English Code-Switching as a Verbal Interactional Discourse Strategy in a Game: A Case Study of Jaffna University

M. Saravanapava Iyer

1. Introduction

In Jaffna, at present, among scholars a prolonged debate has been going on regarding the unsatisfactory level of English proficiency among Tamil medium students (primary, secondary and tertiary levels). Whenever academics from the University of Jaffna or from the outside address the students, they begin with the unsatisfactory level of English proficiency and insist its practical needs with the globalization. Accepting this trend, Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka, for the primary and secondary levels at the schools has taken certain remedial measures to improve the standard of English among school students. {For example The Education Reformation Act 1997 in Sri Lanka insists the gradual introduction of English medium from primary and secondary levels at schools and tertiary level at Technical colleges and Universities). Appreciating this trend the University of Jaffna also has taken certain remedial measures to improve the standard of the proficiency level of English. For example the Faculty of management Studies and Commerce, and Faculty of Agriculture have completely switched on to English medium. The Faculty of Medicine and Science have been adopting the same since long time ago. However, the above two Faculties have introduced certain new steps for further improvement of the standard of the English among students. The Faculty of Science has introduced English as Second Language (ESL) as a compulsory component for first and second year undergraduates and the Faculty of Medicine has implemented an intensive course in ESL for the first year undergraduates. It is true, on the other hand, that at present the earliest second language, in our context English (L_2) dominant bilingualism or balanced bilingualism in English and Tamil is rarely observed among Jaffna society.

This tendency is replaced by Mother tongue, in our context Tamil (L_1) dominant bilingualism or passive bilingualism or sometimes total monolingualism.

However, the present study rejects the above hypothesis and confirms that in a basketball champion match English language plays an important role in the interaction among the University of Jaffna team members in the form of discourse strategy through effective code-switching. Even though code-switching is applied with limited structure and vocabulary of English language in this encounter, it serves the purposes of speedy communication in a verbal face to face complex interacting situation in a final match at the University of Jaffna basketball court. By adopting the above strategy the University of Jaffna team subtly resists the situation of tension, domination, and power of the opponent team and achieved its task.

This study is based on the model of Canagarajah's research on 'Use of English borrowings by Tamil fish vendors: Manipulating the context' (Canagarajah, 1995a). In his study, he reveals certain impacts of English borrowings (with Tamilized pronunciation) used by monolingual fish venders in a bargaining encounter at a popular fish market in Jaffna city. Nevertheless, the present study focuses on English code-switching in an interacting situation for the team work in a basketball champion match played by the L_1 dominant bilingual or passive Tamil undergraduates in the University of Jaffna. Presently in Jaffna, as mentioned previously, it is an acceptable fact that the level of proficiency of English is considerably declining in general. Among academics, University undergraduates, school students and even public servants very scarcely one could observe balanced bilingual ability. Surprisingly, on the other hand, the influence of English is increasing among daily life of Jaffna people regardless of their education in various new domains in a different manner in the form of code-switching, code-mixing and borrowings/loans (generally code alternation) in which the functions of English language appear very peculiar and effective. The function of languages especially in a bilingual society, like Jaffna Tamil society, can be discussed and explained in more than one method. In 1932 Schmidt categorizes nine domains of language use. According to him domains are distinguished as the family, the playground, the school, the church, literature, the press and media, the courts and administration. Sometime a single domain can have a few sub-divisions also. For example, the domain of administration can be grouped

as government, semi-government, and private. Therefore, Mark (1935:41-52) has prepared a more detailed schedule.of language functions. But Barker (1951:17-32) simply divides functions of a language into familial or intimate, informal, formal and inter group/peer group. Charles Ferguson also (1959:232-52), developed a new idea of the language functions based on the thought of William Maria's study on diglossic situation, which existed in the Arabic speech community. Ferguson introduced a common model, which can be applied for many other languages. Then Gumperz (1971) extends the notions of diglossia to bilingual and multilingual functions as four, namely the instrumental, regulative, interpersonal and innovative or imaginative functions. Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971) suggest that the functions can be extended to several sub-spheres. Particularly the following sub-spheres can be acknowledged with the main domains; (a) family and friendship, (b) university, (c) media and signboards, (d) sports and (e) field of war. Thereafter, Halliday (1973) schedules seven functions of a language following Basil Bernstein. He speaks about instrumental, regulatory, representational, interactional, personal, heuristic, and imaginative or innovative functions. A part from these, at present in Jaffna, it is observed that many new domains where the functions of English language are distinctive and unique. The following can be suggested as new domains in the contest of Jaffna: (1) warfare, (2) NGO's administration, (3) field of fashion, (4) private telecom service, (6) computer training centre, (7) internet, (8) mobile short message service (SMS), (9) kitchen, and (10) gardening.

In this study, to conduct a micro level research, a basketball champion match is selected as a case study to explain the insight of the interactional discourse strategy behind the application of English language in the form of code-switching in communicating within the team members to resist the power of the opponent team. Generally, the functions of English are specialized by the situation not by the participants' intended effect. In the case of code-switching it is rapid and mostly unconscious and presented as a communicative discourse strategy. Perhaps, the very important change occurred in perspectives on language after that put forwarded by Chomsky is what is now being called discourse theory. Discourse theory and analysis have already many paradigm shifts in various disciplines in Social Science and Humanities. Meanwhile, contemporary sociocultural theories also accept discourse

as a main tool to understand a society fully. In the field of Linguistics, many Sociolinguists employ the word discourse with different meanings. However, they all uniformly oppose Structuralist Linguistics, including Chomsky's Transformational school, which perceives language as an autonomous system of abstract, value free, sentence level grammatical elements. Sociolinguists like Halliday and Hasan Ruqaiya (1989) believe that language is a social semiotic with lexical and grammatical items embodying particular social and cultural values of a speech community. Usually, whoever it may be whether Psycholinguists or Anthropological linguists or Sociolinguists when they analyze the language, these approaches have a common concern: that is they insist the need to measure language as a dynamic, social, interactive phenomenon whether between the listener and speaker or reader and writer. It is further discussed that meaning is carried on not by a single sentence but by more complex exchanges. Considering these all factors, the present study attempts to bring out some significant insights of code-switching strategy behind the interaction of the Tamil medium undergraduates, University of Jaffna basketball team.

Commonly the code refers to not only different varieties but also different languages. Code-switching is the alternative application of two or sometimes more languages or varieties in the same utterances or conversation by a single speaker. According to recent studies, this strategy can be focused on two different aspects namely (1) grammatical/syntactical and (2) discourse/pragmatic. The grammatical perspective is primarily considered for the linguistic constraints on code-switching. The pragmatic approach considers mainly the level of motivation, related to some peculiar situation. Gumperze (1976:57) suggests that the term "conversational code-switching" means that a speaker may switch codes within a single sentence. Code-switching can be applied many times. By explaining the above nature, he distinguishes situational code-switching, in which a speaker switches codes according to the situation. Since it is stable, it is called diglossic situation. In the type of conversational code-switching situational changes will not occur. Further, the word "code" refers to not only different languages but also different codes. When Grosjean (1982:145) explains about code-switching, he says briefly that code-switching is "the alternative use of two or more languages in the same utterances or conversation." Then Gumperz (1982:59) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same

speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems." Further Poplack (1980:591-616) in her studies on Punjabi/English code-switching situations identifies three important types which are (a) inter-sentential, (b) intra-sentential, and (c) extra-sentential models. According to her interpretation, in intra-sentential and inter-sentential in which the alternative chunks are constituents of the sentence. In the situation of extra-sentential, tags, fillers, etc. can be introduced by the speaker in his/her discourse. For the extra-sentential code-switching circumstances, minimal competency is enough in the L_2. In order of the degree of the difficulty inter-sentential code-switching comes next. It requires more fluency in L_2 but less than intra-sentential code-switching. According to her, for the intra-sentential code-switching a speaker needs equal fluency or near balance ability in both L_1 and L_2. Poplack (1980) confirms it through her studies on Spanish-English speakers in an old Puerto Rican speech community of New York. Since both intersentential and intrasentential switching occur without definite change in participant or topic or context they contradict with Weinreich's (1953:73) claim of 'ideal bilingual's behaviour'. According to his view, 'the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation'. For the intrasentential switching Singh (1985:33-45) employs the term 'code-mixing' and for the diglossic situation, where only one code is used at a time, he uses the term 'code-switching'. On the other hand, Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975:158) speak of a type of borrowing for code-switching. Therefore, as mentioned by Romaine (1989:114), the degree of elements varies from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words. Further, Poplack suggests that in a code-switching interactional situation a large number of nouns from L_2 are employed since they comparatively free from syntactic rules. However, the resent data confirms sentences, phrases, nouns, verbs, etc. can be incorporated in a discourse strategy.

In explaining this strategy, Hamers and Blanc (1989:148) elucidate, "in code-switching two languages are present in the discourse, chunks from one language alternating with chunks from the other. Chunk /x/ belongs only to language L_x chunk /y/ solely to L_y. A chunk can vary in length from a morpheme to an utterance." However, Canagarajah (1995a) states that to make a perfect study on code choice, up

to date no recognized or accepted theoretical pattern or model is available. Further, he speaks that building of model and theory in relation to the above study is in progress citing Bernard (1988:100-15). Canagarajah also admits that Poplack's (1987:51-77) view that in studies of code-switching, interpersonal negotiations of meaning and identities have played a dominant role in recent research requiring the needs of a macrosociological perspective. The interpersonal system of analysis is not adequate to reveal the insight potentialities of a post-colonial society when it switches a colonial language (English) with the native language (Tamil in Jaffna). In most cases, the colonial speech community is not present for the direct interaction.

2. Theoretical foundation and background

Generally, studies on code-switching in oral or verbal communication or face to face communication are based on two different sociolinguistic approaches. Particularly, they are the studies of correlationist and interactional. The first term is introduced by Gumperz (1982:24-27) and Fowler (1985:61-81) to refer to Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics. In this study, however, this label is applied to cover other studies, which share a similar trend in code-switching. The second label interactional studies are also formulated by Gumperz (1982) to focus his model of sociolinguistic research. This study includes this term to denote certain similarities in approach like Giles' social psychology model (Giles and Powesland 1975). Further, the recent tendencies of approaches to code-switching are based on pragmatic frame work which suggests that code-switching situation should be considered as a strategy of discourse. Analyzing only the internal and linguistic aspects of the sentences will not provide one with enough insight into the strategy of discourse.

At this juncture, a brief discussion on the above two approaches (interactional and correaltional) will help to understand the present study and the potentialities of it. These approaches are adopted for different purposes and thus, different research methods are employed based on the needs of the study. Correlationalist studies try to recognize the relationship between application of the code and the peculiar features of the relevant social context. Linguists like Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971); Labov (1972); Parasher (1980:151-68); Couplan (1980:1-12); Johnston (1983:101-124); and Bell (1984:145-204) attempt to bring out the information related to the use of a

particular code and the related social factors underlying it. The fundamental idea of these approaches is discovering the above said social factors and the salient features of them and in what manner they dominate in motivating the code selection in a given speech community. For this purpose, data is collected and micro level quantitative analysis is employed based on authentic data. To reduce the danger of sweeping generalizations data is collected using effective instruments like surveys, interviews, and questionnaires (Labov 1984:30).

On the other hand, interactional approaches enlightened by Blom and Gumprz (1972); Powesland and Giles (1975); Scotton and Ury (1977); Giles (1984); McConvell (1988); and Scotton (1988) attempt to construe the subtle social meanings exchanged by the interlocutors when they exchange their codes. Moreover, this approach is more or less dominated by ethnography of communication and conversational analysis. Basically, this approach seeks to discover the strategy employed by the participants to negotiate the meanings, identities and relationship which he/she would like to achieve in a particular interactional situation. In obtaining such information, the above approach employs qualitative methods such as participant observation to analyze the fastidious interaction in the original context. Then Woolard (1985) and Gal (1989) have introduced little changes in the above approach by describing that code-switching context helps partaker to resist or negotiate the situation of unequal. Hence, this type of code-switching ability is labeled situational or context-creating language potential of the participants. Accepting both approaches, the present study qualifies latter hypothesis more and explores how a basketball team (Tamil medium undergraduates) exercises English code-switching to resist the power of the opponent team and gains the advantage in a champion match at the University of Jaffna basketball court.

English had been the primary language in Sri Lanka for institutions related with the advent of British regime in 1796 (such as education both tertiary and secondary, international trade, communication, administration, law and travel) and had been provided privileges for the Sinhalese and Tamils until 1948. Since then the hegemony of English language has been altered somewhat with the declaration of independence to Sri Lanka in 1948. Thereafter, the Sri Lankan government has passed the language acts (Sinhala act No. 33, 1956 and Tamil act No. 28, 1958) to elevate the status of

indigenous languages of Sri Lanka (Tamil/Sinhala). They gradually launched to the field of administration, education, etc. to occupy the position of English. However, the speedy removal or replacement of English language was not a successful one and in many domains (for example Medicine, Engineering, high-level executive administration and legal practice) English language continued to dominate. The English language in Sri Lanka managed to continue to exist with different attitude of post independent period, and at present, all realize the reward arising from English proficiency. On the other hand, a few have not accepted its domination from the period of British colonial power in Sri Lanka.

A brief account of the general picture of the history of bilingualism will help to understand the study well. During the British colonial period, English language was very powerful code and dominated the administration, education, politics law of courts and trade in Sri Lanka between 1796 and 1948. Tamil served only the monolinguals especially in the rural areas with folk songs, traditional learning, and daily communication particularly in spoken form. The prevailed bilingualism at that time was largely L_2 dominant. According to Passe's view, most of them did not possess even spoken ability in the vernacular and therefore, they were English monolinguals (Passé 1943:55). This situation, however, slowly changed to balanced bilingualism in the postcolonial period and at present, it seems as L_1 dominant bilingualism or passive bilingualism in Jaffna. Tamil language captured more or less all the domains dominated by English in the past.

In the field of education, after the introduction of Sinhala and Tamil as the medium of instruction, English medium was also gradually abolished, initially from the government schools and later from the private schools. Thereafter, except certain higher education as mentioned previously, Tamil was and is being exercised extensively in almost all the fields. Even though English language is being imparted as a second language in all the government schools from year three, the existing proficiency is very low because it is not an essential component for G.C.E. O/L and G.C.E.A/L examinations. Failing to English language will not affect a student's educational achievement in any way, even the university entrance. Since the medium of the instruction in the Faculty of Arts, University of Jaffna is Tamil, undergraduates can achieve their degree with minimal proficiency in English. Only they have to

complete English as a Second Language requirement of the University of Jaffna before they pass out.

However, the present study confirms that the younger generation of students employs English language in the form of Code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing/ loan for various purposes in the field of sports surprisingly.

3. Data Collection and method

In modern Jaffna Tamil society, at present, more people are involved in sports activities than ever before. During the British colonial period, this field was more confined to the educated elite groups and students attached to the English medium private schools. But now the situation is not so; University of Jaffna, undergraduates, school students, and school leavers attached to the sports clubs are actively engaged in playing a large number of games like basketball, cricket, football, volleyball, netball, hockey, table tennis, tennis, chess and ṯaːèèi (This is considered as the national game of the Jaffna Tamils). These are all very popular games among undergraduates of the University of Jaffna.

For all these games, coaching is conducted in Tamil by coaches for the undergraduates, school students, or club members. Even though Tamil is mainly used for this purpose, code alternation in the form of code-mixing / borrowings occur very frequently since most of the games were introduced from West. Due to this, English words related to the name of the equipments, position of the players and playing techniques are still betrothed in this field. Further, for a few games only Tamil rules books are accessible. Commentary is conducted mostly in Tamil with frequent English mixing.

For this study data is collected from a basketball match because the level of interaction and team work for this game is high. Further, it is also one of the fast games played in a small court unlike football; hence, audio recording and observation are easy. (In fact, this data is used initially for the author's MPhil research to support the hypothesis of different functions of English language among Jaffna society. However, a profound study at the micro level was not made from this data).

(a) Description of data:

1. Date   : July 28, 1998

2. Venue   : Basketball court, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

3. Organizers   : University of Jaffna

4. Teams   : University of Jaffna Vs Patrician club, Jaffna

5. Duration : One hour, omitting the interval

University of Jaffna team comprised twelve members; all were undergraduates of the University of Jaffna. Two were from the Faculty of Medicine and one from the Faculty of Science, the rest of the nine attached to the Faculty of Arts were total Tamil medium students.

On the other hand, in the opponent team, most of the members of Patrician club were school leavers and employees and they were all too Tamil medium students at school. This study does not endeavor to evaluate the interactional strategy of the Patrician club members. This study mainly focuses only on the code-switching strategy of the University of Jaffna team during the game.

The data of this study was collected by applying two different methods. The passive participant observation of interactions in the particular champion basketball match at the basketball court of the University of Jaffna was one of the sources. In addition, an audio tape was used to record the participant's (in our case University of Jaffna team) verbal interaction. Both data are considered as primary sources. In fact, this study does not depend on any secondary data.

The author of this article was present at the final match and observed passively. By employing this system, a large number of very useful extra – linguistic aspects were noted during the play. In this encounter, the following were considered as extra-linguistic features. Most of these features cannot be audio recorded. For example, (a) facial expression, (b) physical gesture, (c) reply signals, and (d) fillers.

For the team understanding and communication during the game the above features play a significant role. For example if one considers facial signals, they are very vital for the success of a game. These signals are not the same for all the team. Each team has its own peculiar signal patterns. What is important in this study is the

above signals have combined with certain English words, which are unique for each team. The basic idea is, their signals with English language should not be understood by the opponents. In the encounter whether the message is received or not by the fellow member is confirmed through facial expression with English words. These signals displayed by facial expression by the fellow members prove that he received and understood the message using English code-switching by his team member. Therefore, most of the positive signals were observed in this match

Proper physical movement is very essential to lead the team during the game. But according to the field situation frequent changes are applied in the usual physical movement. The positive physical movement proves that the particular member understands the message. These were also observed to confirm the effectiveness of the use of English code-switching.

Fillers are often utilized by any language speakers. Usually delays in finding out suitable sentence/vocabulary, by nature/habit and lower level of proficiency of a particular language are a few reasons for using more fillers. However, in sports, if one observes players using more fillers, they have unique reasons. For example, they are exercised to intimidate the opponents. While he is planning his next move, he uses fillers. Sometimes a player employs fillers to divert the attention of a member of the opponent team. A player releases his tension by applying fillers. He may practise it to send a signal to his fellow member.

Secondly, an audio tape was used to record all the verbal communication during the one-hour match. In this audio tape whistle sounds from the referees and instructions made by two referees were carefully edited. Sentences both in Tamil and English with fillers spoken only by the target group during match have been taken into account for the present study. However all the Tamil sentences are not incorporated in the sample since they are irrelevant to the study. The following samples of utterances are taken from the audio tape:

01. Balling is coming; munnukkuppo:
    - Ball is coming; go ahead.
    (Response)
    O.K. ṭa:

02. mačča:n! get back kata:
    - Friend! Get back.
    (R) M.... M....

03. Rebound paṇṇu mačča:n.
    - Friend! Rebound.
    (R). o:m ......
    - Yes

04. Shoot it ata:ppa:
    - Friend! Shoot it.
    (R). ....

05. iñča:lai pass it man.
    - Pass it here man.
    (R) Take ata:

06. a:i man behindta:
    - Hello! Man behind.
    (R) ————

07. vita:ṭai ; try again!
    - Don't let it; try again.
    (R) Yes — Yes —

08. o:tu: ; our ball!
    - Run; it's our ball.
    (R) ————

09. avankatai ball; up, up !!
    - Their ball; up, up !!
    (R) M.... m .....

10. mačča:n here; here.
    - Friend ! here, here.
    (R) inṭa: take
    Here take.

11. inta: make it maèèa:n.
    - Here make it.
    (R) M...

12. Here, here, get the ball ata:ppa:!
    - Here, here get the ball friend.
    (R) ta:
    Pass!

13. vi ta:tai; make more baskets man.
    - Don't let them; make more baskets man.
    (R) Ya ... ya...

14. Oh ..... hard luck; viïaiya:tu
    - Oh .... Hard luck; play.
    (R) Sorry maèèa:n.
    Sorry friend.

15. Move; o:tu; vita:tai; good chance.
    - Move; don't let them; good chance.
    (R) Ok.....

16. You made it? viïaiya:tu.
    - Did you make it? Play.
    (R) Ah.. bad ball.

4. Discussion and conclusion

The data suggest that most of these sentences are directions with limited syntactic structure, in a friendly manner. A large number of code-switching is made by captain and some leading players while a limited number of utterances are made by other members. Since the main focus of this study is on code-switching in group communication, individual phenomenon is not considered. These data explain how code-switching tactics are effective in a group communicational situation. Further, Polack's (1980) three types of code-switching can be recognized in these data. According to her, basically, the type and degree of code-switching strategy can be

identified under three headings; they are tag-switching, inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching as explained initially.

These data, further, confirm that the majority of the elements incorporated are sentences with minimal syntactical structure (command, request, instruction, etc.) and a few nouns such as 'ball' with different adjectives like 'our', 'their', 'bad', and noun 'chance' with adjectives like 'good', and noun 'luck' with adjective 'hard' (as in examples 8,9,14,15, and 16). With these English items many elements from Tamil language are also added by the members. Their linguistic status should also be discussed in order to understand the competency displayed by the players. For example, in the 3rd utterance the function of the verb 'rebound' is a meaningful imperative sentence with one word (command). With this verb a Tamil word 'paòòu' is coined by the players as suffix. The colloquial meaning of this Tamil constituent is 'do'. It is a common phenomenon one could observe in casual discussions when one addresses a second person in Jaffna. In this pattern most of the English verbs are alone mixed with the Tamil verb 'paòòu'. The Tamil suffix 'ta:' is also very often added with English utterance as in example 1 (R) and 6. In spoken Tamil the above Tamil suffix is used among intimate male friends mostly with Tamil verbs. But in the example 1 the particular suffix is connected with English positive response O.K. to stress the acknowledgement.

The utterance No.5 is an example for intra-sentential code-switching. One element from Tamil (iñèa:lai) and other phrase from English (pass it man) are very tactfully switched. The Tamil adverb 'iñèa:lai' is mostly placed in the initial position of a Tamil sentence in spoken form. The English equal 'here', however, is placed in the final position as in example No.5. The speaker appropriately handled the above switching situation. This strategy requires a very high level of competency in both languages. The utterance No.8 is an example for inter-sentential code-switching according to Polack. One could observe a sentence barrier in this example. 'o:tu:' is one sentence and 'our ball' is another sentence; in this situation both Tamil sentence and English sentences are connected by the speaker meaningfully. In example No.1, response 'O.K. ta:' Poplack's extra-sentential code-switching can be identified. Here a minimal English element 'O.K.' is accommodated by the speaker with Tamil element 'ta:'. This is frequently applied in spoken discourse to acknowledge male friend's

request. The Tamil noun 'maèèa:n' usually associated with a male intimate friend in spoken situation, is also displayed by the participants to draw attention as in examples No.2,3, and 14 (R).

A few aspects of Jaffnaism also influenced the interactional utterances. In example No.10 the English demonstrative adverb 'here' is used twice to draw the attention of the fellow player among the team members (interjection) and the inner meaning of it is identification of the position of that particular player. The English word 'man' is very often used by Jaffna English speakers at the final position of a particular English sentence to emphasize the point and draw the attention of the listener. This is common in African English also. This general behaviour influences the utterances made by the players in that encounter as in example No.5 and 13. Further, in example No.15, 'Move! o:tu ...' also reveals the pattern of Jaffnaism. It is common in formation of nouns. For example, bagupi (bag), bedkattil, (bed), natucentre (centre), pinreverse (reverse), etc. In example, No.15 two commands (English and Tamil) of same meaning are switched.

From these data, there are some useful ethnographic information in relation to sports interactional discourse. First of all, apart from the data, in an interactional situation of a game (for example basketball, netball, etc.) utterances will be usually short. Participants utter while they are playing to perform speedy communication. Thus the response also will be a very shortened form of acknowledgements like O.K., M..m.., take, yes.., here, sorry, etc. In this type of encounter expressions are supposed to be brief and communicative. Nevertheless, the supra- segmental effect is very vital in these circumstances. If the team members feel tired, to provide them with a kind of encouragement and will power fellow members make certain utterances with special tonal pattern. For instance, as in example No.7 the utterance 'tries again' is made in high pitch. Then in example, No.11 the utterance 'make it' is produced in loudness. In example No.14 the phrase 'hard luck' is uttered noisily to persuade the shooter and luck is blamed, not the shooter.

There are certain expressions, which are made to guide the players. In example No.1, English sentence 'ball is coming' and the Tamil sentence 'munnukkppo:' are performed to direct the players. Very cleverly, both sentences are switched in this

encounter. The inner meaning of both sentences is 'ball is coming therefore, you have to go ahead'. A pattern of sequence is available between these two sentences (example No.1). In the first sentence reason is given. In the second sentence (Tamil), due to that reason player has to change his playing position in the court. In example, No.15 guidance and encouragement are provided to the fellow players by switching appropriately. The English utterance 'move' is used as a command in a friendly manner, then the Tamil utterance 'vita:ṯai' is meant to encourage the player and finally the English phrase 'good chance' is spoken to instruct the shooter and other team members to be on the watch out and be cautious.

On many occasions, switching is applied to pass secret messages to the team members. In the above data example No.15, actual message for the player is, the possibility of shooting is very high. In example, No 16 two types of messages are there. First message is for the player to provide an encouragement. In addition, the second message is for the opponent team members to misguide or misdirect them. Actually, the shooter did not make any basket at that time. Then speaker switches in Tamil and says 'viḷaiya:tu'. That means requesting the shooter not to relax and insisting on the responsibility.

Code-switching, on some occasions, serves to stress or emphasize a particular message. As in example No 15, a player says 'Move; o:tu (run); vita:ṯai (don't let it); good chance'. In this example same information is passed in both languages (move and o:tu) by using synonyms of English and Tamil. Further, in this encounter code-switch functions for the team identity. In example No.8 and 9 'our ball' and 'avankatai (their) ball' are switched to identify the in-team and out-team members. In this context the word 'our' is used with in-team members and 'avankatai' (their) for out-team members.

Apart from the above functions, in the court, code-switching occurs to release/ ease tension. Every switch is presented with extra loudness as mentioned earlier. Even Tamil and English tags are switched for the same purposes as in the examples No.1(R). To express the in-team power switches are employed in English.

At present, one has to admit that there is a considerable deterioration in proficiency of English among Tamil society in general and specially in Jaffna. The

earliest L_2 dominant bilingual or balanced bilingual attached to the public sector and academic community are now replaced by L_1 dominant bilinguals or passive bilinguals or total monolinguals. English is very rarely used for day-to-day communication. Presently, tertiary educational institutions like the University of Jaffna, College Education, Technical colleges, etc. require minimal proficiency of English from the students in general. Even in the schools English as a second language (ESL) is not a compulsory component for the G.C.E. O/L and G.C.E. A/L final examinations. In the tertiary educational main curriculum ESL training is generally confined to basic grammatical rules and this too examination oriented. Most of the tertiary level institutions in Jaffna fail to provide training to the students with communicative competence. On the other hand, in the society, active English usage has been abandoned in homes and other external activities and one can observe that there is shift from balance bilinguality to a very pronounced L_1 dominant bicultural passive bilinguality in Jaffna. Meanwhile, presently in Jaffna, Tamil has taken over many domains, which were influenced by English previously. The 'leak' situation in bilingualism is appearing more pronounced. Conferences, formal meetings in the government institutions, tertiary level institutions, banks, etc. are mostly conducted in Tamil. The hot fact 'English is declining' is discussed everywhere in the educational institutions by senior scholars. Generally school students and the University of Jaffna, Faculty of Arts undergraduates study English as a second language only in the classroom. Very seldom English is spoken outside the classroom or lecture halls by the students and undergraduates.

It is acceptable in modern Jaffna society that the general trends in bilingualism and bilinguality have been diminishing. However, one cannot underestimate the different roles of English language, which influence daily life of the students. Further, it is observed that there are several new domains in which the functions of English language seem to be very effective as mentioned previously.

The above study confirms that the present use of English among students whether the form of codes-witching or mixing or borrowings performs subtle dynamic functions. It reveals a high linguistic consciousness and censorship. Further, in this study one can observe that the situation of code-switching in English is well established and organized form. Code-switching is applied very subtly and technically

without making any mistake in grammatical, syntactical and semantic arrangements in every utterance without disturbing the rules of both languages.

Further, the above study proves that the description of ethnographic language use among Tamil undergraduates by switching English with Tamil is highly effective. It also brings out the significant insights of the interactional dynamics by using code-switching as discourse strategy.

References

1. Barker, G. (1951). **Growing up in a Bilingual community,** *The Kive* 17, 17-32.
2. Bell, A. (1984). **Language Style as Audience Design.** *Language in Society* 13, 145-204.
3. Bernad, S. (1988). *Bilingualism.* In Frederick New Mayer (ed). **Language: The Social Cultural Context,** (Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey IV), Cambridge: CUP.
4. Bernstein, Basil (1971). *Class, Code, and Control: Theoretical Studies towards Sociology of Language.* London: Rautledge and Kegan Paul.
5. Blom, J-P and Gumperz, J.J. (1972). **Social Meaning in Linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway.** *Directions in Sociolinguistics,* ed. By Gumperz, J.J. and Hymes, D. 407-34. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
6. Blomaert, Jan. (1992). **Code-switching and the exclusivity of Social identities: Some data from Campus Kiswahili.** In Carol Eastman. Ed., *Code-switching.*
7. Canagarajah, A.S. (1995a). **Use of English borrowings as Discourse Strategy by Tamil Fish vendors: Manipulating the context,** Multilingua 14/1.
8. Coupland, N. (1980). **Style-shifting in a Cardiff work-setting.** *Language in Society* 9, 1-12.
9. Ferguson, C.F. (1959). **Diglossia,** *Word,* 15, 325-40. (Reprinted in Gigliolo, P. ed., (1972). *Language and Social context.* Harmonsworth: Penguin, pp. 232-52).
10. Fishman, J., Cooper, R. and Ma, R. (1971). *Bilingualism in the Barrio,* Bloomington: Indiana UP.
11. Fowler, Roger (1985). **Power.** In T.A. Van Dijk, ed., *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* Vol.4, London: Academic Press. 61-81.
12. Gal, Susan. (1989). **Language and Political Economy.** Annual Review of Anthropology 18: 345-67.
13. Giles, H. and Powesland, P.F. (1975). *Speech style and Social Evaluation.* London: Academic Press.
14. ——————— (1984). Ed. **The Dynamics of Speech Accommodation.** *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 46.

15. Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

16. Gumperz, J.J. and Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1975). **Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication.** In Hernandez-Chavez, E., Cohen, A. and Bettramo, A. eds.

17. ——————— (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

18. ——————— (1976). **The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational code-switching,** Minco. P. 57.

19. ——————— (1971). *Language in Social Groups.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

20. Hamers, Josiane and blanc, Michel, H.A. (1989). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism.* Cambridge: CUP

21. Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasam, Ruqaiya. (1981). *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a Social Semantic Perspective*, Oxford: CUP.

22. ——————— (1973). *Explorations in the Functions of Language.* London: Edward Arnold Press.

23. Heller, Monica. (1982). **Negotiations of Language Choice in Montreal.** In John Gumperz, ed. *Language and Social Identity.* Cambridge:CUP

24. Johnston, P. (1983). **The Politics of Code-switching and Language Choice.** In C.Eastman, ed. *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon.* Cambridge: CUP. 101-124.

25. Labov, William. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP.

26. ——————— (1984). **Field methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variations.** *Language in Use: Reading in Sociolinguistics.* Ed., by Baugh, John and Joel Shwezer, 28-53. Englewood chiffs: Prentice Hall.

27. Mark, W. (1935). Zwelsprachigkeit und Mischmundart im Oberschiesien, Schlesisches Jahrbuch fur deatsche Kulturerbeit, 7. 41:52.

27. McConvell, P. (1988). **Mix-Im-Up: Aboriginal Code-switching, Old, and New.** *Code-switching: Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives.* Ed., by Monica Heller, 97-151. Berlin: Watter de Gruyter.

28. Passé, Hector A. (1943): **The English Language in Ceylon.** University of Ceylon Review 1, 50-65.

29. Parasher, S.N. (1980). **Mother-Tongue-English Diglossia: A Case Study of Educated Indian's Bilinguals' Language Use.** *Anthropological Linguistics* 22, 151-68.

30. Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Espanol: Toward a typology of Code-switching. Linguistics, 18, 581-616.

31. ——————— (1987). **Contrasting Patterns of Code-switching in two Communities.** In E. Wande et.al (eds). *Aspects of Multilingualism.* (Proceedings from the forth-Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism).

32. Powesland, P.F. and Giles, H. (1975). Speech Style and Social Evolution. London: Academic Press.

33. Romaine, S. (1989). Bilingualism, Basil Blackwell ltd., 108, Cowly Road, Oxford, U.K.

34. Schmidt Rohr, G. (1932). Dic Sprache als Bildnerin der Volker, Jena. (Original edition of 490).

35. Scotton, C.M. and Ury, W. (1977). **Bilingual Strategies: The Social Functions of Code-switching.** 13, 5-20.

36. ————— (1983). **The Negotiation of Identities in Conversation: A Theory of Markedness and Code choice.** *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44, 116-36.

37. Singh, R. (1995). Grammatical Constraints on Code-switching: Evidence from Hindi-English. Canadian Journal of Linguistics 30, 33-45.

38. Weinreich, U. (1953). *Language in Contact.* New York: Linguistic Circle of New York Publication No.2, 1968, The Hague: Mouton.

39. Woolard, Kathryn A. (1985): **Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward an Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory.** American Ethnologist 12, 738-48.