out of a question” (94). In these circumstances, the hosts use substantial English only in the event that they are addressing someone who is only speaking English on the air. Both hosts switch from Punjabi, to English in order to ask what they need to ask their guests. They realign their footing in order to communicate well with their guest, and then realign again when they speak to their audience. For example, on the December 11, 2018 program, the host begins the program in Punjabi, introducing the first segment, in which he interviews two high school girls and their mother, who have been raising money for cancer research. For over a minute in his introduction of this segment, Randhawa speaks in predominantly Punjabi, using only six English words (listeners, host, topic, program, guests, and donations), and this includes his introduction of his guests. When he welcomes them, “*swāgāt hai jī tuhādā*”, the mother, Kamaljit is the one to answer, “thank you, *jī*”. Her response is mixed, Punjabi and English, but the term “thank you” may be a loan that is used for convenience. The mixed language use is also a marker of a mixed language environment (the Lower Mainland). As is shown below in the transcription of a part of this segment, Randhawa switches between Punjabi and English based on whom he is addressing, and seemingly, what their competency in Punjabi is. When Randhawa addresses Yasmine and Imanat, the two students, he speaks in English. They also respond completely in English. However, when he addresses their mother, he addresses her in pure Punjabi, even without the use of many loan words. Moreover, this interaction shows that the audience is assumed to understand English, because the English

that is used in this segment is not clarified for the listeners or translated in to Punjabi at any point.

Randhawa: So, Yasmine and Imanat, I've been going through the email. You guys are doing a great job, donating... what are you doing, actually? Can you explain it to our, uh, listeners?

Girl 1: Well, we believe in Guru Nanak Dev Ji's teachings "*Sacā saudā*, helping others".

Here, she translates what "*sacā saudā*" means, and goes on in English. For this entire interaction, both girls speak in English, and Randhawa responds solely in English. He switches to Punjabi again after this interaction with Yasmine and Imanat, when Randhawa addresses their mother. He leads in pure Punjabi, and she follows by responding mostly in Punjabi. However, her Punjabi is mixed with English. Given that Randhawa has been addressing her daughters in pure English, and using pure Punjabi when addressing her, there is an indication that the context of the interaction involves mixed language, and she will be understood. We see an example of this here:

Randhawa: *Inā de mātā jī wī sādē nāl ne jī. Kamaljit Kaur, swāgat hai tuhāḍā. Thorā jihā sānuṃ daso ki kadoṃ bacīāṃ dā mamñ idar lagā. Te thorā āpāṃ, āpne listeners nūṃ ih wī dasīe, ki ih hai kī ih karde. Kis tarāṃ ih jāke, jihare cans kis tarāṃ collect karde hai, jāṃ kis tarāṃ hai sārā process. Ih wī sānuṃ daso.*

(Their mother is also with us. Kamaljit Kaur, welcome. Tell us a little bit about when the girls became interested in this. And we should also tell our listeners what it is they're doing. How do they go about collecting the cans, how is the whole process? Tell us this too.)

Kamaljit (Mother): For sure, *hām̃jī. Maim̃ dasanā chāhuṃdī haṃ, ki jeḍī merī choṭī daughter hai, Imanat, jadoṃ bahot choṭī sī, kindergarten jāīndī sī, ine kitoṃ paḍīā jāṃ sikhīā, ki BC Children’s Hospital laī fundraise kīte jā sakde ā. And uh, grade one toṃ ine e kam̃karnā shurū kītā. Imanat ne do tin wār fundraising kītā, par small amount sigā, par aītkī they... thoṛā waḍā amount karn da sociā inā ne. Uh, par e always possible nahī huṃdā, ki asī personal donation kar sakīe. So baciām̃ ne sociā ki asī jihare cans haige ā, um, you know, khālī cans, bottles and all that, onā nū recycling money jeṛī auṃdī ā, why not asī lokām̃ de gharam̃ ‘ch jā ke, neighbors de gharam̃ ‘ch jā ke, o collect karke, tāṃ onā nū dīpū de wic chadke, recycling dīpū wic, te paise lai ke o hī asī donate karīe, Children’s Hospital nū. Which it was amazing experience this year, but this is the starting; beginning. Um, I hope so ki je inā dā experience positive rihā, te agle sāl to wī kariā karange.*

(For sure, yes. I want to say that my youngest daughter, Imanat, when she was very young, in Kindergarten, she learned or read that fundraising could be done for BC Children’s hospital. And in grade one she started doing that. Imanat did fundraising two or three times, but they were small amounts. But this time they...thought to do a larger amount. Uh, but it isn’t always possible to make a personal donation. So the kids thought to collect empty cans, um, you know, cans bottles and all that, you get money for recycling those. We thought why not go to people’s homes, neighbors’ homes, collect the bottles, and take them to the recycling depot, and donate the money we get to Children’s Hospital. Which it was amazing experience this year, but this is the starting; beginning. Um, I hope so, that if they had a positive experience, they’ll do it again from next year onward.)

Randhawa: *E, is wakht sirf Children’s Hospital laī hī karde hun ki hor wī kise cause laī donate kar rahe ā?*

(At this time, are they just donating to Children's Hospital, or is there another cause they donate to as well?)

Kamaljit: Actually, Imanat, *merī chotī daughter, patā nahī uhdā baciām wal jiādā thorā jiā haigāiā*. So always o try *kardī ā ki* BC Children's Hospital *hī kare*.

Randhawa: Yasmine and Imanat, I have a question for you. How much [has this cause of yours] inspired your own friends?

Girl 1: Our friends have also learned from us. So they've also started their own sort of donation thingies. And we've also taught them how Guru Nanak Dev Ji taught us to always help others.

The rest of this interaction is finished in English until Randhawa addresses his listeners again in Punjabi. We see here that not only does Randhawa switch from Punjabi, to English, and back again to accommodate his guests and his listeners, but he also only uses English where he knows that only English will be understood. The long transcription from Kamaljit shows that even when she uses a substantial amount of English loans, switches, or crutches, Randhawa does not parallel this. He seems to give priority to Punjabi, while only using a substantial English code-switch if he knows his Punjabi will not be understood.

This kind of declarative/question shift is also heard on the December 3 episode, Navjot Dhillon interviews Andy Bhatti, an addictions interventionist, to spread awareness about addictions and interventions. When she introduces Andy, she uses Punjabi to describe the nature of his work and why he is on the program, and proceeds to welcome him in English, indicating that he is more comfortable speaking in English. This is similar to when Randhawa addressed his English speaking guests Yasmine and Imanat in English, compared

to when he addressed their Punjabi speaking mother in Punjabi. The interaction went as follows.

Dhillon: Program *de is hise de wic mere nāl ik guest shāmal ho rahe ne. Ihnā dā nām hai* Andy Bhatti. Andy Bhatti Interventions and Addiction Services. *Inā walom ik effort kītī jā rahī hai, tām ki, addiction te trauma ware awareness fulāī jā sake...* Andy, welcome to RED FM.

(In this segment, I am joined by a guest named Andy Bhatti. Andy Bhatti Interventions and Addiction Services. He is trying to spread awareness about addiction and trauma... Andy, welcome to RED FM.)

Andy: Thank you so much.

Dhillon: So, what are your plans to raise awareness regarding addiction and trauma?

Andy: On December 9th at Guildford Golf Course, we're going to have a bunch of addiction professionals and another guy that speaks Hindi to raise awareness on addiction and trauma, educating families on how addiction affects the family. We're going to have NHL superstar, Calgary Flames' Theo Flurry there, telling his story about addiction and trauma. Myself, as a drug and alcohol interventionist, I'll explain to families, what is an intervention, how interventions can help get their loved ones into treatment...

Andy goes on for 1 minute and 40 seconds explaining about the event, and does not speak any Punjabi. Dhillon asks him, in English, "so how long is it going to be? How long is this program?" Andy responds, "from 3:30 to 7pm." And then the host realigns to Punjabi again, providing clarification for her listeners.

Dhillon: *Naum* December *nū*, *sāḍe tin waje*, *sat waje tak*, *program hoṇā*, Guildford Golf and Country Club, *jis dī* location *hai*: seven nine two nine, one hundred fifty two street, Surrey. So, *ihnā ne jis tarām dasiā ki* addiction *ware*, intervention *ware*, recovery *kiwe ho sakdī ā*.

(On December 9th, from 3:30 to 7, a program will be held at Guildford Golf and Country club, located at seven nine two nine, one hundred fifty two street, Surrey. So, like he has said, information will be given about addiction, intervention, and recovery.)

These two interactions show at length how both hosts code-switch for the purpose of realignment. Each host accommodates a guest by speaking English, and then realigns to continue in Punjabi, which is the preferred language of the radio station. RED FM is required by the CRTC to produce at least 60% ethnic content, and they commit to the use of Punjabi and other languages to achieve this. However, most of their programming is defined as Punjabi language.

From these interactions we can also see that the hosts deviate from Punjabi to ensure that their guests understand their questions, or so that their guests are understood by the listening audience after speaking English at length. While in Randhawa's interview with English speaking guests, his clarification of what they said was done through interviewing their mother in Punjabi, here we see Dhillon translate what Andy has told her into Punjabi, so that her listeners can understand. Through these interactions it is clear that RED FM has English content, but because their assumption is that their listeners only have *basic* command of English, the hosts do provide translation and/or clarification for lengthy interactions in English. Generally, it is the loan words and brief code-switches that they do not provide

translations for. This seems to be because the host has not prompted the guest/caller to do so by speaking English first.

However, when Randhawa and Dhillon speak to callers who use English code-switches that are not prompted (the host spoke to them in Punjabi), they do not realign or clarify. We see in the examples below that they maintain their use of Punjabi, irrespective of whether or not their caller uses English code-switches. Moreover, we know that on a Punjabi language program, on a station whose listeners are assumed to understand basic English, some English is acceptable without the need for translation. In the following interactions, aside from the use of loan words, the host continues to use Punjabi even when callers switch between Punjabi and English. This is indicative of three things. 1) In these contexts, English is seen to have been used for appeal rather than necessity. 2) The English used was basic enough for listeners to understand. And/or 3) The English within a mostly Punjabi interaction was brief enough that the listeners still understood the caller/guest's basic message.

On the December 10 episode of Roshni, callers were invited to participate in the program while the topic of human rights was being discussed. In an interaction on this program, a caller named Sandeep demonstrates knowledge of Punjabi, and then switches to English on his own accord. He is not first addressed by the host in English. In other words, he is not given a signal to switch. His switch is voluntary, but the host continues in Punjabi (with the exception of English loan words). The interaction is still seamless, and is understood by the two participants, and is assumed to be understood by the listening audience. In the following transcription we see how the caller moves from Punjabi (using English loan words) to code switching to English, and then finally concluding in pure English.

Randhawa: *Sāde agle caller sāde nāl shāmal ho rahe ā, Sandeep jī.*

(The next caller to join us is Sandeep.)

Sandeep: *Hām jī, sat srī akāl. So, tusī human rights dī gal kītī hai...* International Human Rights Day, right? So, human rights *jihārī hai, o dī definition jihārī hai, o barī broad hai, aur barā...jere governments wic employees kam karde hai, sarkārām wic, onā dīām wī rights hai.*

(Yes, hello. So you talked about human rights. International Human Rights Day, right? So, the definition of human rights is quite broad... those who work for the government, they too have rights.)

So far we have seen Sandeep use a significant amount of loan words (16 out of 49 words are English loan words or crutches; 33%). But by the end, he is speaking 100% English.

Sandeep: Read the history of the land. You will find out half of the population is converted. But they changed their religion at a time when it was invaders who was ruling in India, and most of the people were forced to change their religion. Why Sikh religion was created? At all?

Randhawa follows, using Punjabi with loan word in English.

Randhawa: *Bahut bahut dhanwād jī, Sandeep jī. Maiṁ thorā apṇe sarotiām nūṁ is cīz wāre dasdām. Ihnā ne kaī prashan cuke ā apṇī gal bāt de durān. Ki kī jihare government de wic kam karde han, ohnā de human rights nahī humḍe? Jām armed forces? Sab de human rights humḍe ā. Human rights dī gal kar rahe ā, i class, colour...* (11 out of 60 words; 18%.)

This interaction shows that Randhawa did not deviate from speaking Punjabi (with the exception of loan words) even though his caller, Sandeep, did. He did not switch to full sentences in English. However, in the December 11 interaction, Randhawa uses English where it is necessary for his guests, and still maintains his use of Punjabi for his listening audience. In all of this, Randhawa uses English loan words consistently. From this it is obvious that English is present in all interactions, but the extent of English being used depends on why the speaker is using English. This is true of Roshni's main host, Navjot as well.

On an earlier segment of the December 3rd program, when discussing daily routines, Dhillon speaks to a caller named Mohan who uses some code-switching. She does not follow suit.

Mohan: *Sat srī akāl*, Navjot *jī*. *Mai* to do list *waṛe gal karnī ā*..Maximum *tin kamñ rakhne hai mamñ wic*. *Onā'ch oṃ top hoṃ ge sirph do*: number one *te* number two. *Pharj karo kade traffic de wic*...*wī jaṃdiāṃ nū ho jaṃdā*. *Jiharī [cīj]tusīṃ pahilāṃ karnī sī, o ho nahī sakī*. *Is karke mai sociā ki huṃ karn dī koī loṛ hai nahī gī*. This is how it happened, I can do it tomorrow.

(Hello Navjot. I want to talk about the to do list. Keep a maximum of three jobs on your mind. Out of those, only two will be at the top. Number one and number two. For instance, sometimes you're in traffic... it too can happen on your way. Whichever [thing] you were going to do first, it is not possible. For that reason, I now think that there is no need to do that thing now. This is how it happened. I can do it tomorrow.)

Dhillon: *Achā, tusīṁ huṇ koī routine follow karde ho? Koī baṇaī hoī hai routine pakī, jeṛī zubānī tusī follow karde ho?*

(Right, do you follow a routine now? Have you made a firm routine that you follow verbatim?)

From here, Dhillon continues her conversation with the same caller in mostly Punjabi using English loan words, but we do not hear her switching to full English, likely because it is not necessary for her to do so in this interaction. Although many loan words are consistently used by both Randhawa and Dhillon, it seems that their motivation for code-switching to English is out of necessity when they are speaking to someone who cannot or chooses not to speak Punjabi.

If a caller makes the choice to use English, it is not necessary for the host to clarify or follow suit. In the case of Sandeep, for example, he switched from full Punjabi sentences, to full English ones. So did Mohan. This might be done for appeal or control, which is another of Zentella's categories for code-switching. Specifically, Zentella defines the kind of switching they are doing as attention attraction, where "the language shift calls for the attention of the listener." (95) Both Sandeep and Mohan used English switches in the context of Punjabi interactions, and they were not just single word switches, which can happen more out of necessity than choice (in the case of crutching). Both callers went from using Punjabi with loan words, to speaking 100% English by the end of the interaction. The callers were using English switches to add emphasis to their respective points.

As we have seen in this section, both the use of loans and code-switching is prevalent on RED FM. English code-switches in Punjabi programming are situational and contextual.

There are different strategies at play when English is being used, and this shows that the choice to use English, or the need to use English, depends on a dynamic set of circumstances. Do the guests speak Punjabi? Do the listeners understand English? Do the guests or the hosts depend on loans? Do they use switches because they cannot recall certain words in English? Are they making the choice to use English to add emphasis to their statement? All of these factors must be considered in determining why English is being used. In the next section, where I transcribe and analyze interactions from the second program, Punjabi Takeover, we see code-switching being used in a different way than it is on Roshni.

3.4 Understanding Code-Switches on “Punjabi Takeover”

This section explores the language interactions heard on Punjabi Takeover from December, 2018 until January, 2019². Punjabi Takeover is a late night music program on RED FM that plays from 11pm – 1am. It is hosted by Nick Chowlia. Punjabi Takeover is listed as a Punjabi program on RED FM’s website. On it, Chowlia plays local and international Punjabi (Bhangra) music, and interviews both local and international artists.

What is first apparent in listening to Punjabi Takeover is the show’s introduction, in which a Punjabi song plays, and then a male voice (that sounds like Chowlia’s) says “*soṇio, makhaṇo, te malaī de pereṇo, ik sawāl puchāṁ? Je dil nū cain nahī aumḍā, bhukh nahī lagdī, te rāt nū nīṁd nahīṁ aumḍī, phir fikr not*. Sit back, relax, and enjoy the ride, with Punjabi Takeover.” [My sweets, can I ask a question? If your heart is not full, you have no appetite, and you can’t sleep at night, worry not.] Chowlia is already making a code-switch from Punjabi to English before any of the program’s actual content has begun. This sets the tone

² December 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 18th, 19th, and January 4th.

for a mixed language program, even though on the radio station's website it is listed as a Punjabi language program.

Punjabi Takeover is much more heavily weighted with code-switching than Roshni. Code switches occur on every segment of every program, regardless of what Chowlia is discussing, or who he is interviewing. His guests also use the same amount of code switching. It is very casual, and both the host and his guests slip in and out of English and Punjabi, even within the same sentence. Single word switches are very interesting in this way, compared to the single word switches that are used on Roshni. On Roshni, speakers are taking single words from English and using them in a Punjabi context. On Punjabi Takeover, sometimes speakers take a single Punjabi word and placing it in an English sentence, like the example that follows from the December 14 program, on which Chowlia is interviewing Jaggi Hundal, a local Punjabi singer and Bhangra dancer. He asks Jaggi how his interest in Bhangra dancing developed. Chowlia asks in Punjabi:

Chowlia: *Terā shaṁk kithomṁ shurū hoiā?* [Where did your interest start?]

Jaggi: To be honest, when I was younger, there was no *shaṁk*... [interest]...

We also hear Chowlia make a single word switch in the December 19 program, when he is speaking English and switches to just one Punjabi word: “be caller number five and get your name into the draw, and then *kalnūṁ* [tomorrow] during ‘Zabardast Hits’ we’ll find out who’s going to win the prize...” We hear Chowlia do this often, where he switches out one English word for a Punjabi word, in the opposite way than we see Randhawa and Dhillon do.

Generally, Chowlia switches in and out of Punjabi and English spontaneously. One must consider that if he can do so, his audience must be able to understand him. It seems that

the reason for the vast difference in the use of English and Punjabi on each program may be due, in part, to the host's dominant language (or the one they have the strongest ability in). Sekhon made the point that part of the reason why Chowlia uses so much English on his program is because "his Punjabi isn't that strong." (Personal Interview) Something notable that she talked about was that the station hires the best person for the job, not necessarily the person who has the strongest Punjabi. For example, she made the valuable point that often the news is given in Hindi on a Punjabi program because of the "broadcaster's language barriers." She expressed that there are a limited number of broadcasters who are able to deliver news in Punjabi. She used herself as an example, stating "I was initially hired to report news at RedFM, and I am not a Punjabi and I don't speak fluent Punjabi, but I am a trained broadcaster who could do the job well in Hindi." (Sekhon, Personal Interview) She informed me that RedFM's preference is for Punjabi speaking broadcasters, but because of the limited number of broadcasters who speak fluent Punjabi, they take the best person for the job. In this case, perhaps Chowlia's familiarity with popular music, and his ability to perform well on the spoken segments override his ability to speak Punjabi.

In addition to Sekhon's assertion about the quality of Chowlia's Punjabi, there are other factors that indicate that Chowlia's ability in Punjabi may be limited. Firstly, Chowlia speaks about 90% English on the program. For example:

December 3, 2018 – Chowlia: "This weekend, this Sunday, RED FM *dā* Annual Food Drive *hoṇ lagā* (RED FM'S Annual Food Drive is coming up). I want to give a big shout out to Singhs Doing Things. Chani Natt and his gang, they collected like a seven tonne truck full of food..."

December 14, 2018 – Chowlia: “My name’s Nick Chowlia, I’ll be looking after you all the way until 1 o’clock. 11:30-ish, we’ll have an interview with a young man by the name of Juggi Hundal. I caught up with him earlier this week. *Ohde nāl gal bāt karānge* [we will speak to him] regarding his track, and how he became a singer...”

January 4, 2019 – Chowlia: “Diljit Dosanj and “Thug Life” taken from the album “Raw.” 89.1 and 93.1 RED FM. A very good evening and welcome to Punjabi Takeover. Happy New Year! This is my first show, my *pahilā* [first] show of 2019; another year. How you guys doing, *ṭhīk ṭhāk ho?* Everybody set, fit? Enjoy your holiday? Good, ready, action.”

It must be noted here that Chowlia’s limited Punjabi does indicate language loss. However, this limited version of Punjabi can be seen as acceptable as opposed to its alternative: no Punjabi use at all. Dorian suggests that “an introduction of outside norms might be welcomed, or at least tolerated, as preferable to loss of the language altogether.” (1987, 59)

In these speech events and all of the others I observed, it is evident that Chowlia’s patterns for code switching are spontaneous, but they are consistent. What we can tell from most of his interactions, is that he speaks considerably more English than Punjabi. Throughout these three examples, he averages speaking about 8% Punjabi (about 4 out of 50 words). However, a lot of the program’s content is Punjabi music, making up for the lack of Punjabi content in the spoken segments, which is perhaps why it is still considered a Punjabi language program. In addition to how little Punjabi is spoken by Chowlia, the other factor that indicates that English is his dominant language is that he does not parallel his guests even when they speak Punjabi. Interestingly, Chowlia’s use of Punjabi does not increase even if his guest is

speaking more Punjabi than him. This is an indication that Chowlia is not as fluent in Punjabi as the other hosts on RED FM, however, he understands what the guest is saying. In his interview on the January 4th, 2019 program with Jazzy B, who is an international Punjabi singer, Chowlia interviews mostly in English, while Jazzy B speaks a mix of Punjabi and English.

Chowlia: Jazzy *bhājī* [respected brother], welcome and happy new year.

Jazzy B: Thank you, jī, Nick. Happy new year to you and all the listeners, man, Surrey *wāliāṃ nūṃ*, *khās karke*, *nawaṃ sāl mubārakwād hai* (especially to the people of Surrey, happy new year). Hopefully you guys have a wicked, wicked, wicked, wicked new year!

Chowlia: Any new year resolutions?

Jazzy B: Yeah man, going to the gym, detox. Eating really clean and training really, really dirty.

Chowlia: That was 2018, though.

Jazzy B: No it's another year, man. Every year, every year.

Chowlia: What's changing on that?

Jazzy B: Well, the dieting is really changing. Really eating really clean, man. *Matlab parauṭhe khāṇ nū bahut dil kardā, par nahi khā huṃde!*(laughter). [I mean, I really want to eat *parauṭhe* (a type of Punjabi food), but I can't!]

Chowlia: 2019, *bhājī, nawāṃ sāl* [2019, respected brother. A new year). Congratulations, you've already dropped your first song. 2018 *de wich* [in 2018], you had a lot of trap and hip hop and electronic vibes. Why did you start off this year with a traditional track?

Jazzy B: Yeah, traditional, man. I mean, Sarabjit Sarhoa *sāde bahut ache dost ne, te kāfī cir thom̃gal caldī sī, baī gāṇā karnā, gāṇā karnā*. So *kudartī*, Satti Khokhewalia *dā likhiā hoiā*. *Jassi Bros., jīne merā Bāgī gāne dā music kītā sīgā, uhdā music hai*. Rimpay Prince *dī video hai, te Planet Record walom̃ launch kītā giā*. So hopefully you guys will like it. Uḍhṇe Sapoliē.

(Yeah, traditional, man. I mean, Sarabjit Sarhoa is a really good friend, and we had been saying for a long time that we're going to do a song. So naturally, Satti Khokhewalia wrote it. Jassi Bros., who did the music for my song, Bāgī, did the music. The video is from Rimpay Prince, and Planet Records launched it. So hopefully you guys will like it Uḍhṇe Sapoliē.)

Chowlia: What does that mean?

Jazzy B: Flying kids of snakes...Flying snakes' kids, there you go! Flying snakes' kids!

In this interaction we see that Chowlia continues his line of questioning in English, and even asks at the end what the meaning of Jazzy B's song title is. This is a good indication that his dominant language is English and that he may not have the ability to speak more Punjabi than he does on air.

In his case, if he is more comfortable in English, why switch to Punjabi at all? As one of Zentella's respondents explained to her, "sometimes I'm talking a long time in English and then I remember I'm Puerto Rican, lemme say something in Spanglish." (Zentella, 114) Poplack calls this kind of switching 'emblematic', suggesting that it is done symbolically

(1980, 590) Using code-switching is not only a tool for maintaining Punjabi, it is also a tool in negotiating identity. Speaking the language of a minority group, in both of these cases, is an identity marker. In situations where the majority group language is dominantly spoken, switching to the minority group language is what ties those speakers to that minority group. The group of children that Zentella was observing was thus constructing a dual, or bicultural identity through their use of language. Similarly, when Chowlia and his guests switch from Punjabi to English and vice versa, I interpret that this also reflects the effort to maintain a bicultural identity.

In keeping with the idea that Punjabi language is used in the maintenance of Punjabi identity, something of interest from this interaction with Jazzy B, who speaks more Punjabi on the show than any of the other guests I listened to, mostly speaks Punjabi when he referred to things specifically connected to Punjabi culture. He spoke Punjabi to talk about Punjabi food, for example. And he spoke Punjabi to talk about his Punjabi music. However, he talked about almost everything else in English. Perhaps for Jazzy B, when referring to things specifically to do with Punjabi culture, “a code switch says it better, by capturing the meaning or expressing a point more effectively” (Zentella, 101).

The English dominant style of Punjabi Takeover is also indicative of a difference in the kind of listenership it has, versus Roshni. Chowlia does not provide translation even if he uses 90% English, indicating that it is assumed his audience understands him. Randhawa and Dhillon do provide translations for extended interactions in English, which indicates a *need* for translation. Although the Roshni audience is assumed to understand English, it is *basic* English. It seems that Punjabi Takeover’s audience is assumed to understand fluent English.

Since Chowlia uses predominately English, it seems that the Punjabi he uses is more for emphasis than to meet any language requirement or linguistic need. His code-switching does not fit with any of Zentella's categories, exactly. However, one major finding of Zentella's research was that "the members of el bloque were integrating the heritages of "dos worlds/ two mundos" (Padron, as cited by Zentella, 1982). She is also careful to point out that for New York Puerto Ricans (NYPRs), one reason for utilizing conversational strategies like code-switching was due to constructing a NYPR identity (92).

3.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we see that language interactions for Punjabi speakers vary from using single word code-switches (possibly crutches) and loan words, to code-switching entire sentences or prolonged segments of their interaction, to using very little Punjabi at all. This mixed form reflects the practical use of Punjabi in Vancouver at this time, and it is one way in which the language is maintained here.

An analysis of the Punjabi being spoken on the programs Roshni and Punjabi Takeover shows that Punjabi on Lower Mainland radio is being used in varied forms, but is almost always mixed with English. The transcriptions from Roshni and Punjabi Takeover show two vastly different ways that Punjabi is being used. On Roshni we see it used as the dominant language, and on Punjabi Takeover (in the spoken segments) we see it used as the secondary language.

In Roshni, where English is used through code-switching, it is usually being done to accommodate the needs of a guest. When prolonged interactions in English occur,

translations are given by the hosts so that the audience can understand. Translations are not given for loan words, which are words that are adapted in to Punjabi from English. This may be because they are more commonly used than the Punjabi word. In Punjabi Takeover, mostly English is used in the spoken segments, and no translations are given for English or Punjabi. The host of the show speaks less than 10% Punjabi, on average, whereas on Roshni and even in the ads played on the radio, most segments use between about 20 to 50% English, unless the host is interviewing an English speaking guest (in which case they interview in 100% English).

The difference in speaking styles on the two programs is indicative of a different listenership for each program. Although a common theme that was discussed in the analysis of Punjabi Takeover was the host's preference or proficiency in English over Punjabi, it was also discussed that his use of code-switching enabled him to claim a Punjabi identity. In addition to Zentella's categories for code-switching, through which many of the switches on Roshni could be explained, her point that claiming a dual identity through the mixed use of language is important in understanding the way that language is used on Punjabi Takeover.

Language choices, as we see in Claire Piech's research regarding bicultural identity negotiation and Punjabi language use, are one of the ways that Lower Mainland Punjabi speakers negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities. Being able to go between two cultures or two languages is an option for bilingual Punjabi speakers, and it can also help them to negotiate the identity that they wish to bring forth in a particular context. We see this in Chowlia's interaction with Jazzy B. Jazzy B is a well-known Punjabi singer and sings all of his music in Punjabi. However, perhaps because he was prompted by Chowlia, he spoke English for most of their interaction, bringing in Punjabi when he addressed specifically

Punjabi things such as food and his music. In that context, moving fluidly between English and Punjabi allowed him to bring forth a stronger Punjabi identity where he saw fit. As bilinguals, people have a choice about the way they use languages and in which context. Sundar points out that people from diverse ethno-racial backgrounds “can maintain ties with both groups, to varying degrees.” (30) In this case, they can do so in the ways that they use language. Piech’s interviewee, Narveer, makes this important claim to a bicultural/bilingual identity:

”I am showing I am Canadian because I am proud to be living here, but I am still proud of where I was born, so I keep it both ways... My mom and dad taught me to adapt to the changing environment, and I think that is very important.” (23-24)

Beyond identity negotiation, we also see how being bilingual serves in a practical way on Roshni. Both Randhawa and Dhillon were able to conduct interviews in English when they needed to, and were able to translate from English to Punjabi for their audience. This makes code-switching a useful tool in communicating. This chapter shows that there is a very practical use for code-switching, which is to be able to accommodate the needs of people with varying abilities in Punjabi. Piech’s interviewee, Parambir reflects on his bilingual ability: “I am so glad that I have [South Asian] background, because it has been so useful in my work and communicating with people around me who can’t speak the [English] language, especially the older people who come here from India” (23).

This chapter has shown how Punjabi language is used in the Lower Mainland by showcasing the code-switching interactions on Punjabi language radio in the Lower Mainland. Code-switching occurs in many contexts, and when it does not occur, loan words single word code-

switches are used frequently. Punjabi mixed with English is prevalent on the radio, and it can maintain the use of Punjabi as it accommodates the varying degrees of Punjabi that are spoken in different contexts. It is not surprising that so much English is used in Punjabi programming, if the audience is assumed to understand it. This also speaks to Zentella's point, mentioned previously, that code-switching will occur in situations where two speech communities live in close contact. As a diasporic community, the Punjabi speaking community has lived in close contact with the dominant English speaking community for over a century, and Punjabi speakers now have command over both languages to varied extents. So Punjabi and English exist in interaction.

4 The Use of Code Switching in Bhangra Music: Maintaining Punjabi language and identity through the use of Punjabi and English in the Lower Mainland

As was discussed in the last chapter, code-switching is used frequently on Lower Mainland radio, and can be seen as both a tool in the maintenance of Punjabi language, and as an aid in the negotiation or assertion of a dual Punjabi and Canadian identity. The Bhangra music that is played on RED FM also uses code-switching. To showcase this, I transcribe and analyze the Bhangra music played on Punjabi Takeover, showing how English is used in both locally produced Bhangra, and internationally produced Bhangra that is played on the program. Since RED FM is one of the most popular Lower Mainland Punjabi language stations, with a listenership of approximately 100,000 people locally (without online listenership) (Sekhon, Personal Interview), we know that this mix of Punjabi and English is what is being listened to. Moreover, local artists such as Raman Bains, Jaggi Hundal, and Sanj Gosal are using code-switching in their music, showing that the English language is also present in local Punjabi music.

4.1 Formations of Bhangra as Popular Music

Bhangra music is the popular Punjabi music that is associated with Punjab and with the Punjabi Diaspora. Gibb Schreffler notes that it “has referred to dance-oriented popular music styles since the 1980’s.” (3). He maintains that the music we classify as Bhangra is different from the bhangra dancing that he classifies in three main time frames: “a localized village dance practiced before the Partition [of India and Pakistan], a nationalized stage dance developed after the Partition, and a popular ‘heritage’ dance of the Diaspora.” (3)

Ballantyne's work shows how Bhangra dancing was systematized to create a particular Punjabi identity after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. Bhangra as a dance form was equated with "Punjabiya" in the "regional government's attempt to construct a coherent state culture," after this event. (Ballantyne, 2006, 129). The local government sponsored Bhangra performances in 1955, and in 1956 the dance form began to appear in Bollywood films. Aside from recognition in public spaces, the importance of Bhangra began to be shown in post-secondary institutions, including Khalsa College (Amritsar) and Punjabi University (Patiala). (Ballantyne, 2006, 129) And regarding the popularization of Bhangra as a musical form, Ballantyne points out that

Through bhangra lyrics, stage performances, cassettes, CDs and MP3s, music videos, Internet discussion groups, and the press, visions of Punjabi history, Sikh identity, and the values of rural (especially Jat) Punjab have circulated widely in networks of cultural production and consumption since partition." (Ballantyne, 2006, 123)

Ballantyne's work shows how the political history of Punjab has contributed to the understanding of Bhangra as a feature of Punjabiya.

Also important in our understanding of Bhangra as a musical form is Schreffler's view that Bhangra music actually emerged out of the Punjabi diaspora as a result of the longing for a connection to 'home' (2012). He makes the point that "journalists and academics have often made the mistake of describing "traditional bhangra music" as if it were a genre that Punjabis brought with them to Britain as far back as the 1960s" (Schreffler, 348). Ballantyne argues that Punjabis did bring bhangra with them to Britain after World War II, as a dance form that began to evolve as British Punjabi life became more family-

centered. However, he points to a time after the British Punjabi social scene evolved to where “bhangra evolved as a key marker of tradition”(2006, 131), when “the term bhangra... came not only to signify the dance but also to refer to both the dance and the wide range of popular musical forms produced by Punjabi musicians.” (2006, 131) The Bhangra music the both Ballantyne and Schreffler refer to is not the same music that was “originally associated with Baisakhi,” (131) which “typically celebrated fertility and the joys of the harvest” (127) and whose lyrics were overshadowed by a dhol (large drum) beat. (Ballantyne, 2006, 127). The musical form that emerged in Britain now included “Western-style instruments, especially bass, guitars, synthesizers, and drum machines, to create a novel sound that nevertheless remained tied to the conventions of bhangra transplanted to Britain.” (Ballantyne, 2006, 132)

Although it is a popular view that Bhangra music is a part of Punjabi heritage, Schreffler points out that

The popular music style, in contrast to the bhangra dance, is seen as something forward-looking; adoption of the label ‘bhangra’ indicated that the music was, unlike earlier Punjabi popular music, for dancing, and yet it was to be dance with a Western connotation: ‘disco bhangra’. ‘Bhangra’ in this discursive context was a token signifier of a Punjabi element to the product, yet used in a way as to suggest a mixture, something untraditional. (3)

Bhangra as a form of music was a genre that came about while “parents tried to raise their “foreign”-born children as they would in Punjab (albeit a past Punjab), while the children often wondered what bearing this supposed Punjabi heritage had on the way they were living their lives elsewhere” (Schreffler, 336). Part of the birth of bhangra music as a popular form is in response to that question. Schreffler notes that UK-born British Punjabis of that era dealt with the negotiation of their mixed identities through the juxtaposition of East meets West, and he notes that “their task became one of “negotiating” the identities associated with each one” (336-37). In doing so, the use of English has always been commonplace in Bhangra music, and can be seen as the result of the Diaspora experience that involved the hybridization of two cultures. Kalra supports this notion, stating that “Bhangra texts are primarily sung in Punjabi, but given the colonial encounter, they have long contained words borrowed from English.” (84)

Punjabi music is however not the only music that is making use of code-switching. Research by Brian Hok-Shing Chan, as well as by Jamie Lee, shows that Cantopop (Cantonese/Hong Kong pop music), K-pop (Korean pop) and J-pop (Japanese pop) are also experiencing language mixing in the form of code-switching in popular music. Chan offers that the use of code-switching in Cantopop “goes beyond a mere symbol of “Western” culture or identity,” (107), and actually “conveys alternative identities” (107). In recent pop music of different ethnic varieties (here, I do not mean “ethnic” in contrast to “Western” varieties of music, or in contrast to English language music. I mean pop music produced in various cultures, by various ethnic groups), English can be used to portray a particular style that the speaker or singer wishes to identify with, or that the consumer identifies with.

In her research on code switching in K-Pop, Jamie Lee points out that “K-Pop is a sociolinguistic breathing space for young South Koreans to construct identity...” (446). Although Lee suggests various uses for English mixing in K-Pop which are specific to Korean culture and South Korea’s relationships with other countries, she still talks about K-Pop as something that “provides a discursive space for young South Korean youth, either artists or audiences, to assert their self-identity, to create new meanings...to resist mainstream norms and values, and to reject older generations’ conservatism” (446). These points can relate to any community attempting to negotiate between two identities. Code-switching between Punjabi and English in bhangra music is a way for artists and audiences to show that there can be a hybridization of the two worlds they live in.

4.2 The Use of English in Bhangra Music

A fine example of the type of hybridization referred to above is seen in Apache Indian’s 1993 hit *Chok There (Cak De - Raise the Roof)*, which combined Jamaican Patois (a form of creolized English) and Punjabi:

No me know one gal them a call Rani	I know a girl they call Rani
Pon her forehead no she have a <i>bimḍī</i>	On her forehead she wears a bindi
And round she waist she have a sarī	And around her waist she has (ties) a sari
Chok there – from me uncle and aunty- <i>jī</i>	Raise the roof – from my uncle and aunty ³ <i>jī</i>
Chok there – from me brother mon and me <i>bhābī</i> Raise the roof – from my brother and my	
	sister in law

³ *ji*: honorific term used to address people with respect.

Chok there – from me friend Baldev Singh *Jī* Raise the roof – from my friend Baldev Singh
Jī

Chok there – ragamuffin fe the community Raise the roof – ragamuffin for/of the
community⁴

This song is just one example that makes use of English with Punjabi in Bhangra music. This mix of Jamaican Patois in to Bhangra music is attributed to Apache Indian's "broader involvement in multiracial peer groups." (Roy, 244) With these lyrics, Apache Indian is reflecting his experiences as an Indian who grew up with a lot of black friends as well as Patois and Reggae influences (Rampton, 335). This demonstrates that the wider society that Apache Indian was living in had an influence on his music. But so did his Indian roots. Schreffler makes the point that in the mid-eighties when the English press discovered bhangra music, they painted a picture of British Punjabi youth as being in crisis with their identities (2012). Schreffler responds to this assumption, noting that "surprisingly little in the lyrics of the music evidenced identity 'conflict'" (2012, 349) Perhaps Punjabis were showing a connection to the diaspora, or to a new culture by making use of the language of the host land. Schreffler describes that what was understood as an identity conflict by the British press could be described more precisely as a hybridization of two cultures. The English language lyrical content was an important part of this, and remains so today. As Kalra states, "lyrics themselves have the ability to encapsulate certain moments and points of articulation." (85) This is why it is important to note what the English lyrics in Punjabi music represent. Using English and Punjabi lyrics in Punjabi popular music is an important part of the way Punjabi is currently used and heard in the Lower Mainland. And because this type of

⁴ I.e., in reference to the Indian community.

Punjabi use extends past bhangra music into spoken Punjabi (as seen in Chapter 2), it is clear that this type of code-switching is commonplace in Punjabi here.

Bhangra music plays an important cultural role in greater Vancouver. Aside from radio play, it is an important part of social gatherings, both small scale and large. The elaborate Punjabi weddings that are well known throughout the Lower Mainland include listening and dancing to Bhangra music. And because it is not generally understood where bhangra music comes from, and that its history is different from the dance form, some of its cultural significance within the Diaspora comes from the “vague notion of it being ‘traditional’ or at least tradition-based...” (Schreffler, 2). However, simultaneously, as mentioned above, bhangra music represents something ‘untraditional’ and allows for two identities to exist together.

4.3 Code Switching in Local and International Bhangra Songs Played on RED FM

The Lower Mainland has its own Bhangra artists that incorporate English into Punjabi lyrics. In this section I will show lyrics from two local bhangra artists whose songs are played on RED FM’s Punjabi Takeover that use English. I will also include examples that show that international artists are also using code-switching in Bhangra.

The first artist is Sanj Gosal, who is a Lower Mainland Punjabi-Canadian singer. (Punjabi Takeover) His song “Feel” was played on Punjabi Takeover on the December 11 program, containing the following code-switches:

Tainūṁ chuṇiā guess *mārlai*

Take a guess, I chose you

Mārhī tā nahī choice *kuṛe*

It is not a bad choice

Dabke mārḍī phire road te

Cruising around on the road

Kālī Cadillac kuṛe

Is my black Cadillac, girl

Oh khūn wich pūrī heating Jat⁵ de

My blood is hot/I am excited (referring to himself as being from the Jat caste)

Mind de wich nā cheating Jat de

Cheating is not on my mind

Here, not only is the song's title in English, but 20% of the lyrics are in English. This code-switching shows the deliberate use of English. As we saw in Chapter 2, loan words and crutches are often used in spontaneous, conversational Punjabi (as in some of the interviews that were transcribed). But songs differ from conversational Punjabi in that they are not spontaneous. These lyrics have been written with intent, before the singer performs/records them. From this, we know that English is not being used as a crutch, but rather, it is being used for a purpose. Otherwise, artist/writer could use pure Punjabi, as many singers do in their songs. For example, Raman Bains is an artist whose song “*Wādā*” played on the January 4th episode of Punjabi Takeover. He is a local artist who was born in the Lower Mainland (Punjabi Takeover), and even gives an entire interview on the show in English, but the song only has Punjabi lyrics. So when we hear English in Bhangra music, it is deliberate.

Similarly, Jaggi Hundal is another local Lower Mainland Bhangra singer whose song “*Gabrū*” was played on Punjabi Takeover on December 14th. His lyrics also include code-switching:

Milan vī kuṛī nūm je jāṇā paimḍā ai

Even if I have to go and meet a girl

5 A member of the Jat caste. Caste hierarchies appear commonly in Bhangra music, with the most references to the Jat (Farmer) caste. However, bhangra music and Punjabi popular culture has seen a push back from castes that are placed at low caste status.

Mahimḡā koī gift lejāṇā paiṃdā ai

I have to take an expensive gift

āp chāhe kade inā kharch nahī kītā

Even if I have never spent that much money

Hāsā madam de mukh te liāuṇa paiṃdā ai

I have to make her (madam) smile

In Hundal's song, he uses 7% English content. However, the English he uses is still significant because he could have easily replaced "gift" with the Punjabi equivalent "*tofā*", and "madam" with "*mutiār*" (young lady) without any detriment to the syllables necessary to complete those lyrics. It seems that the use of English lyrics in place of Punjabi ones can only be attributed to choice here, not need.

4.4 Code-Switching in Bhangra Music

Code-switching in pop music is a well thought out way to brand music in a way that can be consumed by those people who are balancing two languages, two cultures, and sometimes even a dual identity. Brian Hok-Shing Chan offers that "in spontaneous conversation, bilingual speakers may engage in code-switching to highlight their social roles and negotiate their relationship with other participants." (107) But in his article "English in Hong Kong Cantopop: language choice, code-switching and genre," he points out that "the differences between code-switching in written or planned discourse and observed code-switching in spoken data bear ... exploration" (107). It is important to remember that code-switching in music is not spontaneous, as it is in conversation. Lee states that "English use in K-Pop can be understood as an instance of preplanned, deliberate, intentional code-switching with specific goals in songwriters' and artists' minds. This type of code-switching is not an instance of accidental improvisation," (434). When we observe the switches being made in lyrics, we must give special attention to the intention behind the switch. This is not to say

that code-switches being made in conversation do not have intention behind them; as explored in the previous chapter, the intentions behind spontaneous code switches vary. However, in this context we must think about who is writing, producing, and manufacturing the music, and who it is being made for. If this music represents a hybridization of two cultures or two languages, the likelihood of listening to music that captures both identities may increase.

Here, it is important to note, in thinking about music as a mode of cultural production, that while bhangra music aids in identity formation, some aspects of the identity that it promotes are problematic. Much of the bhangra music seen through this chapter, for example, portrays caste elitism (in reference to the use of the term ‘Jat’). Bhangra music also has a deeply sexist element, as it often perpetuates the unfair standards of beauty assigned to women, and as it perpetuates the prescription of brown women as pure, and white women as sexual objects. The objectification and exploitation of women and the denigration people who are excluded from the Jat caste in Bhangra music is rampant in more ways than the discussion in this chapter allows depth for, but it is important to note these elements in our discussion of identity formation.

Not only are local artists using code-switching in their songs. International bhangra artists use code switching too. For example, on the December 3rd program, of the 14 songs played, 8 songs makes use of Punjabi and English code-switching, and one song, though it does not include code switches, has a title in English. This means that more than 60% of the songs played on the entire program make use of English. What this tells us is that if RED FM is playing this much English content, and it has a large listenership, it is reaching and is assumed to be understood by those listeners as well. Examples from a few of the songs by

international recording artists played on this episode of the program are shown below. These transcriptions show that the songs that use code switching use an average of about 20% English.

Jazzy B and Kaur B – “Jat Da Flag” (3/20 English words)

<i>Gal tere laī nā sad ban je</i>	I hope it does not turn out sad for you
<i>Jeharī country wic tare Jat pair nī</i>	Whichever country I touch down in, girl
<i>Othe Jaṭ dā flag taṇ jae</i>	I claim it with my flag

Manni Sandhu and Navaan Sandhu – “Special Edition” (9/24 English words)

<i>Haṃ Bob Dylan dī hoodie kālī</i>	Yeah, a black Bob Dylan hoodie
<i>Akhīām te Tom glass kure</i>	Tom [Ford] glasses on my eyes
<i>Haṃ Jat mod kārām mirror black</i>	Yeah, [I have] modern cars with tinted windows
<i>Rakhī reṇī beṇī sārī hī class kure</i>	I keep my lifestyle pure class, girl

Preet Hundal and Jasmine Sandlas – “Whiskey Dī Botal” (4/24 English words)

<i>Perām wic jutī Paṃjābī</i>	Punjabi shoes on your feet
<i>Akh wic mascara nī</i>	Mascara on your eyes, girl
<i>Suit te dressām we</i>	[Salwar] suits or dresses, boy
<i>Mai dono wic jachdī we</i>	I suit both, boy
<i>Shotgun wāmḡ Jaṭā</i>	Like a shotgun (refers to him as Jat, from caste)

Mār merī akkh dī

You're the target of my eye

Gursewak Dhillon's song "Gangster Scene" also makes use of code-switching. The lyrics show a pattern of English switches in each of these lines:

Kītā tainūṃ choose ha nī

I chose you, girl

Uḍ gae ne fuse jānī

The fuse has blown out

Kartā tū Jat confuse hai

You have confused me

Top dī news hai nī

It is top news

Koloṃ reviews hai nī

I have reviews

Table te paī Grey Goose hai

There is Grey Goose [vodka] on the table

Roj jaṃdī gym lokī

She goes to the gym every day, people

Ho jaṃde dim

Become dim/puzzled

Terā lak hai slim body lean

You have slim hips and a lean body

Dhillon's entire song continues with this pattern, where almost every line has at least one English lyric. In this section alone, he uses 30% English. In using so many English lyrics, all of the above mentioned artists can be seen as representing a bi-cultural and bi-lingual identity.

4.5 The Language of Bhangra and Hip-Hop

Often, artists and audiences represent or connect “East” and “West” through the use of English language slang, and the culture associated with this kind of slang. For example, in naming his song “Gangster Scene” and alluding to a lifestyle that involves alcohol and partying with girls, Dhillon also seems to be making a connection to a perceived Hip-Hop culture in a similar way that Apache Indian’s music made connections to Reggae culture in the 1990’s. In songs like “Chok There”, transcribed above, Apache Indian used styles from Reggae culture and sang in a mix of Jamaican Patois and Punjabi to assert his cultural experience within the Diaspora in UK. Similarly, the Bhangra music that is played on RED FM uses Hip Hop styles and Punjabi that is mixed with English lyrics to assert the experience of relating to two cultures. Roy’s research on the hybridization of black (reggae) and brown (bhangra) music in the UK shows that bhangra’s connection with black culture dates back to the eighties and nineties when bhangra music was new (2013). Bhangra music was able to help British Punjabis and blacks to connect their cultures and their shared experiences through music (Roy, 2013). In addition to connecting the two cultures within the UK, Roy found that the attempt to hybridize the two cultures through music brought about “Bhangra albums produced in India in which Punjabi *munde* [boys] produce a new street culture and modernity in relation to blackness” (248).

This can be seen as what some of the Hip Hop styles and English lyrics in some of the songs reflect. Modernity, framed in features of Hip Hop culture, is reflected through Jazzy B’s lyrics in the above mentioned song “Jat Da Flag”. An example of this is when he says “swag *shaumkī mahamgī car dā /khaṇḍdā gal wic pāyā hīrīāṃ de hār dā*” (I show my swag (style) with my fancy, expensive car/I have a khanda (Sikh religious emblem) made of little diamonds.) These symbols of wealth and status that he sings about are often heard in Hip Hop

songs, like the Big Tymers (which is spelled Big Tymer\$) song from 1999, “Bling Bling” whose lyrics are as follows: “every time I come around your city/ bling bling/ pinky ring worth about fifty/ bling bling/ every time I buy a new ride/ bling bling.” The Big Tymers are an American Hip Hop group whose music and name both highlight the pursuit and acquisition of money, status, and material goods. The lyrics say that the group members “bling” (shine) everywhere they go, asserting their wealth. Much of Hip Hop music and culture reflects these values, and bhangra music adapts this style to connect to North American values, and to modernity. Another example of this can be heard in Diljit Dosanjh’s song “Thug Life” which was played on the January 14, 2019 program of Punjabi Takeover on RED FM. Its lyrics state: “*thug life* dekh Jat dī...nī tūṁ *long time* maṁg dī hai yārāṁ” (look at my thug life(style) ...I can’t make a long term commitment because of my thug lifestyle). Here, we see Dosanjh glamorize the term “thug life” in the same way Tupac Shakur did when he coined the term with his 1994 album title, which became valorized after he was shot and killed two years later.

Themes from Hip Hop culture are also present in the lyrics from Manni Sandhu and Navaan Sandhu in “Special Edition” which state: “*akhīāṁ* te Tom glass *kure/ haṁ* Jat mod *kārāṁ* mirror black” (Tom [Ford] glasses on my eyes/ yeah, [I have] modern cars with tinted windows.) Here, they refer wearing Tom Ford, a high-end American designer brand. Again in this context, the singers associate themselves with valuing affluence. Moreover, not only do they allude to having cars with tinted windows (sunglasses and tinted windows both highlight the anonymity that is prevalent in Hip Hop culture), but they also make reference to *modern* cars, highlighting the importance of modernity. These features are similar to the lyrics of the Hip Hop song “Versace” by American Hip Hop group Migos featuring the Canadian born rapper Drake. In “Versace” the lyrics state: “boy, Versace Versace, we stay at the mansion

when we in Miami/ these pillows Versace, the sheets are Versace, I just won a Grammy” showing the same value for high-end brands. The same song also highlights privacy and anonymity stating “this is a gated community/ please get the fuck off the property.”

Similar Hip Hop style features are shared by some of the songs by local artists that are played on RED FM, which are transcribed earlier in this chapter. Sanj Gosal’s lyrics from the song “Feel” states: “*dabke mārḍī phire road te/ kāli Cadillac kure*” (cruising around on the road/ is my black Cadillac, girl.) Again, we see the reference to a material good, and a Western high-end name brand for a connection to Hip Hop culture. Jaggie Hundal makes the connection to Hip Hop using wealth when he talks about giving expensive gifts to attract women: “*Maiṃgā koī gift lajāṇā paiṃdā ai... Hāsā madam de mukh te liona paiṃdā ai*” (I have to take an expensive gift ...I have to make her (madam) smile.) All of the songs mentioned in this section are also using English code switches when they talk about the features of Hip Hop culture or Western culture that they are trying to connect with.

Lee also interprets these types of code-switches in K-pop songs. She sees them as an “assertion of struggle with unsettled identities” (438) Further, she notes that African American Vernacular English is used in some of the lyrics she explores to depict this type of struggle. In a K-Pop song that she explores, she notices that “the lifestyle depicted in this song [is that of a] young, successful, single man who enjoys his wild weekend...in a fancy club dancing and drinking” (441). In all of the songs explored above, the lyrics depict similar lifestyles.

4.6 Conclusion

Kalra suggests that the use of English in Punjabi music is a feature that has been present in both folk and modern Punjabi music due to what he calls “the colonial encounter” (84). Roy shows that the musical form of Bhangra, which Schreffler tells us is associated with Punjabi tradition because it is vaguely associated with being traditional, has used English since the early 1990s. When Bhangra first developed, it used English in the form of Jamaican Patois (a creolized form of English) with Reggae styles as a result of the close physical proximity that black and brown youth shared in the UK, and the cultural crossing that resulted from it. Currently, Bhangra reflects English code-switching and features of hip-hop music to reflect a hybridization of East and West. Roy’s work proves particularly useful here, showing how Reggae styles were adapted in to Bhangra music, allowing the two cultures to connect if only through music and dancing. (2013)

In an exploration of the Bhangra music that was played on RED FM between December, 2018, and January, 2019, I was able to show that most of the music uses code-switching. The segments of lyrics that I explore are, on average, about 20% in English. Moreover, one episode that I discuss had 60% musical content that used code-switching. This is representative of the code-switching that is prevalent in Bhangra music. An analysis of this lyrical content proves useful in showing that, as code-switching represents the hybridization of two languages, it also represents the hybridization of cultures. While I maintain that the primary focus of this thesis is to show how code-switching is being practiced on Lower Mainland radio, the existing scholarly research on code-switching in Bhangra music alludes to a deliberate attempt at linguistic and cultural hybridization. Thus, these issues also required some discussion, as the themes discussed in existing literature were also present in my data.

The hybridization that was reflected in the original productions of Bhangra music still exists today. Bhangra music has always used English language and themes from black culture to connect to the West. I have shown this through the exploration of the current Bhangra songs being played on RED FM. Both local and international Bhangra artists make use of English language through code-switching, and use features of Hip Hop, while still using mostly Punjabi lyrics. What is especially interesting here is that most of the time, the Hip Hop themes that are presented in Bhangra music are presented *in English*.

The K-Pop and J-Pop examples show that the phenomenon of using deliberate English code-switching is not unique to Bhangra music. It is a feature of many cultures where there is a hybridization that occurs to reflect more than one identity. Lee's exploration of the phenomenon of language mixing in Korean Pop (K-Pop) music proves that the reasons behind it all play into self-assertion or identity negotiation of Korean youth. We can draw a comparison between K-Pop/J-Pop and modern bhangra music, as they both use English code-switches to present themes that correlate to a perceived hip-hop culture.

Baumann (1990) pointed out in his study on the re-invention of bhangra in Britain in the 1980's that the attraction to the new music for British Punjabis was essentially the possibility of fitting into a space where they felt represented. This chapter shows that one of the ways Bhangra music allows for this representation to be felt is in the hybridization that occurs with the use of English language, and features of Hip Hop culture. Throughout this chapter I have shown instances of English use in Bhangra music that is played on RED FM, one of the Lower Mainland's most popular radio stations, with a listenership of approximately 100,000. The occurrence of so much music that uses code-switching on RED FM shows that this music is being listened to by a large number of Punjabi speakers. This

indicates that the code-switching in Bhangra music resonates with Lower Mainland Punjabis; that they understand it, and are tuning in to listen to it.

5 Final Conclusion

For over a century, Punjabis have been in Canada and have developed a community that is vast and dynamic. Punjabi language has developed from the language of a small community of migrants at the beginning of the 20th century, and one of the languages of the freedom fighting Ghadar party, to the main immigrant language spoken at home in BC, and the fourth most spoken home language in Vancouver (when we look at Mandarin and Cantonese separately).

Currently, Punjabi is used dynamically. It is used in business throughout the Lower Mainland, and many accommodations are made for its use by the federal, provincial, and local governments. There are several forms of Punjabi language media and literature being produced in the Lower Mainland, and Punjabi is recognized as second language option in some Lower Mainland school boards. It is taught publicly and privately, and is also taught at the post-secondary level.

As discussed in chapter one, however, there is still a view that mixed forms of Punjabi will negatively affect the life of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland and throughout the Diaspora. However, language mixing is a common phenomenon among immigrant languages. The ability to mix between English and Punjabi can decrease the potential for total language loss, and allows even speakers with limited abilities access to the language. This project shows that mixed language use like what is heard on RED FM and in Bhangra music still reflect the statistics mentioned above, which is another indicator that Punjabi is flourishing within the Lower Mainland. Moreover, mixed language use proves to

representative of the two identities between which many members of diasporas move fluidly. Punjabi Canadians often use both English and Punjabi to represent the identities they are constantly negotiating. For members of the diaspora whose identities are fluid or mixed, switching between English and Punjabi not only represents their bicultural and bilingual identities, but it also proves to sustain Punjabi language use.

An analysis of the Punjabi being spoken on the programs Roshni and Punjabi Takeover on RED FM shows that Punjabi on Lower Mainland radio is being used in varied forms, but is almost always mixed with English. The transcriptions from Roshni and Punjabi Takeover show two vastly different ways that Punjabi is being used. On Roshni we see it used as the dominant language, and on Punjabi Takeover (in the spoken segments) we see it used as the secondary language.

On Roshni, where English is used through code-switching or loans, it is usually being done to accommodate the needs of a guest or the listening audience. In Punjabi Takeover, mostly English is used in the spoken segments. The host of the show speaks less than 10% Punjabi, on average, whereas on Roshni and even in the ads played on the radio, most segments use between about 20 to 50% English, unless the host is interviewing an English speaking guest (in which case they interview in 100% English).

The difference in speaking styles on the two programs is indicative of a different listenership for each program. Each audience is assumed by the radio station to understand English, however, the level of English that is understood by each audience is indicated by the amount of English used on each program. The analysis of Punjabi Takeover suggests that the host's preference or proficiency in English over Punjabi is what results in so little Punjabi being used in the spoken segments of the program by the host. It is also discussed that his use

of code-switching is the feature of his interactions that enable him to claim a Punjabi identity. Zentella's point that claiming a dual identity through the mixed use of language is common among those who negotiate two cultures.

We also see in Claire Piech's research regarding bicultural identity negotiation and Punjabi language use, that one of the ways that Lower Mainland Punjabi speakers negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities is by accessing both languages. As bilinguals, people have a choice about the way they use languages and in which context. This project shows how people use language to connect to two cultures in order to reflect that feature of their identity.

This is often done through the use of code-switching, which Zentella points out will occur in situations where two speech communities live in close contact. The Punjabi speaking community has lived in close contact with the dominant English speaking community since the beginning of the 20th century, and today, Punjabi and English exist in interaction. This is also shown in chapter 3, through an exploration of language mixing in Bhangra music.

When UK Bhangra first developed, it used English in the form of Jamaican Patois (a creolized form of English) with Reggae styles as a result of the close physical proximity that black and brown youth shared in the UK, and the cultural crossing that resulted from it. Currently, Bhangra uses English code-switching and features of hip-hop music to reflect a hybridization of East and West.

An analysis of the Bhangra music that is played on RED FM shows that most of the music uses code-switching. The segments of lyrics that I explore include 20% English, and one of the episodes listened to had 60% musical content that used code-switching. The

occurrence of so much music that uses code-switching on RED FM shows that this music is being listened to by a large number of Punjabi speakers. RED FM estimates a local listenership of 100,000 throughout the Lower Mainland (and an additional listenership in other parts of Canada outside of Vancouver, plus online listenership). This indicates that Lower Mainland Punjabis tune in to listen to the music on Punjabi Takeover, and moreover, that they engage with the spoken content in mostly English as well.

Scholarly research on code-switching in Bhangra music suggests that English in Bhangra represents hybridization, pointing out that popular Bhangra, since its formation in the UK in the 1980s and 90s, has included both English language and themes from black culture to connect to the West. This argument is solidified through an exploration of the lyrics in the songs that use code-switching that were accessed on RED FM. Both local and international Bhangra artists make use of English language through code-switching, and use features of Hip Hop, while still using mostly Punjabi lyrics. Scholarship on Korean and Japanese pop further solidify this argument, showing how K-Pop and J-Pop also use English language and features of Hip Hop culture to claim features of Western identity while maintain Korean and Japanese identities (respectively).

The aim of this project has been to show the status of Punjabi in the Lower Mainland, and to show how Punjabi is used and engaged with within the local Punjabi Diaspora. The exploration of Punjabi language in the Lower Mainland has shown that Punjabi is flourishing, and this can be seen in the many realms in which it is used (business, media, literature, and the school system). Moreover, the use of Punjabi is supported throughout Canada, especially within BC and the Lower Mainland. This is seen in all of the

accommodations that are made for the language, including the use of Punjabi at the levels of provincial and local governments.

This project has also shown that Punjabi exists, in the Lower Mainland, in interaction with English. In popular Punjabi radio-media and in Punjabi popular music (both local and international), English is being used alongside Punjabi. This has been the case for Bhangra music since at least the 1990's, and in hybridizing East and West by using features of Western culture (like English language and Hip Hop), the life of Punjabi language has expanded. This project has shown a similar trend for spoken Punjabi. Access to Punjabi is enhanced by the ability to use English with it. Not only does it allow for people who claim dual identities to relate by mixing language, but also allows for speakers who have varying abilities in either language to relate to two cultures. In this way, the mixing of English with Punjabi is one way that the Punjabi language continues to be sustained in the Lower Mainland.

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