جابجایی رمزگانی: نشانه ای از کارکردهای گفتمانی

دکتر سید محمد ضیاء حسینی

دانشگاه علامه طباطبایی

چکیده

این تحقیق پدیده جابجایی رمزگانی فارسی‌ـ انگلیسی را در گفتگوی ایرانیـان بـزرگسـال سـاکن آمریکـا بررسـی می‌کند. هدف اصلی تحقیق پیدا کردن رابطه بین دو الگوی جابجایی رمزگانی درون جمله ای و میان جمله ای با مـدت زمان اقامت گویندگان در محل اقامت است. بررسی آمار عبارت های بیان شده توسـط ۱۸ ایرانـی سـاکن آمریکـا (بیـن ۲۲- ۵ سال) نشان می دهد۰که بین طول اقامت و الگوهای جابجایی رمزگانی رابطه وجود دارد.

آنهایی که طول اقامتشان کمتر است، جابجایی درون جمله ای بیشتری را نسبت به دسته دیگر به کـار مـی برنـد. بررسی دقیق آمار نشان می دهد که جابجایی برای دو زبانه ها به کارکرد گفتمانی جابجایی سبک تک زبان ها شـباهت دارد، که در این تحقیق نشانه مبتدا سازی است.

Code-Switching: A Signal for Discourse Functions

Dr. S.M. Ziahosseiny*
Allameh Tabatabaii University

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the phenomenon of Persian-English code-switching in the Persian conversation of adult Iranians living in the U.S. The primary objective of the study was to find out the relation between the two patterns of switching: intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching with the duration of residence in the speakers' second language society. The analysis of data, utterances produced by 18 Iranians living in the U.S. for a period of between 5 to 22 years, indicated that there is a relation between the period of residence and the patterns of code-switching. That is, those with less years of residence produce more intra-sentential switches compared to those whose period of residence is more. However, a closer look at the data reveals that switches for the bilinguals have the same discourse functions of style-shifting for monolinguals. In this study it is a sign of topicalization.

Key Words: 1.Code switching 2. Discourse function 3. Intra-sentential 4. Inter-sentential 5.Style-shifting.

1. Introduction

Code-switching has been defined as "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems"(Gumperz, 1982:59). This phenomenon has been widely investigated focusing attention on two aspects of it: grammatical/syntactic or discourse/pragmatic. In pragmatic aspect the motivation for switching is basically assumed to be stylistic, while the syntactic framework primarily accounts for the linguistic constraints on code-switching (See Romaine 1989 for details). Sankoff and Poplack (1981) found that code-switching in linguistic framework can be generated by a model of grammar which is governed by two constraints: free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. Free morpheme constraint predicts that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. Thus in the Spanish/English bilingual speech *flip-eando* -- flipping would be permissible, but not *catch-eando*. Since catch has not been integrated into the phonology of Spanish.

The equivalence constraint predicts that a switch may occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. Thus switches may occur between determiners and nouns in Spanish/English bilingual speech where both languages share the same ordering, but they are not permissible between nouns and adjectives in Persian/English bilingual speech, because in Persian, adjectives follow their nouns in the noun phrase, while in

---

* Professor of English Language and Linguistics & English

English adjectives precede the noun. In other words, switches can take place only between constituents where order is shared across the two languages. (Nishimura, 1985; 1986)

Another major constraint within the linguistic framework of code-switching is found by Di Sciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986). They have proposed that code-switching is universally constrained by the principle of government, which operates in monolingual grammars. The claim is that code-switching is possible between elements that are not related by government. In other words, code-switching is permissible at points where there is no syntagmatic coherence and dependency relations between the elements of the sentence.

So far, then, code-switching has been observed from a mainly linguistic perspective; namely, how can one formulate in linguistic terms what happens when speakers code-switch? The following observations, however, look at an approach which takes a different starting point, the question of what discourse functions code-switching serves. According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching serves an expressive function and has pragmatic meaning on much the same basis that switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) in a study conducted in rural Norway found that when residents of the village step up to the counter at the post office, they exchange greetings and inquiries about family members in the local dialect, but carry out the business part of the transaction in standard Norwegian. Here, the speakers are concerned with the communicative effect of the switching to the standard Norwegian to communicate how they intend their words to be understood through the mutual understanding of situational norms.

An outstanding example of such function of code-switching is found in direct vs. reported speech. The speech of another person, which is reported in a conversation, Gumperz (1982) suggests, will be in a different language. He observed a New Guinean girl narrating the story of a cartoon she has just seen on the video in her native language, Tok Pisin, but reported the "speech" of one of the characters in English. The fact is that there was no dialogue in the cartoon, and thus she was not reporting verbatim what the character actually said. Rather, it was her representation of the event. She selected English based on its social appropriateness, because the setting was not New Guinean and the cartoon characters were white; therefore it would be unlikely that the character she was reporting knew Tok Pisin. Gumperz points out that speakers are not always quoted in the language they normally use, that is, the switch itself must be pragmatically significant, not the accuracy of the representation of the reported speech with respect to its linguistic form.

Code-switching also serves as sentence-fillers, involving the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language, e.g. *you know, I mean,* etc., to take some English examples. This type of code-switching, known as tag-switching, is a well-known pragmatic phenomenon, functioning as sentence-fillers.

Code-switching marks a shift to a new significant part of the message through reiteration to clarify or emphasize it. Here the switch itself is important, not the referential value of the utterance, since the same thing is said in both languages. This same function is served when a topic is introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in the other (see Gumperz, 1982; Nishimura 1985: Doron, 1983; for details).

Code-switching also serves a transactional function, drawing attention to the fact that a specific addressee is the recipient of the message, or is being invited to participate

in an exchange (See Mc Convell, 1988 for details).

The function of personalization vs. objectivization is also fulfilled by a category of switches. One such function of switches relates to whether a statement reflects personal opinion or generally known fact. That is, the speaker puts his personal opinion in one language and the well-known or generally accepted idea in the other to convince his participant in the exchange (see Romaine 1989).

Also, types of discourse or genres, e.g. a lecture vs. a discussion are marked by code switching. Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that teachers delivered their formal lectures in the official standard form of Norwegian, but used a regional Norwegian dialect to encourage discussion among the students.

A distinction is also made between the in-group intimate minority language signifying informal, personalized activities versus out-group majority language marking more formal relationship. Romaine (1989) in her study of Panjabi/English bilinguals found that Panjabi serves to mark the in-group language and English the out-group. In their exchange, the switch from Panjabi to English emphasizes the boundaries between informal and formal setting. McConvell (1988) in a similar study argues that the switches represent moves from relatively impersonal statements to more personal, affective utterances which are linked to solidarity on a local community basis, e.g. joking relationships, traditional obligations, and shared identity.

Romaine (1989) enumerates a number of other discourse functions which code-switching fulfills. Among these are social arena, signifying a certain class of activities and network of interperson, or negative attitude towards one language or the other to be chosen as a means of the best way of saying something (see Scotton 1976 for details), and feeling for what must be regarded as a single semantic or syntactic unit (see Gumperz, 1982:89-90 for details) to mention only a few.

Numerous other researchers explored and analyzed the functions of code-switching in different parts of the world: Parkin (1974) among different ethnic groups in Nairobi, Scotton (1978) among workers in three African cities, Scotton and Ury (1977) in further African contexts, Hasselmo (1972) among Swedish immigrants in the United States, to mention only a few. But it seems that there is more to be known about this phenomenon. Thus the following study was conducted among Iranians living in the United States to find the effect of duration of residence on code-switching.

2. Method

2.1. Subjects

A sample of 18 Persian/English adult bilinguals living in Orlando, Los Angeles, Lexington, and Philadelphia were selected for the study. Their period of residence in the US ranged from 5 to 22 years. (See Table A.)

2.2. Instrumentation

A questionnaire, recording direct conversation with no specific topic dictated to make it natural, and participant observation were used for data collection.

2.3. Procedure

The subjects were divided into two groups of -14 and +20 years of residence. There were 13 subjects who have been in the US for 14 years and less, and 5 subjects who resided there for more than 20 years. (See Table A)

Each subject was given a questionnaire to report his/her age, period of residence, education, and professional status, etc. Then, having been convinced of the confidentiality of the information in their conversation, they proceeded on a natural dialogue with friends and members of the family to be recorded on tape. The result was 18 audio-tapes to be studied, analyzed and categorized according to their period of

residence in the USA.

2.4.Hypothesis

Iranians living in the US switch a lot to English in their Persian conversation. Some switch more than others and some types of switching are seen more frequently than others. Thus the study was based on the following hypotheses:

1) Iranians who have been longer in the US switch more in their Persian conversation.

2) The pattern of switching is different due to the length of residence in the US.

Two patterns of code-switching were in mind: Intra-sentential, a word or phrase of one language (English) used within a sentence of another language (Persian), and Inter-sentential, a sentence or clause of one language (English) used within an utterance of another language (Persian)

3. Analysis of Data

The total number of switches from Persian into English was 1546, out of which 1139 (73.67%) were intra-sentential, and 407 (26.32%) were inter-sentential. (See Table C) One subject with 5 years of residence and two others with 10 years did not use any inter-sentential switching; but every one of the subjects used intrasentential switches. (See Table B)

The -14 group used more intra-sentential switching, while the +20 group used more inter-sentential switching (See Table C). This seems to be the differential factor between the -14 and the +20 groups in this study: that is the hypothesis stating that the patterns of switching is different according to the period of residence in the US was confirmed.

Table B indicates that there is no relation between the number of switches and the period of residence in the US. Thus the hypothesis stating that Iranians with longer period of residence switch to English more in their Persian conversation is refuted.

However, attending closely to the individual variables obtained by the questionnaire, moving out of the constraints of the statistical framework, one may make other conclusions from this study. Subject No.6 in Table B is a highly educated person with a high-level social status, has been residing in the US for 10 years; but has the highest frequency of inter-sentential switching, although she does not belong to the +20 group. Also, subject 15 who is a businessman with mid-level education and 2 1 years of residence has more intra-sentential switching, although he belongs to the +20 years group. It seems that other factors rather than the period of residence are at work for code-switching.

A glance at the sample examples from this study reveals that the major motivation for the bilinguals to switch was topicalization. That is, instead of moving the topic to the front of a sentence, which functions as a signal for topicalization for monolinguals in Persian and English, the bilinguals utilized code-switching for this discourse function.

It should also be noted here that Persian/English bilinguals look up at English as a means of communication. That is, it is prestigious to communicate in English. So the language is mentally more accessible and upgrading. This could be one factor why the bilinguals so easily switched to it. In other words, they just used Persian as a matrix in their conversation to insert what they intended to communicate.

It could also be claimed that the 'interlanguage' of bilinguals is a unique system, and even a language by itself developed in the process of developing a second language. This unique system contains rules, which differ from the rules of the two languages from which it emerged. As an example take the topicalization rule of the bilingual system of Persian/English speakers, which is code-switching, against the rule for the

same function in the two languages, Persian and English, which is movement to the front. In other words, a bilingual possesses a language system which is not totally congruent with his L1 and L2, rather in many cases identical communicative functions in this language are signaled by different means than those of his L1 and L2. To put it differently, the claim is that only bilinguals of the same L1 and l2 are able to communicate with one another, because only these bilinguals share the identical language system for communication. Further, they no longer share the communicative competencies of their LI and l2 speakers to engage into fully comprehensible social interactions. However, this needs to be further investigated for empirical verification.

It is not, of course, an idealistic claim. An identical process has been observed in the communication system of monolinguals who have access to more than one variety of the same system. Labov (1971) found code switching behavior among monolinguals. He observed instances of switching between dialects, which are very different such as black English vernacular and Standard English. Wolfson (1982) found that changes in verb tense between conversational historical present and the past tenses were analogous to changes in scene. Alternation between these tenses was used as a stylistic device to present a story as a theatrical production. Here again, as it is the case with code-switching, it is the switch from one tense to the other, which is significant, rather than the referential value of any one particular form. More interestingly, Wolfson (1982) found that the use of conversational historical present occurred particularly frequently when there were shared background assumptions between speaker and hearer, as it is the case with bilinguals who switch based on shared background assumptions.

Thus, what distinguishes bilinguals from monolinguals, in their discourse patterns, seems to be that bilinguals have greater resources for communication. They have more means available to them: two codes, while the monolingual summons the pragmatic resource within one language. Both bilinguals and monolinguals, in the course of speaking, use changes in the alignment between speaker and hearer. These changes may be manifested linguistically. Code-switching, for bilinguals, and style shifting, for monolinguals, are the surface realizations of the changes indicating the interpersonal negotiations of identities, which take place in conversation.

4. Conclusion

Granted that statistical analysis of the data verified that there is a relation between the period of residence and the type of code-switching, yet a closer look at some individual scores in code-switching reveals otherwise; e.g. Table G shows an extreme gap between the mean of inter-sentential code-switching for subjects No. 20, 21, and 22. Thus a totally different hypothesis has been rendered claiming that there may be a relationship between code-switching and the intention of the participants in the conversation held between the subjects and their counter parts in this study. A closer look at a sample of sentences provided, clearly shows that the main idea in each sentence is rendered in English, while Persian provides the matrix for the topic. Thus, it seems that code-switching plays the role of the discourse function, topicalization. That is, the speaker in the discourse attracts the attention of the listener, through switching from Persian into English, to the part of the sentence rendered in English.

To clarify the function of topicalization in the process of communication, that is, discourse, let us view such process in two different senses: code linguistics, the narrower sense, and human linguistics, the broader sense. This is because the establishment of communication between the participants is based only partially on rules which exist in the speech community and which are available to its members through language acquisition. In fact, all models that neglect the influence of extra

linguistic factors on the processing of speech are bound to be defective. These involve factors rooted in the psychology and sociology of the participants in communication. Several kinds of material are utilized for the message to be transmitted: what the speaker thinks the listener knows, believes, and thinks; the listener's attitudes and feeling as revealed in the situation; mutual agreement or disagreement on attitudes and opinions; shared knowledge, and expected information. Thus, the linguistic code bears a certain part of the message only. In other words, the speaker gives sufficient number of verbal and/or non verbal cues to the listener to create an interpretation based on his own knowledge which comes from the outside of communication chain in a discourse. (Ziahosseiny, 1994)

Now, code linguistics deals with language as an abstract system and is involved with the instrumental grammatical competence distinguishing separated components of language such as phonology, lexicon, syntax, and semantics. Human linguistics, on the other hand, deals with the description and explanation of the process of human communication in the psycho-sociological setting in which it is used; in other words, it deals with communicative competence, considering questions such as 'who is speaking to whom?' 'When?' and 'where?' 'What is the nature of their relationship?' and 'of the circumstances?' 'What activities are they involved in?' 'What is its purpose and that of communication?' This broader sense of linguistics falls within the domain of pragmatics which deals with holistic interpretation of language.

Thus, two different approaches seem to be necessary for the study 'of communication': a linguistically oriented approach, to explain how a linguistic representation results in speech output, or is derived from input; and a communicatively oriented approach to describe how the speaker implements his communicative intentions, how the listener deciphers the speaker's intentions, and how these interact in particular situations of communication.

The general view is that the ultimate syntactic form of an utterance is a resultant of different forces. One such force is the syntactic force, which wants to keep the syntactic pattern of the structure according to the linguistic rules of the language; but depending on different situations, other forces are at work to break up that syntactic pattern, to adjust the structure to its textual and situational surroundings. Here, all depends on the speaker's intentions and motives. Let's take the syntactic pattern of word order in English as an example. One principle in word order is the principle of valency, which requires intimately bound elements to stay close to each other in the linear sequence. For example, the verb put implies both an object and an adverbial of place which by force of valency are tied to it and thus hard to move:

Put it down.

Put your book on the desk.

The syntactic principle of valency keeps the related elements together as seen in the examples. But there could be other forces that will move the adverbial, for example, away from put. One such force is that of new and given information, which wants old information to come first and new information later. Thus:

Into the drawer, he put the book.

Another is the force of textual iconism, according to which events are ordered in the same way that they take place, e.g.

Into a glass, put a lump of sugar, a spoonful of salt, and...

The assumption is 'Take a glass and put into it a lump of sugar and then a spoonful of salt and so on.' Experiments have shown that subjects listening to the following events. change the order of clauses according to their life experience; they exchange the second clause with the third one.

I get up every morning, put on my clothes, take a shower, have breakfast, then, go to work.

Still another is the force of intention, according to which, the speaker either uses a focal stress or moves the element he wants his listener to attend to, to the initial position of the utterance. This phenomenon is called Topicalization (see Ziahosseiny, 1994).

The study reported in this paper has revealed that bilinguals use code-switching instead of focal stress and/or movement of the intended element of the sentence to indicate this phenomenon in their communication with their bilingual participants in discourse.

Thus, the phenomenon of code-switching is subject to textual and situational forces resulting into marked textual and discoursal patterns. In order to understand the nature of code-switching, then, we must study the forces that cause it; forces rooted in the intention of the speaker, his judgement about the listener's background knowledge, the context of situation, and the participants' shared knowledge.

Table A: Informants' Information

No.	Age	Yrs in U.S.A.
1	26	5
2	30	5
3	41	8
4	27	8
5	28	8
6	30	10
7	36	10
8	45	10
9	34	10
10	33	10
11	30	13
12	38	14
13	43	14
14	38	20
15	46	21
16	46	22
17	46	22
18	43	22

Table B: Number of Switches

No.	Yrs.	Intra Sentential	Inter Sentential	Total C-S	Means of Switches
1	5	9	0	9	
2		107	14	121	65
3		44	6	50	
4	8	93	9	102	54
5		56	54	110	
6		06	120	226	
7		79	7	86	
8	10	40	0	40	121
9		102	30	132	
10	12	82	11	93	93
11	13	31	0	31	31
12	14	97	4	103	
13		87	11	98	
14	20	40	44	84	84
15	21	118	28	146	146
16		4	17	21	
17	22	22	19	41	39
18		22	34	56	

Table C: Percentage of Code-Switching

Variables	Percentage
Intra- sentential	73.67
Inter-sentential	26.32

Table D:Total value

Variables	Sum	Means
Intra- sentential	1139	63.27
Inter-sentential	407	22.66
Total	1546	120

Table E: Total switches

	Intra-sent. Code-switching	Inter-sent Code-switching
Sum	1139	407
Mean	63.27	22.66
Min-val	9	00
Max-val	118	120

Tables F1, F2:
Years in the U.S.A and Code-Switching in the U.S.A
F1: Yrs. = 14, N= 13

	Intra-sent. Code-switch	Inter-sent Code-switch
Sum	933	266
Mean	71.76	20.46
Min-val	9	00
Max-val	108	120

F2: Yrs.= +20, N=5

	Intra-sent. Code-switch	Inter-sent Code-switch
Sum	89	142
Mean	17.8	28.4
Min-val	4	19
Max-val	118	44

Table G:The Mean of Code-Switching
According to the Time Spent in the U.S.A.

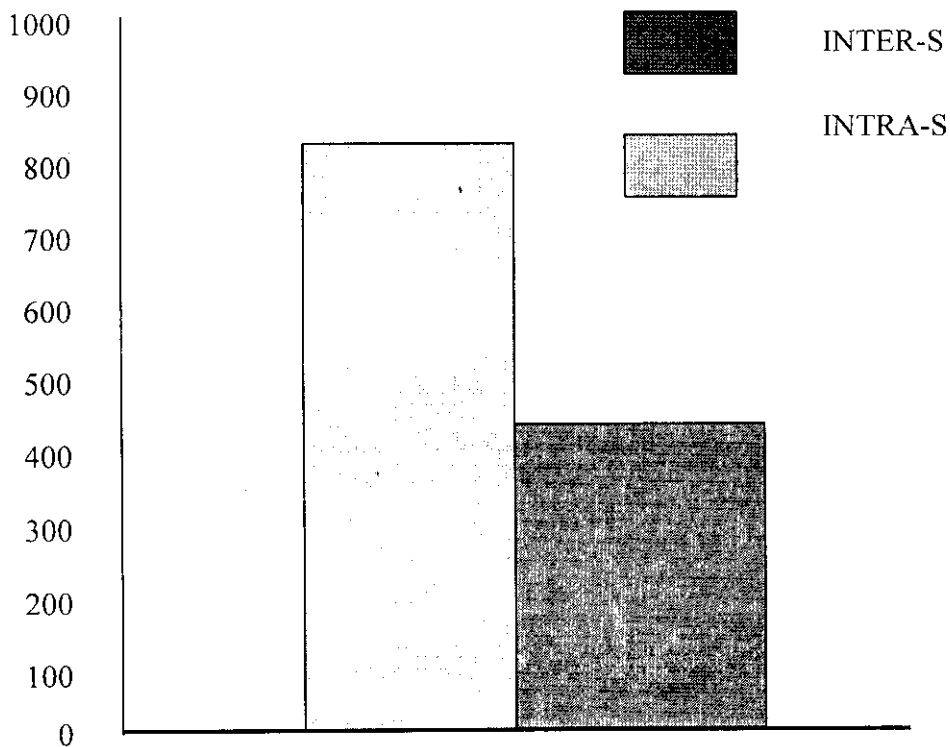|	Means of Intra-Sentential	Means of Intera- Sentential
5	55.5	.7
8	67.6	34.5
10	89.8	52.3
12	82	11
13	31	0
14	92	7.5
20	40	44
21	118	28
22	13	23.3

Fig. b: Comparison of Switches to English

References

Blom, J.P., and Gumperz. J.J. (1972). *Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-switching in Norway,* In Gumperz. J.J., & Hymes. D. (Eds.), **Directions in Socio-linguistics,** New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Di Sciullo, A.M., Muysken, P., and Singh. R.(1986). *Government and Code-switching,* **Papers in Linguistics,** 14, 3-46.

Doron, E.(1983*). On a Formal of Code-switching*, **Texas Linguistics Forum,** 22, 35-59.

Hasselmo, N.(1972). *Code Switching as Ordered Selection,* **Studies for Einar Haugen,** The Hague: Moutin.

Gumperz, I. (1976). *The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-switching,* **University of California Working Papers,** 46, Berkley: University of California.

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

Labov. W. (1971). *The Notion of 'System in Creole Languages,* In Hymes, D. (Ed.), 447-72, **Pidginization and Creolization of Languages,** Cambridge: Cambridge university Press.

McConvell, P.(1988). *MIX-JM-UP: Aboriginal Code-switching, Old and New,* In Heller (Ed.) 97-151, **Code- switching,** Berlin: Mouton de, Cruytcr.

Nishimura, M.(1985). *Intrasentential Code-switching in Japanese-English,* **Ph.D. Dissertation,** University of Pennsylvania.

Nishimura, M. (1986). *Intrasentential Code-switching: The Case of Language Assignment,* In Vaid, J. (Ed.), 123-43, **Language in Kenya,** Oxford: OUP.

Parkin, D.J. (1974). *Language Switching in Nairobi,* In Whitely,W.H. (Ed.), 189- 216, **Language in Kenya, Nairobi,** Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Poplack, S.(1980). *Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in English y Termino en Espanl: Toward A Typology of Code Switching,* **Linguistics,** 18 (58), 1-616.

Romaine, S.(1989). **Bilingualism,** Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Sankoff, D., and Poplack, S.(1981). *A Formal Grammar for Code-switching,* **Papin Linguistics,** 14, 3-46.

Scotton, C.M.(1976). *Strategies of Neutrality: Language Choice in Uncertain Situations,* **Language,** 52 (9), 19-40.

Scotton, C.M., and Ury, W. (1977). *Bilingual Strategy: The Social Functions of Code-switching,* **International Journal of the Sociology of Language,** 13, *5-20.*

Wolfson, N.(1982). **CHP: The Conversational Historical Present in American English Narratives,** Dordrecht: Eons.

Ziahosseiny,S.M. (1994). **Introducing Contrastive Linguistics,** Tehran: Islamic Azad University Press.

Appendix

A: Examples of Intra-sentential Switching to English

The examples from speech samples (containing intra-sentential switches to English) of informants are given below. The complete translation is in the parentheses.

Informant No.03:

I..čeqadr *DOWNPAYMENT* dâre?

How much .... it has?

(How much down payment does it have?)

2 agar *PARTNER* dâ?te ba?e. kâro ?oru mikone.

If .... has he , the job begin he does.

(If he has a partner, he will begin the job.)

Informant No.06:

1.   *BILLam TIMEe? OFF* ?ode.

........My ...... its ...... has become.

(The time of my bills has expired.)

2.   bastegi be *MENTAL ITYe* man dâre.

Depends on .... my it has.

(It depends on my mentality.)

Informant No.10:

1.   hameye zendegi *PERFECT* nist.

All life .... is not.

(All life is not perfect.)

2.   kâre? *POSITIVEe.*

His job ....is.

(His job is positive)

informant No. 13:
1. Mesle ?inke tâze APPROACHEe? karde.
It seems that recently ....- it he has done.
(It seems that he has approached it recently.)
2. '?in yek *PACKAGEe.*
This *one'/a* ... ...is.
(This is a package.)

Informant No.16:
      1. *UNDRESTANDINGe*? xube.
... ... her good is.
(Her understanding is good.)
      2. ?un ?az zendegi či ro *EXPECT* mikone'?
He of life what   does.
(What does he expect of life?)

Informant No.18:
    1. behtare Ali ?in ro *CONSIDER* kone.
It is better Ali this ...... does.
(It is better that Ali considers this.)
    2. yek lahaze ?ehṣase *COMFORTABLE* nemikonam.
One moment feel .... I don't do.
(1 don't feel comfortable even one moment.)

B:Examples of Inter-sentential Switching to English
    Some examples of inter-sentential switches to English from the speech samples of the informants are given below:

Informant No.01:
The frequency of inter-sentential switches is zero.

Informant No.02:
      3.Reza fekr mikone ke WE ARE SCREWING HIS MIND.
      Reza thinks that ....
      4. I DON'T CARE ke to mixây èekâr koni.
.... that you want what do.
(I don't care what you want to do.)

Informant No.05:
    1.   *TAKE IT EASY* kon.
----------------------you do.
    (Take it easy.)
    1. to bâyad beduni ke *YOU ARE FACING THIS FAMILY.*
You should know that ------------------------

Informant No.07:
      1.   ?aya .?oma fekr mikonid ke *IS THIS NORMAL?*
Do you think that ------------------------------?
    (Do you think that this is normal?)
    5. vaqe?an I WAS IN MOOD ke ?un kâr ro bekonam.

Really.....................that that job the I do.
(I was really in mood to do that job.)

Informant No.08:
The frequency of inter-sentential switches is zero

Informant No.12:
1. beheš goftam *"Wait a minute ".*
To her I said "--- -------"
(1 said to her 'wait a minute".
2. be zila migoftam *"LET HIM SIT DOWN "*
To ZILA I said " ...."
(I said to zila 'let him sit down".)

Informant No.14:

1. ?aslan *IT WAS NOT MY IMAGINATION* ke ?un tanhâyi bere mosâferat.
Never..........................that he alone
takes a trip.
(I never expected that he took a trip alone.)
3. to naporsidi. *"WHAT'S GOING ON"?*
You didn't ask "..............."?
(Didn't you ask "what's going on"?)

Informant No.17:
1. vaqti miyumad xune vâge?an *I TOOK CARE OF HIM.*
When was coming home really....................
(When he came home I really took care of him.)
2. *I COULDN'T BELIEVE* ke raft.
-------------------------------- that he left.
(I couldn't believe that he was leaving.)