CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Focus on formal and functional analysis of codeswitching

This chapter will be devoted to analysing switches, determining Possible and Impossible switches, and ascertaining reasons behind particular switches. This will be achieved by analysing the switches featuring in the data obtained from various samples of conversation. These were recorded from multiple media related to various situations. The analysis would help in reaching an outcome on the objective of the thesis which is to outline the features of the codeswitching observed in the Odia-English pair of languages. It will also help us figure out the trend of bilingual conversations as to whether the increasing influence of multiple factors has changed the inherent structure of either language.

The analysis of codeswitching is two-fold: Socio-linguistic and Grammatical. Initially, it was dismissed as deviant and random. (Weinreich 1953, 1968). However, the phenomenon was then explained in terms of sociolinguistic conventions. Later on, it came to be observed that intra-sentential codeswitching is governed by syntactic rules that constrained the switch-points to specific morpho-syntactic boundaries instead of random spots.

Earliest studies attempted to describe such occurrences by listing the names of the sites within a sentence where codeswitching did or did not have a possibility of occurrence
(e.g. between conjuncts and the conjunctions or between the verbs and the pronominal subjects). However, these were soon countered with opposing examples.

Codeswitching was found to be easier and recurring at types of syntactic boundaries which are seen in both languages. Poplack (1980) proposed the Equivalence Constraint which states that "switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance (see also Lipski 1978; Muysken 2000; Pfaff 1979). The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content." (Poplack, 2004, p.187)

It is widely accepted that codeswitching is now governed by general principles rather than fundamental constraints. But, there is no unanimity in specifying the genre of these principles or way of representations. Many experts assume that codeswitching mechanisms can be predicted directly from principles of monolingual usage. For example, Di Sciullo, et al (1986) categorised the relations as "C-command and government: codeswitching cannot occur where a government relation holds." Belazi, et al (1994) added language choice as one of the features that figured in lexical and functional (different from the formal-functional taxonomy) categories, prohibiting codeswitching in case of a mismatch. (p. 148)

4.2 Formal Features

It can be said that there are two leading approaches in analysing intra-sentential codeswitching. The first focuses on the alternation of the codes involved in switching
whereas the second factors in the insertion of constituents from a second language into the matrix structure of a single language. The second case resembles the process of borrowing while trying to explain codeswitching due to “the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category into a given structure.” The difference, thus, is reduced to simply the size and type of the element that has been inserted. For instance, noun in borrowing vs noun phrase in code-switching.

This much is clear that alternation between codes takes place as in inter-sentential switching and insertion takes place with single borrowings. The analysis is achieved once it is established objectively if it is decided which process is employed with which case. Muysken 1995 summarizes the criteria as:

“(i) when several constituents in a row are switched, which together do not form a constituent, alternation is most likely – otherwise we would have to assume multiple contiguous insertions, conversely, when the switched elements are all single, well-defined constituents, e.g. noun phrases or prepositional phrases, insertions is a plausible option.

(ii) when the switched element is at the periphery of an utterance, alternation is a clear possibility; conversely when the switched string is preceded and followed by material from the other language, insertion may be more plausible, particularly if the surrounding material is grammatically linked in some kind of structure.

(iii) longer stretches of-language material are more likely to be alternations.”
In case of alternations, the dominant model of codeswitching to account for the phenomena is Equivalence Constraint proposed by David Sankoff and Shana Poplack. According to this model, two constraints regulate codeswitching. The first stipulates that it is not possible for codeswitching to take place between a lexical stem and bound morphemes. This is what sets codeswitching apart from borrowing which takes place in the lexicon whereas the former occurs at either the syntax or utterance-construction levels. The second constraint, EC posits that “switches occur only at points where the surface structures of the language coincide, or between sentence elements that are normally ordered in the same way by each individual grammar”.

Sankoff and Poplack show the working of the model in the example: "I like you *porque eres simpático*" ("I like you because you are nice"). This type of switching is allowed as it follows the rules of syntax in both English and Spanish. (Sankoff and Poplack, 1995, p. 232). However, noun phrases like *casa* white and the *blanca* house are blocked by the equivalence constraint at they are ungrammatical in either of the constituent languages. Adjectives have a pre-noun position in noun phrases constructed in English whereas they follow the determiner and the noun in Spanish.

This however is not sufficiently restrictive in that it is not successful in preventing too many exceptions. The free morpheme constraint allows codeswitched sentences like "The children had *visto la pelicula italiana*" ("The children had seen the Italian movie") whereas such switching between the free morphemes is impossible for the English-Spanish data set. An example of the equivalence constraint failing to function properly could be found in the Hindi-English data: "Ariel gifted a ring *kisi bandey ko*" (Ariel gifted a ring to some guy.)
Another framework to analyse the grammatical structures of codeswitched expression is the Matrix Language-Frame model proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993b) who also suggested the Markedness Model for the sociolinguistic analysis to understand what prompts codeswitching. As per this framework, 'intra-sentential codeswitching is governed by a set of abstract principles which seem to apply to codeswitching data sets across different communities and therefore are apparently cognitively based.' (p.25)

The framework posits the existence of a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). The dynamics centre on how the EL elements are inserted into the ML's morpho-syntactic frame. The basic premise of MLF model as stated by her:

"The heart of the MLF model is the claim that two interrelated hierarchies direct the structuring of sentences containing CS. These are:

(a) the Matrix Language vs Embedded Language hierarchy. Of the two or more languages involved in CS, one plays the more dominant role. It is labelled the Matrix Language, with the other language(s) labelled the Embedded Language(s).

(b) the system vs content morpheme hierarchy. .. function words and inflectional affixes are prototypical system morphemes while nouns and verb stems are prototypical content morphemes. System morphemes are important because they build constituent frames, and only one source of system morphemes can control constituent frame formation at one point in time. It is the ML which always 'wins out' in frame control
for mixed constituents, supplying system morphemes. The EL may only supply content morphemes in mixed constituents."

This section will cover Lexical, Phrasal, Clausal (Syntactic) and Semantic features of switching. The syntactic switching has been merged with the clausal switched as the boundary is unstable due to altering languages. The sections are aligned to the researches done in the field with other language pairs in other parts of the world. The cases of English as the ML and Odia insertions have been overlooked as they need a separate section.

The analysis is done in a three-stage mode for extensive insights. The first line contains the transliteration of the Odia-English mixed utterances in Roman alphabets. The Odia expressions are in lower case whereas the English words have been assigned the capital letters. The sound-letter guide can be found in the Appendix. This line does not indicate the pauses or the non-verbal sounds made by the participants using letters. However an oblique points out that there was a gap of at least 3 seconds before the next utterance.

The second line is a continuum of translations of the Odia words mentioned above. The grammatical order of occurrence is yet not discussed as the words are intermixed. However, an important feature of this line is the break-up of Odia words in terms of their base, inflections and affixes. A guide to the categories created to discuss the morphology of the Odia words can be found in Table 2. Moreover, the abbreviations used follow the international conventions of denoting grammatical units.
In advanced stages of analysis involving clauses, the second line also processes the English clause that appears in the utterances. It helps in understanding the existence of unrelated single-word elements in proximity to phrases and clauses. The use of brackets has specific purposes to demarcate clause boundaries. In this line, all letters are in the lowercase, with the English words italicized to denote the preservation of form while reprocessing.

The last line is a one-line representation of the meaning contained in the codeswitched expression. It re-assimilates the meaning intended through the mix of Odia and English expressions. It also takes into account the proverbial and idiomatic expressions contained in the ML *i.e.* Odia. This gives a fair idea of the complete procedure of surface movement of elements from the bottom of the syntax tree.

4.2.1 Lexical

While analysing processed data from the recordings, the one-word switches are found to be the most frequent as they are easy to insert. The whole set of one-word switches can be seen in the order of Parts of Speeches below. Since the switched words were English, there following sections were created to observe the behavior of the elements: One-word switches of Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, Pronouns and Interjections.

Each of them have been separately evaluated with attention to sub-categories. This enabled the findings to be more accurate in the Possible and Impossible switches section.
The analysis conforms to the respective model when considering alternations or insertions.

4.2.1.1 Nouns

This is the single-largest group of switched elements in the study with more than 185 unique elements. When English nouns are inserted into the Odia Frame, they are considered borrowings due to their limited participation in the switching process. Their presence can be further categorized in terms of Abstract and Concrete nouns.

They replace the Odia nouns which are not appropriate for the situation or available to speaker. However, they appear in the same place without the need to change the order of the sentence.

4.2.1.1.1 Abstract Nouns

*Frequency*: This is the dominant category that accounts for 123 unique single-switches which is twice the number of switched concrete nouns (62). The frequently occurring nouns (3 or more times) are all abstract nouns. Many of these are single-word switches in the sense they are not immediately preceded or followed by another English word. However, the utterances in which they appear do contain other switched elements like single words, phrases and even clauses.

Some examples of abstract nouns being switched once in a complete utterance are as follows:

1. athacha loke TAMPERING karuchanti

   however people- tampering are doing
However, people are tampering.

2. goTiye BUSINESS aarambha kali
   
   one-art business start did
   
   Started a business.

3. taanka INTEREST-Ta ku kiye dekhiba
   
   Their interest-class to who will-see
   
   Who will see to their interests?

4. emithei ki PROBLEM heuchhi
   
   such happen-part problem happens
   
   Problems arise from such happenings

5. jehetu aama paakhare MANPOWER ra abhaaba rahichhi
   
   as our with manpower -gen lack exists
   
   As there is a lack of manpower in our case.

6. jeun. maane FAILURE hebe
   
   those –plur failure be-fut-plur
   
   Those who would be failures. {Those who would fail}

7. prathama THING hela loka sachetana hebaa
First thing people aware be-imp

Firstly, the people should be aware.

8. nija ra karjya sampadana re FAILURE hoi chhanti

own –gen duty discharge in failure have been

(They) have failed in discharging their duty.

9. mo STORIES jeteLe kahili

my stories when tell-1ps-pst

When I told my stories..

10. kintu aapaNanka CAREER ku je dekhe

but your-hon-gen career -acc who see-pr

But, one who sees your career

11. kintu ebe ei LEVEL ra lokanka sahita aapaNa kaahinki aasile bibaad ku

but now this level-gen people-gen with you-hon why come-pst-pl controversy into

But, how did you come intro controversy with people of this level.

12. mo kichhi CONSENT na thila

my any consent -neg be-pst-sing
There was no consent of mine.

13. bada company heijiba jaha ku satturi Ta SECTOR kholi deba

Big company be-non-fin go-sing-fut -acc seventy –class sector open-non-fin give-
nominalizer

To become a big company *to which seventy *sectors be open

14. aau CHEATING adhika kari paaribe nahi

And cheating more do-non-fin can-fut-plur –neg

(They) cannot cheat any more.

15. ENQUIRY kariba paain kendra sarakaar chup rahila

enquiry do-nom for central government silent stay-pst-sing

The Central Government stayed silent *for doing an enquiry.

Abstract nouns were abundantly found and analysed here. Their presence is a vital
indicator at the reason behind their choice for a switch. Further examples of such lexical
items have been given below:

Percent / Loss / Fact / Strategy / Engagement / Formation / Business / Condition / Interest
/ Efficiency / Management / Resignation / Organisation / Consumption / Problem / Service / Appointment / Light / Requirement / Agreement / Complain / tracking / Service
/ System / Commission / Monitoring / Observation / Investment / Manpower / Operation /
Insurance / IRD / Investigation / Position / Part / Crime / Liquidation / Chance / Tax /
4.2.1.1.2 Concrete Nouns

A noun that can be identified through any of the five senses qualifies to be named a concrete noun. Such items in the vocabulary are easy to visualize or project. They have ready references and few ambiguities. Thus, the need for their synonyms is less than that for abstract nouns. As already stated above, they formed roughly one-third of all nouns found as single words in the corpus. Again, these words are fairly common and many do not have a popular Odia equivalent, which when used would delay comprehension.

A further break-up of the concrete noun list gives us 27 Person nouns, 9 Place nouns, 16 Thing nouns and 10 others. The high prevalence of thing and person references is indicative of their penetration into the bilingual’s register which may have already pushed the Odia words into obscurity. This can be confirmed by observing written language which has codeswitched elements. It is useful to verify the degree of influence by letting
the speaker of such utterances converse with a person with lesser comfort-levels with English.

1. jaNe muLa CONTRACTOR rahila

   one-*per main contractor there is

   There is one main contractor

2. S.P. -nku jaNaiba katha

   Superintendent of Police –*dat inform-*non-fin talk

   Superintendent of Police should be informed.

3. jehetu aapaNa kahuchhanti je CRIMINAL ku ghruNa kariba katha nuhe

   as you-hon say-hon-prog-pr that criminal-*acc hate do-*nom talk not

   As you are saying that one should not hate the criminal.

4. semaane jeun REGISTER bhukti heichhanti

   they which register enrolment be-*pl-pres-perf

   The register enrolment that they *have been

5. mora samaste FAN hei ki aasile.

   my all *fan be-*perf come-pst

   All came as my fans.
6. aapaNa ta bujhu thibe je goTe jhia ra FATHER ku kemiti laagu thiba
you-hon-int understand-prog be-hon-pr that a girl-gen father-acc how feel-prog
be-perf-prog

Hope you are able to understand that how a girl’s might be feeling.

7. lokanka sahaayatere HOOK paDuchhi
people-gen help-inst hook fall-sing-pr-prog

Hooks are being cast with the help of the people.

The analysis of concrete nouns above shows a simple insertion of these lexical items into the ML. Other such cases were also found which have been listed below:

Hooking / Tampering / Consumer / Employee / Agency / Engineer / Manager / Bill /
Contractor / Bulb / Customer / Office / Bank / Investor / Depositor / Citizen / Court /
Officer / Employer / Stories / Films / Talk show / Student / Debater / Award / College /
Gangster / Celebrity / Room / Posters / Debate / Prisoners / Actor / Actress / Jail / Fan /
Autographs / Photographs / Criminal / TV / Interview / Statement / Certificate / Poem /
Album / Film / Messages / Club / President / Police / Father / Governor / Prize /
Depositor / President / Investor / Dock / Cable / Franchisee / Paper / Meter /

**Frequent**: As the following single-nouns figure repeatedly in the conversations, we can call them frequent.
4.2.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are another frequently switched category. The need to describe the subject or the object is sometimes better achieved through English adjectives. Their role in a normal English sentence is to modify the noun and it forms a part of the Noun phrase. However, while modifying an Odia noun, the positioning is frequently Predicative. It appears at the end of the sentence or utterance where it fulfills the need of modifying the noun as a pure adjective or passive form of a verb. At many places, support is provided by various forms of –be.

Though Odia does display heavy use of attributive (subjective) adjectives, when it comes to single English adjectives to be used as modifiers of Odia nouns by placing it just before the noun, very few examples could be found in the corpus. Sometimes they are discussed separately from the nouns to be modified and at times they figure near other single or phrasal elements of EL (i.e. English).

1. ethire bahut prabhaavsaal byakti INVOLVED achanti (Adj.)

   in this many influential people involved be-pr-perf

   Many influential people are involved in this.

2. eiTa heuchhi goTiye CORRUPTED sanstha
This is a corrupted organization

3. mu* ebe kahili mu seThi ALONE rahibini (Adj-Pred)

I now say-1ps-pst there alone stay-fut-1ps-neg

I now said I won’t stay there alone.

4. aapaNanka ThikaNa gopaniya thila SECRET thila

Your-hon-gen location secret be-sing-pst secret be-sing-pst

Your location was secret, was secret. (Rephrasing)

5. aama loka hauchhanti EFFICIENT

our people be-prog-plur-pres efficient

Our people are being efficient. {Our people are, you may say, efficient}

6. ta hele ESSENTIAL kau mane (Adj)

that be-cond essential who-pl

Then who all are essential?

7. jaNasaadhaaraNa CONFUSE hebe ki nahin

general public confuse will be or not

Wouldn’t the general public be confused?
Such adjectives were detected in many other utterances in their singular form, that is, without and English subject to modify. They have been tabulated here:

Technical / Non-technical / Accountable / Confuse(d) / Different / Insured / Involved / Registered / Alone / International / Glamour / Referred / Liquefied / Satisfy(ied) / Genuine / Private / Corrupted / Proper / Political / Double / Commercial / Negative /

4.2.1.3 Verbs
Single verbs are the second most switched constituent in Odia-English codeswitching. They appear frequently to replace Odia verbs which are not accurate in representing the speaker’s intent. The number of single lexical items in this category was found to be forty-two in the corpus. The majority of them were transitive due to the presence of a direct object in the sentence. Intransitive verbs like Ensure, Qualify and Fail formed a small portion of this section.

The first observation is that the verbs in English appear in their base forms inside the Matrix. The tense or aspect is imparted by the Odia auxiliaries –heba (be) or –kara (do). The single English verb was never once seen to have been used in the inflected form by taking a past or a perfective morpheme. Whenever it did, it used to be the past participle form with -ed. This made it a complement and was categorized as an adjective in the predicative section.

The reason behind such behaviour can be ascribed to the differing morphology of the ML and EL. While the ML i.e. Odia is Agglutinating in nature due to which words are formed by affixing bound morphemes. It has a high morpheme to word ratio that sees to the process of morphology being highly regular. English, the EL, on the other hand is
moderately isolating, but traditionally a fusional language. This leads to a strange but relatively easier situation of processing the EL insert in an agglutinating environment.

The outcome is thus a very regular feature containing an English base verb with Odia affixes. This subservience is compliant with the MLF as suggested by Myers-Scotton. We also account for the word order using ML’s grammar where the auxiliaries follow the base verb instead of preceding as they do in English. Irrespective of their position in the sentence, they maintain the structure of ML in the verb phrase by following the verb with the auxiliary or the modal.

1. aapaNamaane Tanka INVEST karantu

   you-hon-plur money invest do-imp-hon

   You invest money.

2. kendra sarkaar paakha re PURSUE heuchhi

   central government near –loc pursue be-prog-pres

   It is being pursued with the central government.

3. ketebeLe raja acharya sahita.. ku aapaNa HATE kariba aarambha kale

   what time raja acharya with.. -acc you-hon hate do-nom start do-hon-pst

   When did you start to hate raja acharya?

   {Change in preposition to accommodate ‘hate’}
4. ehi karjya dwaraa se DETECT kari paaribe je

This work *-inst they detect do-non-fin can-hon-fut* that

They can detect by this work that..

5. goTiye jinisa mun CLARIFY kariba paain chahinbi

one thing I *clarify do-nom for like-1ps-fut*

I would like to clarify one thing.

6. ete sighra IGNORE karidele heba nahi

so soon *ignore do-cond do won’t*

It won’t do if we ignore so soon.

Verbs which were not a part of the semantic switches (where they were split into bare forms in El and the tense and aspect in ML) have been listed below:

Start / Manage / Privatise / Check / Lodge / Focus / Transfer / Siphon / Return / Detect / Ban / Start / Misrepresent / Misquote / Shatter / Release / Cancel / Represent / Declare / Beat / Reform / Meet / Hate / Claim / Regret / Negotiate / Set / Request / Invest / Withdraw / Clarify / Fail / Raise / Ensure / Oblige / Ignore / Cut / Complain / Regulate / Blame / Violate / Chargesheet

4.2.1.4 Adverbs

Apart from adjectives, adverbs were the only singular lexical items which acted as modifiers. In the selected corpus, we found a total of nine adverbs. They were usually –ly
suffix words. However, they represented sub-categories like adverbs of degree, time and manner. Thus, their frequency was RARE; though they are well represented in phrases.

The syntactic position occupied by these adverbs of English inside the matrix is pre-verb. On many occasions, they replaced the Odia adverb without moving the substitute to the Post-verb position as English syntax requires. Whenever it is modifying an Odia verb, it precedes it. It thus conforms the MLF hypothesis.

In some situations the Odia adverb form which is structured Adj+bhaaba (manner)+-loc was partially reconstructed as in 1 where the adjective was retained while the manner morpheme and locative inflection were dropped. Similarly, there was a phonological interference when Speedily was pronounced Speedly in one utterance. It is assumed that given the Speaker’s proficiency in inserting other English elements, this was an interference of the ML which approximated the /di/ to /d/.

1 sabu jiNisa NEGATIVE jaau nahin

all matters negative go-prog not

All matters are not going *negative.

All matters do not become negative. Everything isn’t progressing negatively.

2. NO. mo kebe kichhi na thila.

No. I-poss when something –neg be-pst-1

No. I never had any such thing.
3. RURAL WATER SUPPLY re bahut SPEEDLY kaam chaalichhi

rural water supply -loc much speedily work walk-1-pres-prog

The work is going on very fast in rural water supply.

Similarly, there are other adverb words which were found in the corpus separated from EL islands by at least a single item from the ML. They are:

Nearly / Initially / No / Speedily / Appropriately / Quarterly / Exactly / Weekly / Totally /

4.2.1.5 Prepositions

It was never observed that in the midst of an otherwise Odia utterance, did an English preposition figure to indicate the relation between two Odia elements. More discussion on this is found in the Possible/Impossible Switches section.

Frequency Status: Never switched

4.2.1.6 Conjunctions

Certain utterances began with English conjunctions, or had them inside, but isolated from other English words, phrases or clauses if any. However their occurrence was extremely limited. Hence, their Frequency is categorized RARE.

Elements found: But / And / Supposing /

1. BUT mu* bahut byasta hei gali

But I much tense be-pst-1ps-sing go-pst-1ps-sing

But, I became very tensed.
4.2.1.7 Pronouns

Single pronouns were never found to be switched in the entire corpus. It is deduced that it must be very difficult to insert such elements into an otherwise Odia sentence. More discussion on this is found in the Possible/Impossible Switches section.

*Frequency Status: Never switched*

4.2.2 Phrasal

4.2.2.1 Noun Phrase

Noun phrases are among the most switched elements owing to their status as tough elements in terms of replacement. Many of them are fixed phrases as names, titles, numbers, acronyms, abbreviations and often-referred departments. We sub-categorize them in terms of their composition depending on what other elements figure in the phrase apart from the Head Noun viz. Pronouns, Conjunctions, Prepositions.

In certain cases, the function of phrase head as a quantifier in terms of numeral or ordinal or its representation in the form of an acronym or as a modifier counted towards their categorization.

*Frequency: Frequent*

NPs with Pronouns/Proper Nouns

*My viewpoint*

NPs with Conjunctions

1. LAW AND ORDER MY VIEWPOINT re khub bhala

\[(law and order)-N\_conj-n]/ (my viewpoint)-pro-N/\_in-loc\] very good
In my viewpoint, law and order is very good.

Other NPs with conjunctions were:

**Law and order / Company and Registration of Company**

NPs with Prepositions

Noun Phrases with a preposition in the construct are again common in English. These could have been said in Odia which might have changed the order of elements to preserve the meaning. Like in /Fresh face in Vizag/ which could have been expressed as:

2. Fresh face in Vizag

   taaja chehra re Vizag

   Vizag re taaja chehra

However this would have made it lose the special connotation is indicated as an epithet or ‘Title’ that was awarded as a part of a competition. It would have reduced the meaning to /A fresh face in Vizag/. Alternatively, just switching the preposition would not have helped as /Vizag re fresh face/ would mean /just another fresh face in Vizag (A south Indian city)/. Again, we have seen that word-level switching of prepositions has not been observed in Odia. In English, /Registrar of Companies/ was not switched to /Companies ra Registrar/.

Thus Noun phrases with Prepositions are actually fixed phrases that are designations, titles, awards or fixed phrases that have no well-known vernacular alternatives. Though language policy of the Odisha government has sanctioned the mention of Odia
equivalents of these departments, officials and programmes, they are difficult to incorporate in a bilingual speech act.

NPs with Prepositions

3. TWO THOUSAND FOUR re RESERVE BANK OF INDIA, GOVERNMENT OF ODISHA ku lekhila

2004 in [(reserve bank of india)-n-N-prep-n][(government of odisha)n-prep-n]-acc write-pst-sing

In 2004, The Reserve Bank of India wrote to the Government of Odisha.

4. aau mun FRESH FACE IN vizag DECLARE heli

and I  [(fresh face in vizag)adj-N-prep-n] declare be-pst-sing

And I was declared "Fresh Face" in Vizag.

The complete list of NPs containing prepositions are given here:

Registrar of Company (ies) / Registration of company / Fresh face in Vizag /

Unique Model of (in) India / Company and Registration of Company / Point of View

Reserve Bank of India / Government of Odisha

Acronyms

5. CESU MANAGEMENT ENGINEER thile MANAGER hele

[(CESU management)n-N] engineer be-pst-plur manager be-pres-plur
CESU management used to be engineers who became managers.

Other such acronyms found in the corpus are:

**CESU Management** / S.P. / F.I.R / PG Students

**AV Cable** / IAS Officer / IT Technology

**Numerals/Ordinals**

6. TWENTY PERCENT LOSS heuchhi

[(twenty percent loss)ord-n-N] be-pres-prog

A loss of twenty percent is incurred

More such elements:

**Twenty Percent Loss** / Twenty Four Hour (s) / Seven Days / Plus Two / Fifty-Fifty Percent

**NPs with compound words**

7. aamara RIGHT-SIZE CONDUCTOR na thiba sethi paain heu thiba samasya

our [(right-size conductor) adj-N] -neg be-perf-non-fin that for be-agr-perf-bon-fin issue

The issues happening due to unavailability of the right-sized conductor with us..

**Right-size conductor** / First-track court / Toll-free number / State-level
NPs with Nouns as Modifiers

8 a. aame OFFICE ru sidha METER READING ku aaNiki

We office -abl straight [(meter reading)n-N] -acc bring-pst-perf

We, having brought the meter reading straight from the office

8 b. IT TECHNOLOGY sahaajya re BILL PROCESSING kariki

[(Information Technology techonology)n-n-N] help -inst[(bill processing)n-N] do pst-perf

and having done the bill processing with the help of IT

8 c. BILL ku THROUGH EMAIL heu baa BILL DISTRIBUTION TIME re aame BILL DELIVER karibu

bill -acc [(through email)Prep-n] be-nom or [(bill distribution)n-N] time -loc we [(bill deliver)n-V] do-fut-plur

*we will deliver the bill through email or at the time of bill distribution.

9. loke kuhanti je GLAMOUR GIRL

people say-pres-prog that (glamour girl)

People say that (you are a)[ (glamour girl)n-N]

Nouns acting as modifiers were found in these phrases too:

Bill date / Black Money / Bill processing / Bill Distribution /
Chit Fund Company / Company law / Company Registration Act

Customer Service Center / Crime branch

Electricity Company / Enforcement Directorate / Glamour Girl / Government officer /

Hollywood Film / Head Office / Home Department / Load Balance

Marriage Proposal / Meter tampering / Meter bypass / Meter reading

Meter reading bill / Module Section

Police Department / Power pilferage / Press Conference / Railway Fare

Service Provider / Skill Set / Stock exchange / Telephone Line / Telephone Bill Line /

Tax Haven / Water Supply

Franchisee Agreement / Franchisee engagement

NP with Pure Adjectives as Modifiers

10. WEEKLY jau SEVEN DAYS prati maasa aamara jau WEEKLY CUSTOMER achhi

Weekly which [(seven days)num-N] every month our which [(weekly customer)adj-N] be-pres-sing

Every month or weekly which is seven days, one who is our weekly customer.

Other examples of Pure Adjectives acting as modifiers are:

Commercial Loss / Criminal Procedure Code / Central Cooperative Society / Central Act
Experimental Phase / Experimental Thing / Essential Commodity / Financial plan /

Mutual fund / National Electricity Policy / No Romance / Real Strength / Real Culprit

Rural Water Supply / Special Fan / Technical loss / Weekly Customer / Yearly Review

More Noun Phrases with Adjectives

11. mora … ADVENTURE SPIRIT thila

my [(adventure spirit)n-N] be-pst-sing

I had an adventurous spirit.

NPs containing adjectives are listed here:

Automatic meter reading system / Automatic Meter Reading / Electric Line

Public servant / Economic Offence / Academic record

Cooperative Act / Selective leak / Effective Integrated Urban Management /

Massive Scale / Designated country / Developed technology

High court / High Level / Higher Rank / Last comment

Foreign countries / Foreign Bank

Regulatory Authority / Regulatory Committee

Vexatious prosecution / Adventure(ous) Spirit
Short NPs with Adjectives

12. goTiye ROSY PICTURE dekhagala

one  [(rosy picture)adj-N] see-pst-perf

A rosy picture was seen.

13. eThi MULTIPLE ORGAIINATION nahaanti

here [(multiple organisation)adj-N] -neg-pres-plur

There aren't multiple organisations here.

Other NPs with Adjectives:

Rosy Picture / Unique Model / Full Freedom / New technology / Private capacity / Private Parties / Safe drinking water / Common man / Small objection / Proper Inquiry /

Charitable Company / Supreme Court / Multiple Organisation

Proper Distribution system / Regulatory Commissioner / Regulatory Committee

4.2.2.2 Adjective Phrase

Phrases from English that had an adjective functioning as the head of the phrase were analysed under Adjective Phrases. Adjective phrases were found to have been inserted on four accounts. The head word was modified on two occasions by an ordinal and twice by adverbs. The frequency was thus, Rare in type.
Preserving the order of elements in the phrase with the modifier adverb preceding the adjective, the phrase is inserted after Object. This is natural in the ML Odia which is SOV in nature. Though other combinations are possible and grammatical, yet the location after the object matches the matrix. However, this is not seen in the rest as they are used to modify simpler Odia nouns.

1. se raja acharya saangare ete CLOSELY CONNECTED kemiti heigala

   -3ps-sing raja acharya with so [(closely connected)adv-Adj] how be-perf-3ps-sing

   How did she become so closely connected with raja acharya?

Similarly, we find the following Adjective phrases too:

Number One / Number Two / Closely Connected / Highly Connected /

4.2.2.3 Adverb Phrase

The Adverb phrase which has elements like nouns and conjunctions added to head element, an adverb in this case. Such switched elements are Rare in nature with just two of them in the entire corpus. Moreover the second instance here contains an adverb in English which modifies the Odia auxiliary verb. This is different compared to the modification of the English verb by the English adverb in 1.

The positioning of the Adverb phrase is less flexible than Adjective and Noun Phrases. It is assumed that due to presence of content heavy words like verbs which usually figure at the end of an Odia sentence due to its SOV structure, it loses mobility across the
structure. In the analysis below, one can observe that inserting elements from SVO-type languages is not too easy at the phrasal level.

1. mun TOTALLY BLAME karuni

   I [(totally blame)Adv-V] do-pres-prog-neg

   I am not entirely blaming

2. SIMULTANEOUSLY STATE REGISTERED COOPERATIVE SOCIETY achhi

   [(simultaneously)-adv (state registered cooperative society)NP] be-pres-I

   Simultaneously, there is the State Registered Cooperative Society.

4.2.2.4 Verb Phrase

Rare occurrences of Verb phrase switching were seen in the corpus. Only on one occasion, did we find verbs acting as the head of a phrase that was in English. In the example, it shares the utterance with another lexical item, a noun. Like the previous category, the location of this phrase in the sentence is terminal when in active voice.

In Analysis 1, the switching is ungrammatical due to incorrect placement of the verb bring and lack of tense and aspect. When there was addition of inflections to convey the extended nature of the word, the position of the verb had to be moved from the pre-noun to post noun as the Odia inflection follow after.

**Bring investment**

1. ehi FRANCHISE ENGAGEMENT karagala jehetu BRING INVESTMENT
This franchisee engagement was done due to *bring investment

This franchisee engagement was done to bring investment.

4.2.2.5 Preposition Phrase

Another rare category of switching was Prepositional Phrase. With only three cases of such switching, it doesn’t find much use. The location of such phrases was sentence-beginning in conformation with both ML Odia and EL English. But, we consider the agreement with ML relevant as the content is primarily in Odia.

In all cases of Prepositional phrases the modifier followed the head i.e. the preposition. In two cases, we had single nouns and in 1, there was a simple NP with a determiner preceding the noun. Another case had a verb phrase which had been semantically switched to carry the idea. In the last analysis, in spite of four English insertions, the ML is still Odia.

1. OVER THE YEARS, jeun jeun raajanaitika daLa maane

[(over the years)Prep-det-n] those-redup political parties -plur

Over the years, all those political parties which.

2. ta hele AFTER INVESTIGATION, CHARGE SHEET FILE kariba pare

ENFORCEMENT DIRECTORATE re kaama aasiba
that be-cond [(after investigation)Prep-n][(chargesheet file)n-V] do-nom after [(enforcement directorate)n-N] -loc wok come-nom

Then, after investigation, it will be useful in Enforcement Directorate after filing the charge sheet.

3. BILL ku THROUGH EMAIL heu baa BILL DISTRIBUTION TIME re aame BILL DELIVER karibu

bill -acc [(through email)Prep-n] be-nom or [(bill distribution)n-N] time -loc we [(bill deliver)n-V] do-fut-plur

*we will deliver the bill through email or at the time of bill distribution.

4.2.3 Clausal

Clause-level switching was observed to be the dominant form after single-item switches. This switched segment, a clause, can be classified as a unit of sentence which contains at least “a structure closely resembling that of an independent sentence” (Crystal, 1997).

They have two basic elements, a subject and a verb. Other functional units are added as per requirement. They may be labelled: Complement, Object and Adverbial.

The clause structures can be summarized in the following formats:

1. S + V

   The tiger + is sleeping

2. S + V + O
The hunter + saw + the tiger

3. S + V + C

The porter + turned + pale

4. S + V + A

Others + ran + from the scene

5. S + V + O + O

The porter + handed + the hunter + the gun

6. S + V + O + C

The tiger + saw + the marksman + crouching

7. S + V + O + A

He + fired + the gun + inaccurately

When any of the above combinations was seen in English, it was separated for analysis under the ‘clausal switch’ head. We should reiterate that, in order to be included in this section of analysis, the whole clause should be in English. It shouldn’t depend on additional elements from ML to complete the meaning. We also ensured that ML guidelines are met to retain an English clause-carrying utterance. If there was no main verb from Odia, the utterance was transferred for secondary analysis in the English-Odia switching section.
In each of the following analyses, where there is a subordinate clause in English loaded onto an Odia matrix which contains another clause, often superordinate. This subordinate clause with at least a subject and a verb, interacted with the ML in different ways to convey meaning. Sometimes, the Odia clause used a subject which was a lexical item in EL. However, the verb remained in ML and thus lent the clause its nature.

1. I THINK mun ta paLeijiba ku chaahu* thili ei jaaga ru.

\[(i\ think)\ pron-V\] // I -int flee-nom to-prep want-Ips-pst this place -abl

I think I wanted to flee this place.

2. mote gotiye TALKSHOW karibaku ichha WHERE I CAN SPEAK TO PEOPLE LIKE YOU DO.

I-acc one talk show do-nom-acc interest \[(where \ i\ can\ speak\ to\ people\ like\ you\ do)\]

I am interested in doing a talk show where I can speak to people like you do.

3. AND I ALWAYS DREAMT mo POSTERS bi rahiba mo ROOM re.

\[(and\ i\ always\ dreamt)\ I-gen\ posters\ too\ stay-fut-sing\ I-gen\ room-loc\]

And I always dreamt that my posters would be in my room.

4. YOU SHOULD UNDER... aapaNa ta bujhu thibe

\[(You\ should\ under{stand})]\ . you-hon -int understand-pres be-pst-hon

You should understand, you do understand.
5. I DON'T KNOW FOR THE.. LIKE..kaNa gale kaahinki gale NOTHING LIKE..

     [(I don't know for the, like)] what go-pst-hon why go-pst-hon. [(Nothing like)]

     I don't know why he went.

     [(What went) doesn't add to the meaning]

6. aau mu* DEBATE re bi I GOT A GOVERNER'S AWARD BECAUSE mu P.G.

    STUDENTS maananku BEAT karithili

    and I debate-loc too [(I got a governer's award) (because)] I [(post graduation
    students)] -plur-acc beat do-pst-perf-sing

    and also, I got a Governer's Award in debate, because I had beaten PG Students.

7. I WAS PRETTY HAPPY je ei lokamaane sudhuri..

     [(I was= pretty happy)] that these people-nom reform-per

     I was pretty happy that these people reform-

8. se kahila THAT I AM THE SAME PRISONER..

     he say-pst-sing [(that i am the same prisoner)]

     He said that I am the same prisoner.

9. I, AS I SAID mote jadi loka.. FANS APPRECIATE karanti mo WORK ku AND I

     AM HAPPY WITH IT.
I as i said I-acc if people fans appreciate do-pres-plur I-gen work-acc [(and i am happy with it)]

As I said, if people, fans, appreciate me and my work, and I am happy with it.

10. OF COURSE, aapaNa jaaNi nahanti WHAT HAPPENED IN REAL LIFE.

[(of course) you-hon know be-hon-pres-neg [(what happened in real life)]

Of course, you do not know what happened in real life.

11. aa pare, THE ACCUSED WAS ARRESTED BUT taa pare mote jau

THREATENING CALLS AND THREATENING MESSAGES band helani.

this after [(the accused was arrested)(but)] that after I-acc which [(threatenig calls and threatening messages)] stop be-sing-pst-neg

After this, the accused was arrested but after that, {jau} the threatening calls and threatening messages didn't stop.

We thus observe the EL islands arising due to the switching of procedures which were initiated at the lemma and conceptual level from ML to EL paradigms. The clause-level switching is highly ordered as all the elements of the clause are derived from the same code which reduces the friction between the elements. However, the overall semantics still need to be set in order. This is achieved by correct choice of elements inside the island.
4.2.4 Semantic

Semantic-level codeswitching is actually Language Transfer which is also known as L1 Interference or Linguistic Interference. This covers the activity in which speakers or writers apply their knowledge from their L1 to a second language. This is usually observed when the speaker does not have a native-level command of L2, like in the act of translation or codeswitching.

The transfer can either be positive or negative. The classification of the codeswitched elements here are to be done in this purview.

A. Positive: If the relevant structure is same in both the languages, Linguistic Interference can produce correct language which is called 'Positive Transfer'. The distinguishing feature being correctness which should match the notions of acceptability with most native speakers.

B. Negative: When structures or items which are not the same in both languages are transferred by speakers, Negative Transfer is observed. This is proportionate to the degree of differences between the two languages.

Meaning is culture dependent. So, the clause of meeting a native speaker’s comprehension may be limited to the labelling of the language unit. However, since the listener is from the same culture, the Positive transfer taking place will assume equal status as Negative Transfer if the meaning is received as intended by the speaker. However, the prevalence of Negative Transfer in higher frequency points to the fact that Transfer is not always effective.
The transfer may involve units ranging in length from a single word to whole sentences. The necessity arises when the longer forms of Odia utterances do not find an immediate alternative. It was expected in expressing Odia idioms and phrases in English. In single words like ‘tension’ which have an Odia translation ‘tanaav’ or ‘taan’, the full meaning is not expressed. The speaker feels the need to borrow the word as well as its meaning. We also saw some intra-word morpheme insertion to achieve the meaning.

In the following analysis, it is observed that the imperfect clause that was supposed to denote action in one code is fractured. The structure has been altered to involve the ML inflections of tense and aspect onto the verb stem which is in EL. This is similar to the switching observed in Hindi, another Indo-Aryan language. The verbs are in the bare form in English whereas the inflections are from Odia.

Instead of the VO structure expected in a Verb phrase, the switch produced a OV form which is the remnant of the ML’s SOV structure. While the subject (I) was introduced in Odia, the predicate was presented in English with object State-level awards in Odia and the verb Won was split into Win + PP + Sing with the base verb in English (Win) and inflections in Odia through karithili.

1. mun jetebeLe STATE-LEVEL AWARDS WIN karithili

   I when [(state-level awards win)n-n-n-V] do-pst-perf-sing

   When I had won state-level awards.

Hence, we classify all such structures [i.e. ML Subject + EL (Object + Verb) + ML Inflection] as Semantic switches. In case of NPs too, it was observed that elements had to
be moved to maintain concord in the ML. In the following sample, one can see how modifiers affect the structure of an NP.

1. BILL DISTRIBUTION TIME re

   Bill Distribution    Time –loc

   At the time of Bill distribution

Analysis: To involve the postpositions of Odia (which lacks prepositions), the modifier time moves to phrase-end position.

Thus we see the semantic processes affecting the surface structure. The Semantic-level switching observed in the data have been listed:

BILL DELIVER karibu / NEW TECHNOLOGY INDUCTION kariki

AWARENESS PROGRAMME RUN karuchanti / PRINCIPAL AMOUNT RETURN

REPORT SUBMIT kariba / CHARGESHEET FILE kariba / COURT MONITOR kariba

PROPERTY ATTACH kete jai pariba / COUNT FAIL kala

FILM RELEASE hela / CRIME BRANCH DEPARTMENT

VIGILANCE DEPARTMENT / bahut ACTOR ACTRESS

FIX DEPOSITOR / AROUND MORE THAN

BECAUSE OF TELEPHONE BILL na dele / se ACT AMBITION karichhi

tenu eTaa goTe SAFETY AND SAFEGUARD AGAINST HONEST OFFICERS.
4.3 Possible and Impossible Switches

4.3.1 Switch governing Research

The pioneers of codeswitching research focused on the social functions as they were sociolinguists. However, soon the structural aspects caught their attention and started attracting other specialists like psycholinguists and syntacticians. Initially, these linguists looked at the surface structure of samples to fetch clues in order to form constraints on switching. Many of them, like Lipski 1977, Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1981 and Sridhar and Sridhar 1980, concentrated on the degree of word-order matches between like-constituents across the languages involved in codeswitching. Another group indicated at surface category memberships as the key and argued that it is not possible to switch through certain categories like Timm’s pronominal clitics (1975) and Poplack’s bound morphemes (1981). Furthermore, experts opined that switchability can be ascribed to a certain extent to the size of the constituent.

Such structural constraints had a common trait: though they described codeswitching occurrences in a specific corpus, there was no attempt to link them with other theories about linguistic structures. It is for this reason, probably, that subsequent researchers handling other sets of data found numerous counterexamples to the previous findings and claims. (e.g. Bokamba 1988, Romaine 1989).

Thus, in the mid-1980s, the emphasis changed from descriptive adequacy to clarifications for codeswitching configurations inside the current psycholinguistic and syntactic theories. Some syntax-centric researches oriented their codeswitching constraints with the
‘government conditions’ that apply to monolingual data like in Chomsky’s Government and Binding framework (1981). Also, it was argued that ‘switching was impossible within a maximal projection’ (DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986).

Again, such constraints have received their share of counterexamples as cited by Pandit 1990 and Myers-Scotton 1993b. Special attention was also paid to psycholinguistic models which started with Joshi 1985 and peaked with Garrett 1990. These theories ‘posit that open and closed-class items are retrieved at different stages in language production’ (Petersen 1988, Kamwangamalu 1989, Myers-Scotton and Azuma 1990, Azuma 1991).

Finally, contemporary researchers have decreased the importance of surface-level equivalences by emphasizing more on abstract level equivalences to explain switchability. Their hypotheses are motivated by lexical sub-categorisation that figure prominently in late syntactic theories. It was first seen in Bentahila and Davies 1983 who cited language-clashes on specific syntactic structures to explain situations where codeswitching was missing. It was furthered by Azuma 1991 who discussed similar sub-categorisation clashes and by Muysken 1991 who introduced ‘categorical equivalence’ as a constraint.

4.3.2 Discussion of Possible and Impossible Switches

As we see there is a lot of abstraction in theories suggesting approaches to govern switch points, we would reduce the ambiguity in figuring the Possible and Impossible switches in this data. We shall use the structure used to analyse the present codeswitched data to suggest what can be switched and what cannot be switched. In this respect, we can have
three levels of discussions with proofs: lexical, phrasal and clausal levels. However, for the sake of consistency, we shall restrict the discussion to the word level switching only. The examples below are from the researcher’s own corpus.

Since single words were most frequently switched items in the entire corpus, their rules need to be specified at the beginning. From the samples collected, we could find two categories of words: Lexical or content words and Function or closed-class items. They displayed differing traits in terms of appearing in the sentence with respect to their position vis-à-vis Odia elements. We will analyse them one by one.

4.3.2.1 Lexical Items

Among the lexical items we observed heavy codeswitching in the case of Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives. A small number of Adverbs were also found to have been switched in single units. From the closed class category, there was no instance of a single-word Preposition or Pronoun insertion. Conjunctions were rare with only three incidents.

The Nouns replaced their Odia equivalent without the need for change in form. The switching of single nouns is thus easy, but should adhere to the norms of number. Since, Odia doesn’t have gender-specific markers and nor does English, the insertion is easier than Hindi switching which calls for Agreement in both number and gender. We regularly see Odia speakers producing wrong utterances in Hindi like:

1. mera jhia nursery me padhta hai

   my(H) daughter(O) nursery –loc study-pres-M be-pres

   My daughter is studying-M in nursery.
A Odia-English switch would not face such issues as in:

2. mora DAUGHTER nursery re paDhuchhi

   My daughter nursery –loc study-pres-prog

   My daughter is studying in nursery.

The M (Male) marker is not required in Odia for the reason stated above. However, the agreement in number should be possible with the appropriate use of either the English nouns or Odia verb or adjective. Even when such agreement is not maintained, the utterance hardly raises an issue. Though ungrammatical according to the Blocking Hypothesis, it continues to be used without much objection.

3 bahut ACTOR ACTRESS

   Many actor actress

   Many actors and actresses

Though the subject-verb agreement is as important in terms of number as the adjective in 3, the fact that verbs could be either from English or Odia necessitates separate treatment. In case of Odia verbs, the case is clear. There has to be agreement between the components. Else, utterances as below (4) would be held incorrect. Although, there are no grammars in the general population to govern Codeswitched speech, yet the listener might object to such use of words.

4 BOYS maane *khaauchhi
Boys –att-pleat-pres-prog-*sing

*The boys is eating

In the case of English verbs coming in to denote action outside a phrase or a clause, they are split into a bare form and are suffixed with Odia inflections of tense and aspect. Thus, there are chances that usage may suffer from lack of agreement. In order that the utterance with a single English noun and a single English verb be considered acceptable, the Odia component lending tense, aspect and number should agree as well. Here is an example of a possible and an impossible switch:

5. aama CITY guDaaka EXPAND karuchhanti

    Our city –pl expand do-pres-prog-pl

    Our cities are expanding

6. jete TEACHERS achhanti semaane CRITCISE karuchhi

    -det teachers be-pres-pl they criticise do-pres-*sing

    The teachers, they are *criticizing (Sing.).

The listener might even presume that the speaker has mistakenly said semaane instead of semaananku, thus said them instead of they and ultimately converted the subject to the object. This impossibility is genuine as it has proven that it can give ambiguous meanings if it doesn’t obey concord rules of either ML in single-word switching and EL in case of EL islands as in Phrasal and Clausal switching.
The attributive adjectives in English have a pre-noun position which is of the same order as the ML, are inserted with ease and reduced risk of error. Predicative adjectives on the other hand have a post-verb position in English due to its SVO structure which is in contrast to Odia’s SOV which posits the predicative adjective to a pre-verb location. Formation of predicative adjective by using the participle form of the verb was violated on two occasions when *confuse* and *satisfy* were used without modification.

7.  jau PROGRESS heichhi aame SATISFY achhu

What progress happen-pres-perf we satisfy be-pres-pl

We are satisfied with whatever progress that has happened.

8.  janaasaadharaNa CONFUSE hebe ki naahin

public-nom confuse be-fut or be-neg

Will the public be confused or not?

In spite of such violation, the statement was understood in context and accepted. Other predicative verbs being used in such truncated forms may also be accepted without much demand for accuracy. However, if a proper grammar for codeswitched variety involving a set of SVO and SOV languages is to be formed, such mistakes would not be overlooked. They would be them firmly declared impossible switches.

Adverbs modify adjectives and adverbs and come in the pre-adjective, pre-verb and post-verb positions in a sentence. In Odia they are formed by adding *bhaaba re* (in manner) to adjectives for adverbs of manner. They usually do not appear in post-verb position in
Odia prose. Thus, violation of any of the above rules will result in unacceptable forms of switching. This would affect the meaning of the sentence.

9. se chatura EXCEPTIONALLY achi

he clever *exceptionally be-pres-sing

*He is clever exceptionally.

Though the final sentence looks fine the positioning of the adverb in the Odia ML utterance is against Odia syntax.

10. aapaNa khaauchhanti *HURRIEDLY kaahinki

You-hon eat-pres-prog-hon hurriedly why

Why are you eating hurriedly?

4.3.2.2 Functional Items

Functional items like Prepositions and Pronouns do not have any possibility as single items in a codeswitched sample. Though conjunctions do have extremely rare occurrences, they were seen only in hesitated speech or broken sentences. In other places, they were a part of the bigger phrase. There was only one ‘but’ as a word, but 8 occurrences in phrases and clauses. The use of these is severely restricted as the following examples demonstrate.

1. mun paisa Ta ghara IN chhaaDi ki aasi jaaichhi

I money –det house *in leave-nom –perf come-nom go-1-pres-sing
I have left the money at home and come.

2. HE jaaNini je aame taara MOBILE ku luchei deichhu

*He know-nom-neg we his mobile –acc hide-nom give-pres-perf-pl*

He doesn’t know that we have hidden his mobile.

3. katha kahiba AND kaama kariba re bahut tafaat achhi

talk say-nom *and work do-nom –loc much difference*

There is a lot of difference between saying and doing.

In 1, we see that whether we place the preposition in before or after ghara (house), the result is same: ungrammatical and absurd Odia ML utterance. This cannot me resolved anyway unless we use the EL replacement of house. Other prepositions like of, by, between, from, for etc. have the same results. Thus this closed class item can never deliver acceptable utterance when used as an EL insert in single units.

The use of pronouns in 2 shows that they cannot convey sense or meaning due to their status as a non-meaning word. Though someone may and might have already used such a pronoun, it definitely doesn’t convey the intended meaning of the speaker. Additionally, we see that it might even be mistaken for a mispronounced ML word given its small size and common construction as HE could be taken for the Odia vocative hey.

Conjunctions are possible and acceptable but extremely rare. Use of such elements would be used for attracting attention and not happen unconsciously like the other lexical items. We observed the presence of And, But and Supposing. These were the independently
occurring items which might be the after-effect of a previous utterance which was loaded with EL islands.

4.4 Functional Aspects

4.4.1 Introduction

The previous section, 4.2, dealt with Forms where we analysed the various aspects of Odia-English codeswitching in terms of the syntactic categories like single items, phrases, clauses and semantic switches. This section deals with situations with respect to each category mentioned in the previous section. We shall observe how particular speakers with a definite background choose a particular form. The set of reasons, theirs and the researcher’s, would be tabled for the observer to decide what actually motivated the switch.

4.4.2 Reasons for Switching

The reasons chosen to classify the motivations behind switching code are justified in the section below. The list is prepared on the lines of Hindi-English codeswitching by Malik 1990. They cover a mix of frequent triggers and subconscious machinations. This helps provide the complete picture of the working of a bilingual’s language center in the context of alternating codes. However, they may not receive equal response as all of them are not surface features used consciously.

4.4.2.1 Lack of Facility:

When the Matrix Language does not have an appropriate vocabulary item or expression, the speaker chooses an equivalent from the EL lexicon s/he possesses. It can also be
employed to insert a particular word when the ML item doesn't convey the exact meaning which the speaker intends to dispense.

1. jeun FRANCHISEE AGREEMENT re achhi

Which *franchisee agreement -loc be-pres-sing*

The franchisee agreement it is in.

There might be cultural conditioning of the reason which is reinforced in David's (2003) notion that "an alien concept often has a speaker switch to the language from which the concept is borrowed". A fitting example would be the lack of equivalent of 'underdog' in Odia:

2. aau THEY ALWAYS PORTRAY THE STORY OF THE UNDERDOG jahaki aau kehi jaaNantini

and [(they always portray the story of the underdog)] which-pron else any know-plur-pres-neg

And they always portray the story of the underdog which no one else knows.

4.4.2.2 Inaccessibility to a better expression

When the bilingual speaker is not equally proficient in one of the languages, s/he may select an item from the code that is accessible in terms of providing the expression for the idea. This leads to switching. It is expected in today's young generation that speaks a particular language more in academic circles than a less frequently used language at home or elsewhere. For our case, it was English over Odia.
1. loka khali PILFERAGE karuchhi, THERE IS A, bahut DEFECT achhi

   person simply pilferage do-pres-prog-sing there is a much defect be-sing

   A person simply pilfers. There is a..there are many defects.

In the above example, the speaker uses the term pilferage which is in his lexicon. The Odia equivalent, chhota chori / laghu chori which mean minor theft doesn't seem easy enough to be recalled, nor does it capture the essence of the expression.

In David's (2003) analysis of Malaysian courtroom setting concluded that "a specific terminology be used to refer correctly to an object or character", prompts us to analyse the following codeswitched utterance in context.

2. FRANCHISEE aasiba, OPERATION kaama kariba, COMMERCIAL kaama kariba, TECHNOLOGY aaNiba, taa pare sehi kaama ku EFFICIENCY INCREMENT hele

Here, each English syntactic unit is either a noun, adjective or NP. All these area-specific terms and do not have readily available Odia equivalents. For example, 'franchisee' has no translation. 'Operation' has unusual words like *sanchaaLana* and 'Technology' has a rarely used term *shiLpabigyaan*. 'Commercial' is *baNijyika or byabasAyika*.

It is evident that an average speaker of Odia is not equipped with these equivalent Odia terms and comfortably switches to the available English terms. This proves to be a dominant choice for the survey participants to explain why they switch.
4.4.2.3 Mood of the speaker

Though this factor is not as defendable as the previous two, it still succeeds in providing instances that support it. Extreme moods like being tired and angry makes bilingual's word processor relatively less effective in terms of finding appropriate expressions in the base language (ML). Malik (1994) argues that very often the speaker "knows exactly the word in both the languages (X and Y) but the language Y may be more available at the point of time when the speaker has a disturbed mind". Thus, this triggers a switch to the more available code which may not have taken place had he not been disturbed.

In our corpus, we found the following example to support our claim. The speaker was a faculty member in a department which handled a lot of classes every semester. In an informal discussion, the topic of workload was brought up. After a discussion of about 6-8 minutes, she uttered these words.

1. jete MOUNTING WORKLOAD hauchhi, I AM GETTING PERPLEXED WITH THAT

   as much mounting workload be-pres-perf-sing I am getting perplexed with that

   Given the mounting workload, I am getting perplexed with that.

In the above utterance, the speaker's tiredness is apparent in the words. In addition to that even the second clause which is purely in English has a demonstrative pronoun unsuccessfully mapping to the subordinate clause. Though the attempt was not fruitful in spite of switching to another code, it does show why the speaker tried this. The frustration is evident in this case.
Another such mismatch could be seen in the interview of an actress who was hounded by a criminal. When that painful memory is relived in the studio, incoherence is observed in her speech along with codeswitching.

2. mu* ebe kahili mu seThi ALONE rahibini. I JUST WANTED TO BE ALONE.

I now say-pres-perf-sing I there alone stay-pres-I-neg.

I just wanted to be alone. I just wanted to be alone.

I now said I won't stay there alone. I just wanted to be alone.

Though the speaker had been speaking in English before this for 3-4 sentences, she switched to talk about a really personal aspect. And then, she switched back when there was a trigger i.e. Alone in the ML. The mood can be attributed with having affected the language choice after this. The same can be argued for the two-way switch over the sentences in this response to the interviewer.

4.4.2.4 To amplify (stress) a point

Another use of codeswitching has been to emphasise. According to Gal (1979), a "switch at the end of an argument not only helps to end the interaction but may serve to emphasize a point." She cites many examples from English-German codeswitching data to prove the point. We, however found many instances of incomplete clauses in one code which were immediately rephrased in the switched code:

1. YOU SHOULD UNDER- aaapaNa ta bujhu thibe je goTe jhia ra FATHER ku kemiti laagu thiba
Hope you are able to understand that how a girl’s might be feeling.

Though the speaker had the facility to express her thought in English, she switches to Odia to connect better in this attempt to convince the interlocutor of the validity of the action. The restarting of the sentence indicates the need for emphasis for which she switched to a code where she is more comfortable discussing finer emotions. This use of switching is seen again in instances as:

2. I JUST WANTED TO BE ALONE. mote kaha sahita katha heba ra ichha na thila.

I just wanted to be alone. I had no wish to talk to anyone.

She reiterates her need for privacy by switching from English to Odia that also marks the end of her reply. Such conclusive remarks when made in mother tongue indicates the emphasis desired. This may be contested due to its status of being an example from the Inter-sentential corpus. But, that doesn't affect the validity and reason behind a person's need to switch in order to stress one's point. To re-inforce this case, the following case may be considered too:

3. I AM WRITING mu.n mora bahi lekhu.chhi.

I am writing I I-gen book write-1-pres-prog
I am writing. I am writing my book.

4.4.2.5 Habitual expression

In cases involving use of fixed phrases for parting and greeting, invitations, requests and commands, expressions of discourse markers or gratitude, there is a high possibility of codeswitching. Expressions like OK, Thank you and Hello/Bye have come to dominate the repertoire of most educated people, barring situations of unequal social status.

Even short commands are switched as in Hoffman's (1971) study of Puerto Rican mothers warning their kids in English with 'Don’t do that' and continuing further in Spanish. In our case, our corpus yielded plenty of habitual expressions like interjections. These were more than just switched elements: they even acted as triggers. In the examples below, the use of the interjection OK gave two distinct outputs on two occasions:

1 OK OK puNi aasibu aapaNa paakhaku

OK OK again come-pl-fut you-hon near-acc

OK OK We would come again to you

2 OK ramkrushNa panDa CONSUMER POINT OF VIEW ru kaNa asubidha heuchhi

OK ramkrushna panDa consumer point of view-abl what problem happen-pres-sing

OK ramkrushna panDa what problems happen from the consumer's point of view?
In the first case, the same interjection spared the rest of the utterance and allowed it to be
carried further in Odia. However, in spite of being interfered by an EL-natured proper
noun, there was an English NP in the second case of use of OK. We observe that habitual
expressions are manifestation of a comfort zone which has reserved utterances from a
particular code and uses it irrespective of the ML.

4.4.2.6 Significance of Meaning
on the notion that a significant amount of information is conveyed by switching at a
given moment. It can be called a communicative resource that develops on the
perceptions of the two separate codes by the participant. Meaning is conveyed through
Lexical choice.

This view is reinforced by Gal (1979) who says that “listeners interpret codeswitching as
an indicator of the speaker’s attitude, or communicative intents and emotions as
codeswitching is a tool for conveying appropriate linguistic and social information.” This
is reused by David (2003) who categorises speech acts as directives, requests, warnings
and reprimands. He suggests that these meanings are conveyed “using different intricate
strategies to show the semantic significance in certain specific situations.”

A indicative example is the rephrasing of an Odia utterance in English to highlight the
significance of adverb that modifies the duty allotted to the topic, Investigating agency.
The need rose, perhaps, due to the insufficiency of 'thik bhaaba re' which may not have
captured the semantic importance of the role being adopted by the verb 'kaama na
karanti’. Additionally, to complete the image created by the subject in EL, a lexical item in the same code was deemed preferable by the speaker. As we see:

1. INVESTIGATING AGENCY Thik bhaabare APPROPRIATELY kaama na karanti

investigating agency appropriate manner-loc appropriately work -neg do-pres-plur

Investigating agencies do not work appropriately.

4.4.2.7 To identify with a group

Expressing solidarity with a group pre-empt some strategy at linguistic level too. We would adopt the register of the intended group to convey a sense of affiliation, apart from non-linguistic and paralinguistic signs such as dress and body language. Relevant in this case is Di Pietro’s (1977) observation “that Italian immigrants would tell a joke in English and give the punch line in Italian, not only because it was better said in Italian but also to stress the fact that they all belong to the same minority group, with shared values and experiences”. Muthuswamy (2007).

1 I GOT TO MEET SO MANY JOURNALISTS AND I HAVE EXTREME RESPECT FOR THEM. THE WAY THEY PORTRAY THINGS, THE RESPONSIBILITY THEY TAKE.

aau THEY ALWAYS PORTRAY THE STORY OF THE UNDERDOG jaha ki aau kehi jaaNantini kintu semaane upara ku aaNanti.
and they always portray the story of the underdog which no one else knows, but they bring it up.

The interviewee who is much comfortable in English for most of her discourse, finally switches to Odia to identify with the vernacular populace who she is impressed by. It may be argued that the trigger has already been struck with aau, yet the punch line was delivered in Odia which is the mother tongue for the intended group of which the interviewer is a member.

4.4.2.8 To address a different audience

When the audience consists of members from different linguistic backgrounds, the speaker might switch to accommodate someone who might be left out due to use of a particular code. Many television presenters switch code after starting their address in the national language, Hindi or the regional tongue Odia in its original form. In the welcome address itself, the presenter uses greetings from different languages to appeal to the kinds of language groups that might be listening.

In the example below, the interviewee had been talking in English for a few sentences before being interrupted by the other person who is hosting an Odia language talk show. He starts with the ML of the interviewee before him, but switches back to the language that would fit the nature of the programme. Even when he borrows the term 'journalist' from her last sentence, he switches to give the Odia alternative 'saambadik' to include the other audience which is bigger and may not comprehend the term.
1. I HAVE EXTREME /// RESPECT FOR JOURNALISTS

AND aapaNa aapaNa JOURNALIST saambadik heba paai* chaahi*be?

*and you-hon you-hon journalist journalist be-nom for wish-fut-hon

And you would like to be a journalist?

He even hesitates to use the word 'journalist' repeating the address you-hon. Such examples prove that this is also a factor when there are audiences other than the direct interlocutor for the speaker to switch. The chances increases with the size of audience and its linguistic diversity. It may be absent too in case of a monolingual audience.

4.4.2.9 Pragmatic Reasons

Switching is understood to indicate varying levels of speaker's involvement. Like Gumperz (1970) reports on a conversation between a social worker, M, and a faculty member, E. They are discussing quitting smoking.

1. “An-An-an, they tell me, how did you quit, Mary. I didn’t quit. I just stopped – I just stopped. I mean that it wasn’t an effort that I made.”

“Que voy a dejar de fumar porque me hace dano this or that, uh-uh.”

“…that I’m going to stop smoking because it’s harmful to me, this or that, uh-uh”

It thus gives more importance to a particular section which carries more content and meaning. Thus, in conversational context it is highly meaningful to alter between two languages. In another sample from our corpus, we see the speaker getting less involved, almost surrendering, after switching from her dominant code, English.
2. BUT, AT TIMES, mun na jaithile bhala hoithanta

[(But, at times) I -neg go-perf good have be-perf]

But, at times, if I had not gone, it would have been better.

In response to the query, if she regretted her decision of going to a particular place, she admits. The language she chooses to admit shows the pragmatic significance of that utterance.

4.4.2.10 To Attract Attention

Attracting attention is a major focus of advertisers and marketers who employ selective language use to draw customers. Malik (1994) demonstrates the alternating use of English and Hindi in advertisements in both formats of communication, written and spoken. We also observe the surge in attention when a reader or viewer finds a lexical item from another code in a newspaper or television programme using a particular code.

1. LAST COMMENT srijukta asok saamal

Last comment mister asok saamal

Last comment from Mr. Ashok Samal

The use of this EL phrase in an ongoing discussion in ML indicates the need for the secondary speakers to stop conversing and allow Mr. Ashok Samal to contribute. This unusual use of EL by the host who had been continuing in ML signifies the importance of his requests which might not have been heeded. Alternatively, he wants to minimise noise in the transition from many speakers to one.
These were a few broad reasons for bilingual to switch inside conversation. Examples were primarily from our corpus, though some classic samples were also mentioned. Many of these took place without the express knowledge of the speaker/s and may not figure in the responses due to their subconscious nature. However, to have an idea about the self-perception and assessment of the bilinguals who switch, we put them in the questionnaire for the respondents to know and if applicable select.

4.4.3 Participants’ Profile

A. The Anchor

The Anchor in both the sources of recordings was Mr Manoranjan Mishra, a fluent bilingual in both the languages, Odia and English. He speaks in Odia during the programmes primarily because the channel and the programme are in the regional language. However at times, he does use interjections from English and also starts with an English word, in case the last part of the previous utterance was in English. In his interview with Leslie Tripathy, due to heavy codeswitching by her, Mishra does use English verbs and nouns at times. However, rarely did he go beyond word-level switching.

B. Participants Profile in Survey

A close analysis of the linguistic backgrounds of the participants is of utmost importance in identifying and explaining trends regarding codeswitching. Codeswitching cannot be studied as a homogeneous concept across different linguistic groups. “Ethnographic work allows us to uncover community-specific details that contribute largely to the practical significance of codeswitching. Not all that happens in communication is negotiable; some of it is already established before the actual communicative event begins, and this varies
according to the social structure of the community, and can hence only be inductively
determined on the basis of ethnographic observation” (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994).

Some of the variables influencing the codeswitching patterns are: family background,
pressure from parents to use a particular language, quality of education, personal habit
and peer group behaviour. There are some factors beyond the reach of these participants.
In Odisha, attaining a command over the English language is equated with ultimate
power relations. “English, as cultural capital, is not equally distributed among the
population, and a form of elite closure regulates ultimate learning and access to the
language.” (Casas, 2008: 135)

This chapter attempts to further investigate the various factors that are responsible for
rewriting linguistic identities and codes across Odisha. Identifying and examining
similarities and differences in the behavioral pattern of the forty participants in this study
will further strengthen the cause of the research. This will enable the identification of the
major factors responsible for codeswitching patterns in Odisha.

To discover the social meaning of style, it is often necessary to carry out “ethnographic
investigation to uncover groups that may seem homogeneous through a wider analytic
lens, but become sharply differentiated when ethnographic details are brought into close
focus” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 597). “A closer look at participants’ linguistic
formation and their views on language learning reveals the intricate social dynamics that
underlie the codeswitching style present in interactions.” (Casas, 2008: 148).

The following table illustrates the background information about the participants. This
will help us in identifying their codeswitching practices and the factors influencing them.
The categories identify the participants’ exposure to English and how codeswitching comes into the framework of their daily linguistic activities.

Table 1: Profile of Participants of Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational Qualification</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Aware of codeswitching</th>
<th>Unaware of codeswitching</th>
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Source: Own Computed Database, 2010

NB: (UG-Under graduate student, HS- High school student, Grad- Graduate, PG- Post graduate student, PG+ - Post graduate completed).

4.4.3.2 Students and Professionals

All the participants of this study come from an English medium background. In Odisha, there is limited opportunity to converse in English. Hence, the school played a crucial role in developing their efficiency in English. As this research primarily takes into account the perspective of the youth who are the actively switching category, the participants were categorized into two broad categories. Twenty were students and the rest were professionals. This is a tabular representation of the responses from the survey participants.
Table 2: Reasons for codeswitching (Based on Malik, 1994)

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R1: Unavailability of the expression in Language : 8 Options

R2: Unavailability of a better expression with the speaker : 31 Options

R3: Mood of the speaker: 6 Options

R4: To amplify (stress) a point : 7 Options

R5: Habitual expression: 4 Options

R6: Significance of Meaning: 0 Options

R7: To identify with a group: 2 Options

R8: To address a different audience: 0 Options

R9: Pragmatic Reasons : 0 Options

R10: To attract attention : 4 Options

Source: Self-conducted Survey, 2011
4.4.4 Survey & Interview analysis
4.4.4.1 Awareness about Switching

From the response seen in the table, it could be said that the presumption that the common bilingual on the street may not venture into the psycholinguistic reasons behind changing of languages. The surface mechanics which are in plain view were chosen heavily by the respondents. This too was expected as the participants were asked a question that sought an explanation for a process that starts in meta-language and grows into an utterance. Quite understandably, they are not expected to figure all these out by themselves.

Only eight of the forty respondents replied in the affirmative that they could monitor their or their interlocutor’s codeswitching. They also admitted that they sometimes consciously employed elements from another language to achieve a particular motive. However, they stopped short of admitting that they codeswitched even when it was not required. These were also the respondents who gave more than one reason for codeswitching.

The first reason received affirmation from twenty percent of the respondents. They confirmed that their ML did not have a translation for the switched item in EL. Many of these were borrowings which has been discussed in detail earlier. However, the technology savvy generation uses a lot of new concept words which are yet to be translated or given an approximate expression in local languages.

The second reason suggested, that is, Lack of a better expression had the support of thirty one respondents most of whom were students. This was coupled with the admission that there were equivalent terms and expressions in the ML, yet they did not recollect in time
to speak it or insert it fluently. Hence, they resorted to the expression in EL. Moreover, it impressed more on the lack of the bilingual speaker’s fluency that it did on the distance between the expression and the intention.

4.4.4.2 Attitude towards Switching

Almost all the participants in this research talked about emerging patterns regarding the presence of English in Odia linguistic sphere. All the participants were born in the eighties or nineties. Unlike their predecessors, they had exposure to English from an early age. For example, Bharati, (R6, 28) mentions that with each passing day English is invading the Odia language scene with renewed vigour and scope.

With the advent of internet and television, children are exposed to the western culture from an early age. She thinks that her ancestors were more exposed to the Indian traditions. This created their Odia and Indian identities. But the present and future generation will surely identify more with the Western culture. This will change the linguistic scenario too as bilingualism will become the norm of the day.

The western influence is strongly disseminated through the medium of media and information technology. These participants had access to computers as students and internet revolution was the talking point of the society. They have grown up accustomed to the IT revolution. At least 20 participants mentioned IT revolution as the primary force behind their comfort level with English.

A participant Sunayana refers to Odisha’s colonial history to describe the rising influence of English. Hindi always had an influence on the Odia youngsters especially due to the continuing popularity of Hindi cinema in the state. English has been for all purpose an
Indian language since the days of the British. Hence, the most significant legacy of technological advancement in the sphere of English language education can be felt in the rising popularity of English among children from all social classes.

The main reason behind this is that children nowadays are exposed to English via video games, computers, internet, social networking sites and television. A major portion of the research on bilingualism in Odisha focuses on the lack of proficiency in English among students of the government run schools. However, the situation is rapidly changing due to the state government’s continuous efforts to facilitate computers in regional state run schools.

After the Facebook and Twitter revolutions, students have become more inquisitive about the language of such popular and fun activities. This trend has given them an additional motivation and incentive to master the global language called English. During the course of the researcher’s research, he spoke with several government schoolteachers of English who asserted that technology did play a significant role in fascinating their students to adopt a particular language. However, this topic falls out of the scope of this research work.

4.4.4.3 Degree of Acceptance

One cannot be too sure to infer that Odia people have now accepted English as a neutral language and that Odia-English bilingualism has become a smooth process for Odias. To answer this question, a lot of research needs to be conducted. Then we can ascertain if a change toward English language will impact bilingualism in the state. At present, results of bilingualism in the state have been mixed.
One of the oldest participants, Anurag (30), a software professional, believes that the settings in our schools have become more and more conducive to codeswitching. He points out that during his childhood, despite his English medium background, the attitude of his neighbours and family towards English was different. There are indications of change and English is becoming more and more acceptable to the Odia household now.

The data supports the hypothesis of an age-wise transformation in terms of codeswitching. Almost all the participants agree that the present generation has more and more access to English language and is greatly influenced by it. They have also started to identify more and more with diverse linguistic groups. They, thus, have developed a new linguistic identity. All participants made observations that led the researcher to conclude that English and codeswitching have become more and more active in everyday talk among Odias.

4.5 Conclusion of Analysis

From the exhaustive analysis of the codeswitching data and the survey to find out the functional and formal features of Odia-English codeswitching, the following points can be summarized:

4.5.1 Formal

We analysed the linguistic data in purview of the MLF model. To summarize our findings, it is preferable to restate the basic arguments:

(i) The MLF model sees codeswitching utterances emerging in two ways:
A: ‘For ML + EL constituents, codeswitching configurations arise through an insertion process.

B: EL islands arise when there is a switching of procedures from those of ML to EL.’

(ii) ‘Just as other naturally occurring linguistic data, codeswitching is governed by structural principles of well-formedness; that is, possible combinations can be predicted.’


**Mapping MLF Model to Odia-English Codeswitching data:**

(i) A. It was observed that the patterns of switching are very much regular and follow established rules of the Matrix Language Framework. The word switches are ample evidence of the insertion process in play for ML + EL constituents.

(i) B: When phrase and clause level switching took place and EL islands emerged, they signalled the switching of procedures as well. These islands were governed by the affiliation they carried, either to EL or ML.

(ii) The prediction of switch spots worked most of the times to give utterances which obeyed the grammatical rules of the Matrix Language (ML). When they did not follow the norms, we found that there was incoherence in meaning as well. The context helped understand the utterance which would otherwise have been considered an error.

(iii) The strong base of the linguistic analysis has not led the researcher to believe that switching took place purely on structural lines and had no socio or psycho-linguistic
roots. On the contrary, there was an even analysis incorporating the responses received as a part of the survey-interview of the frequently switching bilingual community to separately investigate the reasons behind switching.

This however necessitated the use of the linguistic samples to prove the claims and support the reasons suggested by previous researchers in a similar cultural context, that is, Malik and Gumperz. The designation of ML to either English or Odia was on the ‘prevailing psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors which will be specific to each community. .. the performance of codeswitching need not be the same everywhere.’ Myers-Scotton (1995).

4.5.2 Functional

The social and psychological motivations as conceptualized separately from the linguistic factors were listed and investigated by referring to the Odia-English corpus secured by the researcher. The list of ten reasons found matching samples to substantiate its presence in the list and were backed up by classic examples. Only one format of such motivations was employed to achieve consistency and reduce repetitive analysis.

The responses from the bilinguals on the choice of reasons by the bilingual community gave a mixed result. They were overwhelmingly of the opinion that they switch due to unavailability of the right word in their lexicon and not the language’s. This reason prompts us to believe that though an ideal bilingual has considerable fluency in two languages, s/he might not have the same degree of competence in both. The code which s/he lacks in would require him to switch.
Other major reasons include Unavailability of the desired expression in the matrix language which found favour with eight respondents. Six-seven votes went for the explanation that switching is either caused by the mood of the speaker and the need to stress upon a point. Four votes each were devoted to suggesting that habitual expression and attracting attention causes the speaker to switch. There were no takers for the reasons accounting switching on the basis of subconscious features like Significance of meaning and pragmatics. Addressing a different audience was not appreciated as well. The reasons for which might be the individual conversations these respondents involve in; instead of the stage presentation which needs such strategies.

Summary of Responses by 40 participants in a survey to gauge individual perceptions of bilingual speakers.

R1: Unavailability of the expression in Language : 8 Options
R2: Unavailability of a better expression with the speaker : 31 Options
R3: Mood of the speaker: 6 Options
R4: To amplify (stress) a point : 7 Options
R5: Habitual expression: 4 Options
R6: Significance of Meaning: 0 Options
R7: To identify with a group: 2 Options
R8: To address a different audience: 0 Options
R9: Pragmatic Reasons : 0 Options
R10: To attract attention : 4 Options

Source: Survey, 2011