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CODE-SWITCHING IN UZBEK, TAJIK AND RUSSIAN: LINGUISTIC IDENTITY, INTERACTIONAL PATTERNS AND SOCIAL MEANING

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Abstract: This paper analyses code-switching between Uzbek, Tajik and Russian and shows how it functions as a resource for linguistic identity building. We argue that switching is best understood as structured practice in which speakers combine structural choices (insertion, alternation, tag-switching) with interactional goals (accommodating an interlocutor; signalling politeness; responding to a topic) in order to claim social positions. Based on Gumperz's conversational approach, Auer's sequential analysis Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's acts of identity we develop a three stage model of CSIP. The study uses qualitative design (recorded everyday interaction, semi-structured interviews and language attitude questionnaire) in multilingual community in [city]. Analysis is organised around five functions: structural patterning, identity indexing, interlocutor management, response to topic and domain and language attitudes. Results are arranged in comparative tables in Section 5. The paper concludes that switching in this triad is not random mixing nor language loss but something else altogether (view which has consequences for language education and how communities judge mixed speech).

Keywords: code-switching, linguistic identity, Uzbek, Tajik, Russian, multilingualism, sociolinguistics

Introduction

Speakers in multilingual communities rarely stay in one language. They move among languages as topics, listeners and purposes change; movement is rarely random either. It tells the listener something about the speaker: who they are talking to, how they want to be understood. In Central Asia this is an everyday matter. Uzbek is Turkic, Tajik is a Persian variety, Russian is Slavic (imperial/Soviet administration, schooling, media) spread by imperial and Soviet administration, schooling and media (Fierman 1991; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele 2001). Cities such as Samarkand and Bukhara have had Uzbek and Tajik side by side for generations and Russian added as language of

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work, science and interethnic contact after 1991. After 1991 status of each language changed so that choice of language was socially loaded (Pavlenko 2008).

Sociolinguists have long treated code-switching as skilled communicative practice not a sign of poor competence (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998; Gardner-Chloros 2009). Structural work tells us what kinds of switches take place (Poplack, 1980; Muysken, 2000). Interactional work explains what a switch does in a conversation (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Auer, 1984) Identity-oriented work asks what a language choice says about the speaker (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). For Uzbek, Tajik and Russian there is no single account linking the three levels yet. To the author's knowledge few English-language studies treat alternation among these languages within one framework.

We fill this gap with Code-Switching and Identity Positioning (CSIP). On this account a switch is a pragmatic choice made at a particular moment in conversation and it positions the speaker in relation to a group, an interlocutor or social domain. Three questions frame the study. The first concerns structural patterns of switching found among Uzbek, Tajik and Russian in the community. The second asks which interactional and social factors (topic, interlocutor, setting and generation) are tied to those patterns. The third asks how speakers use switching and talk about it when they build linguistic identity. We expect that switching works best as an identity resource when it fits what the interlocutor and setting make expected or unexpected.

The stakes are practical as well as theoretical. In schools, families and public life mixed speech is often harshly judged. Teachers read it as a gap in knowledge; parents worry children will lose a "pure" language; officials treat it as a threat to the national language. If switching is in fact patterned and skilful practice then such judgments misdescribe competence of multilingual speakers and may lead to poorly targeted educational and language-policy decisions. A description of how switching works (and how speakers evaluate it) is therefore necessary precondition for any informed discussion of what, if anything, ought to be changed.

The paper has seven parts. Section 2 reviews sociolinguistic setting and previous research. Section 3 sets out theory behind CSIP. Section 4 describes design, data and coding. Section 5 reads five functions of switching through model with table for each. Section 6 presents the answers to research questions and their implications, while Section 7 closes the paper. Appendices A–D reproduce working materials of the study.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Language Policy and Multilingualism in Uzbekistan

The present situation of Uzbek, Tajik and Russian cannot be understood without history. In the 1920s Soviet national delimitation drew republican borders and gave ethnolinguistic categories to populations whose everyday lives had often been much more mixed than the labels suggested. Samarkand and Bukhara (long-standing urban centres where Persian-speaking and Turkic-speaking populations were closely intertwined) went to the Uzbek republic; writing systems were changed several times (Arabic script to Latin in the 1920s then Cyrillic around 1940); Russian became the

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language of higher education, science and inter-republic communication (Fierman, 1991; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

Independence brought a reorientation. Uzbek was declared state language shortly before independence in 1989 and after 1991 there has been programme of Latin-script reform, renaming institutions and promotion of Uzbek in education and administration. The Latin-script transition has been revised several times and unevenly in everyday practice (Cyrillic and Latin co-exist in signage, publishing and personal writing); Russian lost its former official status but retained prestige and practical value in business, technology, parts of higher education and media (Pavlenko 2008). For speakers this means that each language is associated with a different mixture of heritage opportunity institutional authority and for different age groups those associations differ.

2.2 Uzbek–Tajik Contact

Turkic and Iranian contact in Central Asia is very old and has left traces in both languages. Uzbek has a large Persian and Tajik vocabulary derived from it (much inherited through Persianate literary and administrative culture) while Tajik in Uzbekistan has absorbed Uzbek words and structures. Because of this long convergence many items are shared which makes it harder to separate one language from the other in any individual utterance. Estimates of the size of the Tajik-speaking population of Uzbekistan vary widely and the figures are politically sensitive so the present study does not use census categories. It takes self-ascription, family language history and observed use of language as evidence about who counts as a speaker of which language.

Uzbek–Tajik bilingualism is asymmetrical too: in many communities Tajik speakers are fluent in Uzbek because Uzbek is the language of schooling and public institutions; Uzbek speakers in the same communities may understand Tajik but not use it actively. Such asymmetries affect how switching is analysed. Switching into Tajik by an Uzbek-dominant speaker may be deliberate solidarity or accommodation whereas switching into Uzbek by a Tajik-dominant speaker may be routine response to expected language of situation. The same surface alternation can therefore have different social meaning depending on the speaker's repertoire.

2.3 The Role of Russian

Russian entered Central Asian repertoires through administration, army, schooling, urban employment and media. For several generations it was the language of upward mobility and cities became daily life for many people who were not ethnically Russian. After independence its position weakened in official contexts but did not disappear. Many professionals learned their technical vocabulary in Russian and a large body of terms for administration, technology, education and everyday objects are still in use (Russian-origin) today. Younger speakers may have been schooled mainly in Uzbek and met Russian mainly through media and migration; English is becoming part of their repertoires too (Pavlenko, 2008).

These differences between generations matter for the present study: A Russian word in the speech of someone who studied Russian for twenty years is not necessarily the same choice as the same word in the speech of a teenager who learned it from relatives or online. Generation is therefore taken as key variable and built into both sampling and analysis.

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2.4 Research on Code-Switching in Comparable Settings

International research on switching is extensive. Early studies showed that switching is rule governed and serves communicative purposes (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Poplack, 1980; Heller, 1988). Later work focused in detail on its grammatical constraints (Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Muysken, 2000), conversational organisation (Auer, 1984, 1998), identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and place within wider contact phenomena (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2002). Handbooks bring these strands together (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). More recently researchers working from a translanguaging perspective have argued that multilingual speakers use one integrated repertoire not separate languages (García & Li, 2014) and critics of function-based accounts have urged analysts to ask how participants themselves can tell what switch means (Li, 2005).

Studies of other post-Soviet settings where Russian is in contact with a titular language provide comparison. [Add three to five recent studies on Kazakh–Russian, Kyrgyz–Russian, Ukrainian–Russian or similar contact situations here and state briefly what each found and how it relates to the present study]. The overall lesson from this literature is that Russian often functions as a language of institutional and technical domains whereas titular language is associated with home, tradition and national belonging but these associations are not stable nor uniform across speakers.

2.5 Generation, Socialisation and Change

Language practices are learned in families, schools and peer groups; meanings attached to a language are passed on (and sometimes altered) in the process. Research on language socialisation shows that children learn not only the forms of their languages but also when and with whom each may be appropriately used. In a community such as the one studied here a child hears Tajik from grandparents Uzbek from parents and teachers Russian from older relatives television some professional settings and learns to associate each with different people and activities later university study labour migration work in multilingual office add further associations.

For this reason differences between generations are best seen as differences in experience not evidence of a simple decline or revival. An older speaker who speaks Russian fluently learned it at school and work; a younger speaker who uses a few Russian words may have picked them up from family or online. The two may use the same word with quite different meanings. Generation therefore is treated in Section 5 as window onto changing language ideologies and repertoires rather than scale of language loss (Pavlenko, 2008).

2.6 The Research Gap

Table 1 summarises the main strands of earlier work and what each leaves open for Uzbek, Tajik and Russian. The gap is not that there has been no work on any one of these themes but that an approach that treats structure, interaction and identity together for a triad of typologically distant languages has not been taken (and speakers' own evaluations are not placed alongside their observed behaviour).

Table 1. Strands of Earlier Research and What They Leave Open

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Strand	Key Contributions	Representative Sources	What Remains Open Here
Structural typologies	Tag, inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching; insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalisation	Poplack (1980); Muysken (2000); Myers-Scotton (1993b)	Application to a three-language set with Turkic, Iranian and Slavic structure
Conversational and sequential analysis	Situational and metaphorical switching; meaning from sequential position	Blom & Gumperz (1972); Gumperz (1982); Auer (1984, 1998)	Evidence from Uzbek–Tajik–Russian talk
Markedness and accommodation	Marked and unmarked choices; convergence and divergence	Myers-Scotton (1993a); Giles et al. (1991)	Which codes are unmarked in which local domains
Identity and indexicality	Acts of identity; emergence and positionality	Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985); Bucholtz & Hall (2005); Silverstein (2003)	How identity positions relate to a contested set of ethnolinguistic categories
Policy and ideology	Language reform, status change and language attitudes	Fierman (1991); Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001); Pavlenko (2008); Woolard & Schieffelin (1994)	Link between attitudes and observed switching in everyday talk

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Structural Foundations: Types of Switching

Types of Switching Poplack (1980) distinguished tag-switching (inserts a short expression like discourse marker); inter-sentential switching (clause boundary) and intra-sentential switching (clause). Muysken (2000) reorganised the field around insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation; Myers-Scotton (1993b) added Matrix Language idea that one language supplies frame while another provides embedded material. These models must be applied with care here because the three languages are structured differently: Uzbek is agglutinative and verb-final; Tajik verb-final and links nouns and modifiers via ezafe construction; Russian fusional with rich case and aspect morphology.

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When a Russian noun enters an Uzbek clause it usually takes Uzbek suffixes (sobnariyada 'at the meeting'). When combined with a light verb it forms a compound predicate zvonok qildim (Uzbek) or zvonok kardam (Tajik) 'I phoned'. These patterns can be analysed as insertions into an Uzbek or Tajik frame. The analyst also has to decide when a Russian item is switch and when it is established loanword. Poplack (1980) said borrowings integrate into the recipient language and speakers who don't know the source language use them but in practice the boundary is gradient and intermediate cases (nonce borrowings) are common (Winford, 2003). Decisions therefore need several kinds of evidence: dictionary status phonological and morphological integration judgements of the speakers themselves.

3.2 Interactional and pragmatic foundations Switching as doing things

Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguished situational switching (following change of setting or participants) from metaphorical switching (evokes another social world within the same setting). Gumperz (1982) gave conversational functions quotation addressee specification interjection reiteration message qualification Auer (1984, 1998) claimed that meaning of a switch comes from its sequential position: why is this language used now? How does next speaker respond? This builds on organisation of turn-taking in conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and does not assign a function to a switch on the basis of the analyst's intuition alone. Auer also separated discourse-related switching (organising the interaction) from participant-related switching (reflecting the speakers' preferences or competence).

Li (2005) warns that 'a list of functions cannot by itself explain how participants recognise meaning of a switch'. The present study takes this advice seriously. Where possible interpretations are based on participants' own orientation to a switch in the following turn; their comments in interviews; or both.

3.3 Markedness and Accommodation

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993a) proposes that speakers choose codes to negotiate rights and obligations. Some choices are unmarked (expected), some marked (unexpected and therefore informative). A speaker may make a marked choice to signal authority, distance or solidarity or an exploratory choice when the expected code is unclear. Communication accommodation theory adds that speakers move towards or away from an interlocutor's speech to signal approval, solidarity or distance (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). The two frameworks are compatible. Markedness describes the norms against which a choice is read; accommodation describes in which direction a speaker moves relative to the interlocutor.

3.4 Identity, indexicality and ideology

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) saw language behaviour as a series of acts of identity: people shape their speech to resemble groups they wish to be associated with. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) identified five principles for analysing identity interactionally: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness. Silverstein (2003) showed that indexical meanings are layered so that a linguistic form can point at one level to a social category but also take on further associations at higher levels. On this view switching into Russian has no fixed meaning. It may index education, urban modernity, professional expertise, Soviet-era schooling or social distance depending on who uses it,

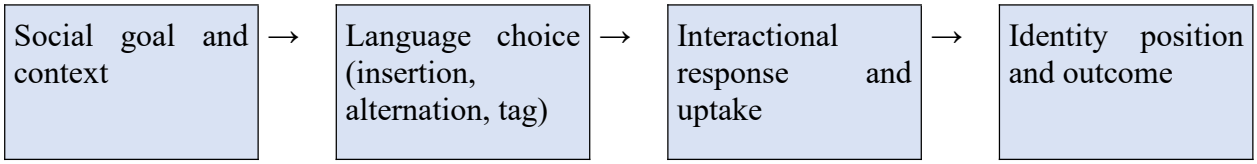
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with whom and in what sequence. The meanings forms carry are also shaped by language ideologies (beliefs about languages and their speakers circulating in a community) Woolard & Schieffelin 1994).

3.5 An Integrated Model

These strands combine into a three-part sequence as shown in Figure 1 below

Figure 1. Code-Switching and Identity Positioning (CSIP): A Sequential Model



First, a speaker has some social goal in some context and chooses a structural form to pursue it. Second, the interlocutor accepts/matches/resists that choice (and so shapes what switch means), then third the cumulative effect of such choices positions the speaker with respect to a group or role. The model is cyclical: Positions repeatedly accepted become expected; expected choices become unmarked; what once marked a speaker as different may become ordinary usage within a community over time. It's also diagnostic — it doesn't say every switch is an identity act because some are habitual, some fill lexical gaps and some only respond to the listener's preferred language.

A short example may help to illustrate how the three stages work. Say a young employee in a mixed office speaking Uzbek with a colleague uses the Russian word sobraniye for staff meeting. In the first stage the speaker's goal is just to refer to an institutional event and the choice of Russian noun reflects how the speaker learned that vocabulary; in the second stage the colleague takes the form as it comes (no repair or reaction), replies in the same mixed style and so on; no marking shows that the choice is unmarked in this setting; third stage: many exchanges later such forms are used repeatedly and picture the speaker as competent member of workplace where Uzbek and Russian are routinely combined; if, on another occasion, same speaker produces unusual Russian expression in conversation with elderly relatives response may be quite different and third stage then produces different identity position. The model therefore requires the analyst to follow each choice through uptake and not assign meaning based on form alone.

3.6 Working Definitions

Table 2 gives the working definitions used throughout the analysis.

Table 2. Working Definitions

Term	Definition
Code-switching	The alternating use of two or more languages or varieties within the same conversation, turn or clause, as a communicative resource of competent multilingual speakers.

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Term	Definition
Insertion	The incorporation of material from one language into the grammatical frame of another, often with host-language morphology.
Alternation	A change from the grammatical structure of one language to that of another, typically at a clause or sentence boundary.
Tag-switching	The use of a short expression from one language, such as a discourse marker or closing formula, within talk in another.
Loanword	An item from one language integrated into another and used by speakers, including those with little or no knowledge of the source language, as part of the recipient lexicon.
Linguistic identity	The positions that speakers claim, assign or contest through the languages and varieties they use, understood as emergent in interaction rather than fixed in advance.
Marked / unmarked choice	A code choice that is unexpected / expected in a given setting, given the relationship between the participants.

3.7 A Note on Terminology: Code-Switching and Translanguaging

The term code-switching has been criticised because it suggests speakers move between two separate bounded systems; translanguaging scholars say bilingual and multilingual speakers have one integrated linguistic repertoire from which they select features, named languages are social constructions rather than psychological realities (García & Li, 2014). This critique is strong but it is especially true for Uzbek and Tajik whose vocabulary is shared and contact long so hard to draw a sharp line between them in many utterances.

The article keeps the term code-switching for three reasons. First, speakers in the community (and the wider public) talk about Uzbek, Tajik and Russian as separate languages; these labels have real social consequences (in schooling, in official documents etc.) Second, the structural analysis in Section 5.1 relies on knowing which language the host clause is in and which language the inserted material is in so working labels are needed. Third, the sociolinguistic literature on markedness, accommodation and indexicality has been built around the notion of switching between socially recognised codes. The article nevertheless takes the translanguaging insight that repertoire is one resource and treats the labels as analytical conveniences and as social facts not claims about how languages are organised in the mind. Where evidence does not support a clear label the item is reported ambiguous.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Design

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We use a qualitative-dominant design with three sources triangulated: recorded interaction, interviews and short questionnaire (Creswell & Plano Clark 2018). Naturally occurring conversation is primary because it shows what speakers actually do; interviews give participants' accounts of their practices; the questionnaire gives a structured view of reported use and attitudes. Comparing the three allows gaps between what speakers do and what they say they do to be found. Conversation is analysed sequentially (Auer 1998) and interviews are reflexive thematic analysed (Braun & Clarke 2006); questionnaire is descriptively analysed but used to put qualitative findings in context not tested statistically.

4.2 Setting and Participants

The study is carried out in [city or neighbourhood] where Uzbek, Tajik and Russian are all used daily. [Describe setting in 2–3 sentences: where it is located, how long people have been in contact with each other etc.] Adults who use at least two of the three languages regularly are participants (they are grouped into [three] generational cohorts since education and exposure to Russian vary a lot between cohorts). Purposive and snowball sampling are used for recruitment (personal contacts first; then through social networks of participants to reach people with different language backgrounds). Table 3 gives an overview of the dataset. The figures are placeholders to be replaced by actual counts.

Table 3. Dataset Composition (to be completed with actual figures)

Data Type	Setting	Amount	Participants
Recorded interaction	Family, workplace, informal social	[n] hours	[n] speakers
Semi-structured interviews	Individual, [duration] minutes	[n] interviews	[n] participants
Language-attitude questionnaire	Paper or online	[n] items	[n] respondents
Generational cohorts	[18–30], [31–55], [56+]	[n] per cohort	[n] in total

Each participant also completes a short background form recording self-ascribed ethnolinguistic background, languages used in family, language of schooling, language of work and languages used with different interlocutors. These data are used to describe the sample (to interpret recordings) but not to assign participants to fixed categories.

4.3 Data Collection

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Recordings of everyday interaction are made with informed consent in family gatherings, workplaces and informal social meetings (participants are told that the study is about language use generally; recorder is placed as unobtrusively as possible according to consent). Because presence of a recorder can influence choice of language (Labov, 1972) participants are asked to leave device on for long periods so that its presence becomes less salient and first minutes of each recording are treated with caution).

Semi-structured interviews follow a guide that includes language history, language choice in different domains, attitudes toward mixed speech and the meaning of the three languages for participants' sense of self (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The questions are open and adapted to each participant. Interviews can be done in whichever language the participant prefers and this is itself noted as data. Table 4 gives main interview themes; Appendix A gives sample questions.

Table 4. Interview Themes and Their Links to the Research Questions

Theme	Focus	Research Question
Language history	Languages used in childhood, schooling and work; family language practices	RQ2
Language choice	Which language with whom, where and about what	RQ2
Mixed speech	When and why the participant mixes languages; how others react	RQ1, RQ3
Identity	What each language means to the participant; sense of belonging	RQ3
Attitudes	Evaluation of mixed speech; views on purity and change	RQ3

The questionnaire has items about the frequency of use of each language with different interlocutors in different domains and statements about attitudes (Likert, 1932; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010) that participants rate on a five-point agreement scale (Likert). Items are either new to this study or adapted from existing instruments and sources where adaptation is made are cited. A pilot [number] respondents is used to check clarity and the questionnaire is offered in languages respondents prefer (Appendix B lists sample items).

4.4 Transcription and Glossing

Recordings are transcribed orthographically in a simplified conversation-analytic format (Jefferson, 2004). Uzbek is written both in Latin and Cyrillic scripts in different contexts (Tajik in Uzbekistan is

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usually written in Cyrillic script), so the article uses a consistent Latin transliteration with Russian items transliterated in the same way. The original script is kept in the transcript archive. Excerpts are followed by an interlinear gloss according to Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel, 2008) and an idiomatic English translation. Languages are distinguished typographically in the transcripts. Table 5 shows the conventions.

Table 5. Transcription Conventions

Convention	Use
Plain text	Uzbek
Italic text	Russian
Underlined text	Tajik
(.)	Short pause
[ ]	Overlapping speech
((comment))	Transcriber's comment, such as laughter
?	Item whose language is ambiguous between Uzbek and Tajik

4.5 Coding Scheme

Coding is done in two steps. In the first pass every stretch of talk is labelled by language and each alternation is sorted as tag, inter-sentential or intra-sentential; insertion, alternation or congruent lexicalisation where data allow. In the second pass sequential position of switch is taken into account (how interlocutor responded), topic and identity position it may signal and then this reading is set beside what the speaker said in interview and questionnaire (see Table 6).

Table 6. Coding Scheme

Code Family	Categories	Evidence Required
Structure	Tag; inter-sentential; intra-sentential; insertion; alternation; congruent lexicalisation	Position of the switch in the clause; morphology of the item
Item status	Switch; established loanword; nonce borrowing; ambiguous	Dictionary check; integration; consultant judgement

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Code Family	Categories	Evidence Required
Interaction	Convergence; divergence; change of footing; quotation; addressee selection	Response of the next speaker; sequence
Context	Setting; topic; participants; relationship	Recording notes; background form
Identity and attitude	Group membership; formality; modernity; solidarity; stated evaluation	Interview statements; questionnaire responses

A coding guide gives each category a definition and one inclusion and one exclusion example. Switches are separated from loanwords by three checks: does the item appear in standard dictionaries of the recipient language; is it phonologically and morphologically integrated; do speakers with little knowledge of the source language use it? Ambiguous items shared between Uzbek and Tajik are flagged rather than forced into one language.

4.6 Sampling of Excerpts

The sampling of excerpts is purposive: stretches of talk are selected for how much they tell us about the research questions. Inclusion criteria are that speakers have given consent, there is at least one alternation between languages in the stretch (context is sufficiently recorded to interpret switch), item is not widely used loanword and counterexamples (i.e., stretches where speakers remain in one language when a switch might be expected) are included so the analysis is not limited to confirming cases only.

4.7 Reliability and Reflexivity

Because the interpretation of switches is judgemental transparency is necessary. If a second coder is available [number] per cent of data are coded separately and disagreements discussed until definitions are refined; if not then decision log (how ambiguous cases were resolved) is kept, difficult cases revisited after an interval (criteria for credibility and dependability proposed for qualitative research by Lincoln & Guba 1985). Interpretations are also checked with participants where possible since their own understanding of a switch is primary evidence (Li 2005).

The analyst's own linguistic background and relationship to the community should be declared. [State your own language background here – which of the three languages you speak and how you got access to participants]. Familiarity with the setting helps access and interpretation but it can also make the analyst assume local assumptions are obvious. Reflexivity is noting where this may have happened.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

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Language and ethnic identity are sensitive topics in the region and recordings of private interaction contain personal information. Participants consent freely, can withdraw at any time, transcripts and publications are anonymised (names and identifying places removed), recordings are stored securely and used only for stated purpose; approval from appropriate research ethics body is given as [name and reference number]; excerpts are presented fairly and with enough context so that participants' speech is not portrayed as deficient or evidence of decline of any language (Appendix C summarises content of consent form).

4.9 Limitations of Method. Several limitations apply

Because the sample is purposive it does not stand for the wider population. The presence of a recorder or researcher can influence language choice and speakers may avoid mixing when they know that language is being discussed; self-reported use of language often differs from observed use; classification of an item as switch or loanword is partly a matter of judgement; interpretation of social meaning is inferential: analysis can suggest plausible functions but what speakers privately intended remains out of reach; analysis is interpretive not statistical. It can show how one choice works in an exchange but cannot say how often a pattern occurs in the population at large.

4.10 Data Management and Analytical Tools

Recordings are stored in encrypted form and each file is coded so that the name of the participant is separated from it. Transcription and annotation are done in special software (e.g., ELAN) which links each switch to its audio and tags it with codes in Table 6. Questionnaire responses are entered into a spreadsheet and summarised with descriptive statistics; interview transcripts are coded thematically. The three sets of codes are held in one index so that switches observed by a speaker can be compared directly with statements made in interviews and questionnaire responses given: originals are retained for as long as required by the institution after which they are deleted or archived according to consent given by participants.

The analysis proceeds in cycles. In the first cycle each recording is transcribed and coded; ambiguous items are flagged; in the second cycle the analyst goes back to flagged items with a bilingual consultant; in the third cycle the coded material is compared across speakers, settings and generations; candidate patterns are tested against counterexamples. At every stage decisions are written down in the decision log so that a reader can follow how a given interpretation was reached.

5. Analysis

Section 5 takes five functions of switching in turn. Each subsection closes with a table, and Table 12 in Section 5.7 brings them together. At this stage of the manuscript, the examples are constructed illustrations of patterns described in the literature, not excerpts from the recorded corpus. They must be replaced by authentic transcript excerpts, each with its context recorded, before submission. The examples therefore illustrate recurring patterns and are not a full inventory, which limits how far the claims can be generalised.

5.1 Structural Patterning: What Kind of Switch

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Three structural patterns are expected to be prominent. The first is insertion of Russian items into Uzbek or Tajik clauses (often with host language morphology) in institutional and workplace talk. The second alternation between Uzbek and Tajik, helped by long-term bilingualism and large shared vocabulary. The third short Russian discourse markers and closing formulae inside otherwise Uzbek or Tajik talk. Each raises its own analytical question. For insertions what type of item it is (switch or loanword). For Uzbek–Tajik alternation whether an item can be assigned to one language at all. Discourse markers what stance they signal.

Table 7. Structural Patterns of Switching (constructed illustrations, not corpus data)

Pattern	Illustrative Language	Languages	Analytical Question
Insertion with host morphology	Ertaga sobraniyada qatnashaman. (‘I will attend the meeting tomorrow.’)	Uzbek + Russian noun	Switch or established loanword?
Russian noun + light verb	Unga zvonok qildim. (Uzbek) / Ba u zvonok kardam. (Tajik)	Russian + Uzbek or Tajik	Habitual compound predicate or marked choice?
Discourse marker or tag	Nu, mayli, shunday qilamiz. (‘Well, OK, let’s do it that way.’)	Russian + Uzbek	What stance does the marker signal?
Inter-sentential alternation	Man imrūz xele xasta shudam. Endi uyga ketamiz. (‘I got very tired today. Now we’re going home.’)	Tajik + Uzbek	Convergence, or change of footing?

The labelling decision is itself part of the analysis. Overclaiming switches increases apparent mixing (especially between Uzbek and Tajik which share many words of Persian and Arabic origin). We therefore report ambiguous items as ambiguous and justify each classification. For Russian insertions the most informative evidence is variation within a single speaker. If the same person uses both a Russian item and a native equivalent in similar settings then choice between them is likely to be meaningful whereas an item that has no everyday native equivalent is more likely to be loanword.

Shared vocabulary is a special problem for Uzbek–Tajik analysis. Kitob (‘book’) and xona (‘room, house’) occur in both languages with the same or nearly the same form; if a sentence contains only such words then that cannot be assigned to one language with confidence. If a stretch of talk has many such words then the analyst should not claim a switch at the point where one seems to give way to the other: evidence for a switch should come from items that clearly belong to only one language (case or verb endings), grammatical morphology (morphology of case or verb endings) and orientation of

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participants themselves. Where there is insufficient evidence the stretch is coded as ambiguous and excluded from claims about switching but may still be reported as part of description of speakers' shared repertoire.

Light-verb constructions deserve special mention. A Russian noun with a native verb (zvonok qildim zvonok kardam) follows the same pattern as Uzbek and Tajik compound predicates from nouns and verbs meaning 'do' or 'make'. Since the pattern is productive in both languages it is easy to add Russian vocabulary without changing the clause structure. This may be why they are so common and this suggests that their use is often not identity but ease/habit related. Only when a speaker contrasts one form with another in the same conversation is it informative as marked choice.

5.2 Identity Indexing: Who the Speaker Is

Following Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Bucholtz and Hall (2005), we expect speakers to position themselves through language choice. Tajik in a family or neighbourhood may index intimacy, heritage and solidarity with in-group; Uzbek may index national belonging and public institutions' language; Russian may index urban modernity, technical competence or Soviet schooling. These associations are hypotheses to test not fixed meanings and the same speaker may use the same language to claim different positions in different conversations.

Table 8. Expected Identity Meanings Indexed by Language Choice (to be tested against data)

Language	Possible Indexed Meaning	Typical Setting	Caution
Uzbek	National belonging; public and institutional voice	Education, administration, media	Many Uzbek-identifying speakers use Tajik at home
Tajik	Heritage, intimacy, in-group solidarity	Family, neighbourhood, local networks	Not limited to speakers who identify as Tajik
Russian	Urban modernity, technical or professional competence, Soviet-era schooling	Workplace, technology, older cohorts	Meaning differs sharply between older and younger speakers

The framework cautions against essentialism. Linking a language directly to an ethnic category would erase speakers who identify as Uzbek but use Tajik daily or vice versa. Indexical meanings have to be derived from the sequence of talk and from participants' own accounts so interviews are the main means by which to test the analyst's interpretation. Silverstein's (2003) notion of layered indexicality is helpful here. A Russian word may first index a professional domain, that association in turn may

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support further associations with education or status for some speakers while others carry quite different associations. What the analyst has to decide is which layer is active in any given exchange.

5.3 Interlocutor management: Who the speaker is talking to

Many switches are best explained by listener rather than identity claim. A speaker may move toward Tajik relative, Russian colleague or older person for whom a given language is the respectful choice (Myers-Scotton 1993a unmarked). In Myers-Scotton's terminology such choices are unmarked when they fit rights and obligations of setting. Marked choice (moving into Russian among Uzbek friends to imitate official or joke) creates humour, distance or irony. Formulaic thanks greetings farewell in another language do likewise signalling formality or courteous close.

Table 9. Interlocutor, Setting and Likely Pragmatic Function

Situation	Likely Choice	Marked or Unmarked	Possible Function
Talking to a Tajik-speaking relative	Tajik, with Uzbek insertions	Unmarked	Convergence; family solidarity
Addressing a Russian-speaking colleague	Russian or mixed Russian–Uzbek	Unmarked	Accommodation; professional register
Joking among Uzbek-speaking friends	Brief shift into Russian	Marked	Irony; play with an official voice
Closing a formal exchange	Spasibo, vsego dobrogo after Uzbek talk	Routine	Politeness; formality or distance

Address terms and greetings are related sites of language choice. Kinship and respect terms (older siblings, parents' siblings and grandparents) have strong expectations about politeness so a speaker who changes the language of an address term may be signalling that there is a change in relationship: using a term from the language of the addressee (Tajik for Tajik-speaking elder etc.) shows deference but closeness at once; using a Russian first name and patronymic with a colleague might signal professional formality. The analysis should record the language of address terms separately from the language of the rest of the utterance since they may differ.

Not every interaction is convergent. In some families each speaker sticks to a preferred language while understanding the others (grandmother Tajik, grandchild Uzbek reply etc.). These non-convergent exchanges (sometimes called dual-language conversation) are normal in communities where receptive

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competence is widespread. To treat them as failures of accommodation would be wrong. They may show that each speaker's language is treated as a legitimate and mutually accepted part of the interaction.

5.4 Topic, Domain and Generation: What and When

Topic and domain determine the language of particular stretches. Administrative procedures, technology and higher education may be discussed with more Russian lexis (where the speaker learned it in Russian). Family customs, food, hospitality and religious practice may be discussed in Uzbek or Tajik (vocabulary of Persian and Arabic origin). Topic related switching is not just lexical gap but can evoke the social world to which the topic belongs too (Blom and Gumperz's 1972 metaphorical switching). Generation matters too. Older speakers educated during Soviet times use Russian for a wider range of functions than younger ones who orient more toward Uzbek medium schooling, Latin script and increasingly English through digital media.

Two further domains deserve mention. The first is ceremonial and religious talk in which vocabulary of Arabic and Persian origin is common and formulaic expressions of blessing, condolence and congratulation are used across ethnic lines. Because formulae belong to a shared Islamic and Persianate heritage the language of such a formula may not be a reliable indicator of the speaker's ethnolinguistic identity (the analyst should not treat every expression as switchable). The second is written and digital communication. Messaging applications and social media encourage rapid informal mixing of Uzbek Russian and (increasingly) English and the writer's choice of script Latin or Cyrillic adds another dimension. Although the present study focuses on spoken interaction data from messaging could be added later so that switching practices in speech and writing can be compared.

Table 10. Topic, Domain and Generation as Conditions of Switching

Condition	Expected Language Resource	Reason	Interpretive Risk
Administration, technology	More Russian lexis	Knowledge acquired in Russian	Treating a lexical gap as an identity claim
Family, food, hospitality	Uzbek or Tajik	Evokes home and tradition	Assuming ethnicity from topic alone
Older cohort	Wider use of Russian	Soviet-era education	Reading Russian use as nostalgia
Younger cohort	Uzbek, with English items	Current schooling and media	Ignoring a fourth language in the repertoire

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The analysis has to separate lexical gap from stylistic choice. If a speaker uses a Russian technical term because there is no familiar Uzbek equivalent, the switch tells us about vocabulary not identity; if same speaker uses Russian term when familiar Uzbek equivalent is available and Uzbek equivalent in another setting then choice is more likely to be meaningful. Comparing choices across settings is therefore more informative than counting how many Russian words appear in any single conversation.

5.5 Attitudes and language ideologies: What speakers say

Speakers' comments about their own speech are data in themselves. Some may value purity and speak of mixed speech as careless or damaging to the national language, others may describe it as natural, efficient or a sign of education and openness (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). It is not uncommon for speakers to criticise mixing in general but use it freely themselves. Comparing questionnaire/interview responses with behaviour allows such tensions to be identified without treating them as inconsistency: they reflect coexistence of competing ideologies about language, nation and modernity.

Table 11. Expected Attitude Positions Toward Mixed Speech (to be tested against data)

Position	Typical Statement	Related Concern
Purist	Mixing spoils the language and shows lack of education	Protection of the national language
Pragmatic	Mixing is natural and helps people understand each other	Communicative efficiency
Identity-oriented	Mixing shows who we are and where we come from	Heritage and group belonging
Ambivalent	It is not good, but everyone does it	Tension between norm and practice

5.6 Worked Examples of Sequential Analysis

To illustrate how the model works we give two excerpts constructed and analyse them step by step (as mentioned above both are examples of the method so must be replaced with real excerpts).

Excerpt 1. Two colleagues arrange a meeting (constructed; Uzbek with Russian items)

Line	Speaker	Text	Translation

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Line	Speaker	Text	Translation
1	A	Assalomu alaykum, Dilnoza opa. Ertaga sobraniye soat nechada?	Hello, Dilnoza. What time is the meeting tomorrow?
2	B	Nu, soat uchda. Direktor aytdi, hammamiz bo‘lishimiz kerak.	Well, at three. The director said we all have to be there.
3	A	Mayli. Hujjatlarni tayyorlab qo‘yaman, otchyotni ham.	OK. I will prepare the documents, the report too.
4	B	Xo‘p, rahmat.	Fine, thank you.
5	A	Spasibo, vsego dobrogo.	Thanks, all the best.

In line 1 the Russian noun sobraniye is inserted into an Uzbek clause. It does not have an Uzbek suffix here because it appears in nominative as subject of a question but in another clause it would take locative or accusative (as form otchyotni does in line 3 where the Uzbek accusative -ni attaches to a Russian noun). Both items name institutional objects so it makes sense that workplace and administrative topics attract Russian lexis; in line 2 nu opens the turn and frames what follows as softened confirmation; in line 5 speaker A closes with a Russian formula that neither requires nor receives reply since B already closed in Uzbek in line 4. With CSIP model the sequence shows stable unmarked choice (Uzbek with institutional Russian items), one discourse marker and one formulaic closing that adds note of professional formality. No identity claim is necessarily being made and an interview would be needed to find out whether the speakers treat the Russian items as ordinary workplace language or consciously stylistic choice.

Excerpt 2. A grandmother and granddaughter at home (constructed; Tajik and Uzbek)

Line	Speaker	Text	Translation
1	Grandmother	Bachaam, imrūz xele xasta shudam.	My child, I got very tired today.
2	Granddaughter	Buvijon, dam oling, men choy qo‘yaman.	Grandma, have a rest, I will put the tea on.
3	Grandmother	Choy mexoham, ba man biyor.	I would like tea, bring it to me.
4	Granddaughter	Hozir keltiraman.	I will bring it right away.

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Here the grandmother speaks Tajik all the time and the granddaughter replies in Uzbek (using the Uzbek kinship term buvijon). Neither speaker converges but the exchange goes smoothly and the granddaughter's answers show she understands what her grandmother is asking. This is a dual-language conversation: each language indicates the habitual position of a speaker in the family (Tajik for older generation, Uzbek for younger) so Tajik is associated with the older generation and Uzbek with the younger one. To read it as failure to accommodate would miss its function as stable mutually accepted pattern. Interviewing would confirm this — participants could say whether this was habit or preference or identity.

5.7 Cross-Pattern Summary

Table 12 brings Sections 5.1 to 5.6 together (mapping the analytical dimensions onto the three language pairs).

Table 12. Analytical Dimensions Across the Three Language Pairs

Dimension	Uzbek–Russian	Uzbek–Tajik	Tajik–Russian
Dominant structure	Insertion; discourse markers	Alternation; ambiguous shared items	Insertion; light-verb compounds
Interactional trigger	Workplace and institutional talk; formulae	Convergence toward an interlocutor; dual-language talk	Domain-specific vocabulary
Identity meaning	Modernity, competence, formality	Solidarity, heritage, local belonging	Mixed: education and home
Attitude tendency	Pragmatic or purist	Identity-oriented	Ambivalent
Risk of misreading	Confusing loanwords with switches	Over-counting shared vocabulary	Assuming one language per ethnicity

5.8 Summary by Research Question

Table 13 relates the analysis to the three research questions: what the framework leads us to expect; evidence which would test that expectation and what is left to be done once data are analysed.

Table 13. Research Questions, Expectations and Evidence

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Question	Expectation from the Framework	Evidence Needed	To Be Completed
RQ1: Structural patterns	Insertion of Russian items; Uzbek–Tajik alternation; Russian tags and formulae	Coded switches by type and language pair; item-status decisions	Counts by pattern; list of ambiguous items
RQ2: Interactional and social factors	Interlocutor and setting set the unmarked code; topic and generation shape Russian use	Sequential analysis; background form; setting and topic codes	Comparison across cohorts and settings
RQ3: Identity and attitudes	Switching indexes belonging, modernity, solidarity or distance; attitudes are divided	Interview themes; questionnaire scores; observed behaviour	Match or mismatch between reported and observed use

Once the data are analysed, the last column in Table 13 should be replaced by what was found and expectations not supported should be reported as such. A framework that cannot be contradicted is of little scientific value; contrast between expectation and finding is likely to be one of the most informative parts of the study.

6. Discussion

6.1 Answering the Research Questions

The first research question was what structural patterns characterise switching among Uzbek, Tajik and Russian? The framework gives three main patterns. Russian items are inserted into Uzbek or Tajik clauses (often native morphology or light verbs). Uzbek and Tajik alternate at clause boundaries and because of shared vocabulary blur at the level of the individual word. Short Russian markers and formulae appear as tags within otherwise Uzbek or Tajik talk. The methodological point is that the status of an item (switch, loanword or ambiguous) has to be argued for and not assumed.

The second question was which interactional and social factors are tied to these patterns? The analysis focuses attention on interlocutor, setting, topic and speaker generation. Interlocutor and setting seem to determine which choice is unmarked while topic and domain account for much of the Russian lexical material. Generation affects both how much Russian a speaker has available and what meaning Russian carries. The analysis also shows that convergence is not the only pattern. In dual-language conversation speakers use different languages but understand each other fully.

The third question asked how speakers use and talk about switching in constructing identity. We expected (to test against the data) that switching indexes belonging, modernity, solidarity or distance but that these meanings are emergent and have to be established from the sequence of talk as well as from participants' accounts; attitudes will be divided (purist/pragmatic/identity oriented/ambivalent positions can coexist within the same speaker).

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6.2 Theoretical Contribution

The main theoretical contribution of CSIP is to treat structure, interaction and identity as related but distinct dimensions of the same event: insertion may be socially unremarkable; alternation may carry strong identity meaning; the same switch can be unmarked in one setting and marked in another. This fits Auer's (1998) view that meaning comes from sequence and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) view of identity as emergent. It adds a requirement that each interpretation be checked against the participants own accounts (Li 2005 call for analysis which can explain how participants themselves recognise the meaning of a switch); it adds a requirement that the analyst not read identity directly from ethnic labels (a requirement especially important in a region where categories of language and ethnicity have been politically contested).

A further contribution is to put a three-language setting into a discussion that has been framed in terms of language pairs. The tables in Section 5 show that the three pairs Uzbek–Russian, Uzbek–Tajik and Tajik–Russian behave differently. They have different dominant structure, interactional triggers and identity meanings associated with them. A pairwise view would have missed the fact that one speaker may move between all three in a conversation taking different positions in each (see also Figure 1).

The framework also invites comparison with earlier work on other contact settings. Studies of code-switching in many parts of the world have shown that insertion of lexical items from a socially prestigious or institutionally dominant language into a community language is one of the most common patterns; the expected Uzbek–Russian and Tajik–Russian patterns are similar to this finding. What is less common in the literature is combination of that pattern with long-standing alternation between two closely contacted community languages (Uzbek–Tajik case). So the study can give evidence about how an institutional language and two community languages coexist in one repertoire and whether the social meanings associated with each language remain stable when more than two are used.

6.3 Implications for Education

For language education the analysis means mixed speech should not automatically be viewed as deficit. In classrooms in multilingual communities teachers may gain from recognising that students draw on a wider repertoire than any one school language does and switching can be a way of making meaning not confusion (García & Li, 2014). This is not to say standard varieties should be ignored. Students need to be able to use formal registers of Uzbek (and where relevant Russian and Tajik) in writing and public settings too. A useful distinction is between teaching students how to control different registers and discouraging them from using their full repertoire in informal learning. The former expands competence whereas the latter may reduce participation.

6.4 Implications for language policy and the community

For language policy it reminds us not to confuse mixed speech with language decline: public discussion of language purity often sees foreign words as a sign of weakness but Russian items in Uzbek or Tajik speech may be evidence of long contact, domains of use and habitual patterns not loss of host language. Policy discussions would be better informed if they distinguished loanwords (which enter the lexicon) from switches (temporary choices) and speakers' own views; for community

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members awareness that switching can serve identity and politeness functions might reduce stigma attached to it; families may feel less anxious about children's language practices if they see that moving among languages is skill.

6.5 Limitations.

The main weakness of the present draft is that its empirical illustrations are constructed and have to be replaced by documented corpus excerpts (sample size, recording hours and participant details in full); qualitative interpretation cannot make causal claims about why speakers switch or how switching affects language maintenance; observer's influence, sampling procedure and analyst's background may also have shaped results. Also, the study is limited by being about one community only. Findings from [city] do not hold elsewhere where balance among the three languages differs.

6.6 Directions for Future Research.

Cities and rural areas should be compared and Tajik-speaking communities in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan should be included too; studies could use larger corpora and quantitative methods to estimate the frequency of different patterns, and combine them with the close analysis presented here. Perception studies could test whether listeners from different generations interpret the same switch in the same way; longitudinal research on younger speakers could show how the growing presence of English and digital communication change the existing three-language repertoire (and whether associations of Russian are changing); research on children's language socialisation could show how meanings of switching are learned.

6.7 Guidance for Applying the Framework

Researchers who want to apply CSIP to other communities may find these questions useful: First what languages are involved? How long have they been in contact with each other and relative status in the community? Second sequential position of switch, how does interlocutor react? Third what would be unmarked choice in this setting and does speaker follow or depart from that? Fourth what evidence from participants themselves supports interpretation and alternative explanations (habit, lexical gap etc)? Fifth how would interpretation change if speaker was of different generation or background? Asking these questions in order keeps analysis close to data and prevents reading identity into every switch.

7. Conclusion

This paper has shown that code-switching among Uzbek, Tajik and Russian is structured and socially meaningful practice. Speakers combine structural choices with interactional goals to position themselves in relation to groups, interlocutors and domains. The patterns outlined in Section 5 point towards a set of recurring choices (insertion of Russian items; Uzbek–Tajik alternation; use of discourse markers and formulae) each of which carries its own interpretational risks: when asking why one language was mixed with another one we have to ask not only which languages were mixed but also why this language was chosen at this moment, how the listener responded and what position it helped the speaker take.

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The CSIP model proposed here gives a way to organise such questions and the tables that follow give a way to compare patterns across language pairs, settings and generations. The model is not evidence itself. Its claims have to be tested against recordings, interviews and questionnaires from the community studied; its interpretations should always be checked against speakers' accounts. If that happens the study can contribute fairer judgments of multilingual competence and richer descriptions of Central Asian multilingualism.

Appendix A. Interview Guide (Sample Questions)

The interview is semi-structured. The questions below are starting points, and the interviewer follows the participant's lead. The participant may answer in any of the three languages.

Theme	Sample Questions
Language history	Which languages did you hear and speak at home as a child? Which language did you use at school? How did you learn Russian, and when?
Language choice	Which language do you use with your parents, your friends and your colleagues? Does the language change when the topic changes? Can you give an example?
Mixed speech	Do you ever mix languages in one conversation? When does that happen? Do you notice when other people do it? How do you feel when someone mixes languages with you?
Identity	What does each of the three languages mean to you? Is there a language in which you feel most at home? Do you sound like a different person in different languages?
Attitudes	Some people say that mixing languages spoils them, and others say it is natural. What do you think? Has your opinion changed over time?

Appendix B. Questionnaire (Sample Items)

Part 1 asks how often participants use each language (never, rarely, sometimes, often, always) with specified interlocutors and in specified domains. Part 2 uses a five-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

No.	Statement	Dimension
1	I use more than one language in a single conversation.	Reported practice

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No.	Statement	Dimension
2	I change language depending on who I am talking to.	Interlocutor
3	I change language depending on the topic.	Topic and domain
4	Mixing languages shows a lack of education.	Attitude (purist)
5	Mixing languages is a natural part of speaking in my community.	Attitude (pragmatic)
6	The languages I use help me show who I am.	Identity
7	I feel more comfortable in some languages than in others in formal situations.	Domain and formality
8	I mix languages less when I am speaking to older people.	Politeness and respect

Appendix C. Summary of the Consent Form

The consent form, provided in the languages the participants prefer, states the following. The study concerns language use in the community. Participation is voluntary, and the participant may withdraw at any time without giving a reason. Recordings and questionnaires are anonymised, and names and identifying details are removed from transcripts and publications. Data are stored securely and are used only for the research described. The participant may ask to hear or to see how their data are being used. Contact details of the researcher and of the supervisor or ethics body are provided. [Attach your institution's own consent form in the final version.]

Appendix D. Coding Guide Sheet (Template)

One row is completed for each switch. The sheet below can be used as a template in a spreadsheet.

Excerpt ID	Speaker	Languages	Structure	Item status	Interaction and identity notes
[ID]	[code]	[e.g., Uz + Ru]	[insertion / alternation / tag]	[switch / loanword / ambiguous]	[sequential position; response; setting; topic; identity position; interview evidence]

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