Motivations Behind Code-switching

Among Kuwaiti Bilingual Schools' Students

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TRASNLITERATION SYSTEM

For this study, I have followed the transliteration system used in Arabic dialectology. Below is a table illustrating the transliteration symbols used in this thesis.

Manner of Articulation		Place of Articulation									
		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental-Alveolar	Dental-alveolar-Pharyngealised	Palato-Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	Vl				*t*	*ṭ*	*č*	*k*	*q*		ʼ
	Vd	*b*			*d*	*ḍ*	*ž*	*g*			
Fricative	Vl		*f*	*θ*	*s*	*ṣ*	*š*	*x*		*ḥ*	*h*
	Vd		*v*	*ð*	*z*	*ḍ̣*		*ġ*		*ʕ*	
Nasal	Vl										
	Vd	*m*			*n*						
Lateral	Vl										
	Vd				*l*						
Trill	Vl										
	Vd				*r*						
Approximant	Vl										
	Vd	*w*					*y*				

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A: Arabic
CA: Conversational Analysis
CS: Code-switching
DA: Discourse Analysis
E: English
I: Interviewer (researcher)
IPA: International Phonetic Alphabets
KMA: Kuwaiti Modern Arabic
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
MLF: Matrix Language Framework
RO: Rights and Obligations
S1, S2, S3: First student, second student, third student in the conversation

1: First person
2: Second person
3: Third person
AUX: Auxiliary verb
CONJ: Conjunction
DEF: Definite article
DEM: Demonstrstive pronoun
DM: discourse marker
EXIST: Existential
F: Feminine
FUT: Future
IMP: Imperative
INDFF: Indefinite article
LOC: Local preposition
M: Masculine
NEG: Negation
PART: Participle
PASS: Passive
PST: Simple past (perfective)
PL: Plural
POSS: Possessive
PRO: Pronoun
PROG: Progressive (continuous)
Q: Question word
QUAN: Quantitative
REL: Relative pronoun
SG: Singular

LIST OF SYMBOLS

[ ] Speaker overlap

... Silence

(?) Unrecognisable stretch of talk

CAPS Relatively stressed by loudness

italics Kuwaiti Arabic

ABSTRACT

Code-switching is a language-contact phenomenon in which the juxtaposition of languages is intentional and purposeful. The Kuwaiti speech community has a distinctive code-switching mechanism because of the unique sociolinguistic and cultural setting; as they code-switch to English even though they are neither an immigrant community nor are/were colonised by an English speaking country. In Kuwait, code-switching between Kuwaiti Arabic and English is very common among the youth, even though English is considered to be a foreign language. It is observed that the code-switching behaviour of Kuwaiti bilinguals attending bilingual/multilingual schools differs from that of those attending monolingual schools.

In this thesis, an ethnographic study has been conducted to corroborate this observation. Both bilingual/multilingual school students and bilingual students attending monolingual schools were interviewed in order to identify the motivations behind their code-switching behaviour. The interviews were analysed sequentially by adopting the conversational analysis framework. The sequential approach (Auer 1984) focuses on a turn-by-turn participant-oriented analysis (Li Wei 1994) to seek answers to the questions of how and why bilingual speakers code-switch. Here, the different code-switching behaviours of these young Kuwaitis were investigated in an attempt to analyse the conversational functions behind them.

Without exception, bilinguals in monolingual schools preferred conversing in Kuwaiti Arabic with a few one-word English insertions here and there, even though free language choice was emphasised at the beginning of each conversation. On the other hand, the language choice of bilingual school students varied from choosing Kuwaiti Arabic or English as the language of conversation to code-switching between the two languages on a continuous basis. Code-switching ranged from English insertions into Kuwaiti Arabic speech or Kuwaiti Arabic insertions into English speech to alternating between the two languages. In addition to the different code-switching styles, various conversational functions behind code-switching were also recognised. In this thesis, code-switching was treated as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz 1982), highlighting the pragmatic functions and contributing to an understanding of the intended meaning. At least five motivations behind code-switching among bilingual school students were identified in our corpus: accommodation, repair, contrastiveness, filling linguistic gaps, and floor holding, among others.

DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, my dearest husband, my son Ali, my unborn baby, my three sisters, my best friend Dana and my cousin Essra' R.I.P.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter will lay out the aim of this study, followed by an overview of the demographics of Kuwait where the current study takes place including geographic, ethnic, religious and educational information. The geographic and demographic information of Kuwait will guide the reader in visualising the present state of the Kuwaiti speech community. Then, the problem that this study will address is identified, followed by a brief review of the literature on code-switching. This will be followed by an overview of the organisation of the thesis.

1.1. Aim and significance of this study

From our observations and search on the language contact phenomenon of code-switching worldwide, it was noticed that the Kuwaiti speech community has a distinct sociolinguistic setting that led to the phenomenon of code-switching. In other words, code-switching among the Kuwaitis is neither motivated by immigration nor by colonisation, which is the case of many studies on code-switching. This distinct case of the code-switching behaviour is rather motivated by their economic power, prosper, prestige and globalisation. Therefore, investigating the phenomenon of code-switching in the Kuwaiti speech community would add to the existing studies of code-switching but in a different cultural setting and would also enable us to discover the similarities and differences of the functions of code-switching between the different settings.

In addition to that, Kuwaiti youth tend to code-switch from Arabic to English rather frequently. Also, it is noticed that Kuwaiti bilingual school students prefer speaking in English over Kuwaiti Arabic. These two general observations have conjured up the need to

investigate the motivations behind this language behaviour. It is generally assumed among the Kuwaiti speech community that this behaviour stems from lack of knowledge of Kuwaiti Arabic resulted from their preference of English over Kuwaiti Arabic. In other words, the claim here is that due to the fact that Kuwaiti bilingual students are exposed to the English language on a daily basis as it is the language of communication at school, which has led to knowledge deficiency in Kuwaiti Arabic, hence the frequent code-switching to English. In this regard, this study is aimed at identifying the motivations behind such code-switching and whether participant-related factors such as language deficiency and preference are the main reasons behind it.

This study focuses on the questions of how and why Kuwaiti youth code-switch between Kuwaiti Arabic and English. The aim is to analyse the functions of each instance of code-switching and how it affects the interpretation of the utterance and relationships among the participants by using academic conversational analytic approaches, rather than making generalisations about the motivations behind such bilingual behaviour that are based on observations only. It is proposed here that code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual school students has a conversational function which influences the intended meaning of the utterance. We will argue that code-switching among bilingual school students is meaningful and purposeful, and contributes to the organisation of turns and to the intended meaning of the utterance. In addition to filling linguistic gaps, code-switching highlights the pragmatic functions by creating a boundary between two verbal activities. Code-switching will be considered as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz 1982) that guides participants to the intended interpretation. In addition, we will explain how conversational analysis is the most convenient method for analysing the functions of code-switching. A turn-by-turn analysis offers a participant-oriented interpretation rather than an analyst-oriented one.

1.2 Geography and demographics of Kuwait

1.2.1 Geography

As a Middle Eastern country, Kuwait is situated in the north-western section of the Arabian Gulf (a.k.a. Persian Gulf) and shares boundaries with Iraq from the north and Saudi Arabia from the west and south. Kuwait is a relatively small country with a total land area of 17,820 square kilometres.

The State of Kuwait is divided into six governorates: Al-Asima (*l-ʕāṣima*) which is known in English as Kuwait City and is the capital of Kuwait, Al-Ahmadi (*l-aḥmədi*), Al-Farwaniya (*əl-farawāniyya*), Hawally (*ḥawally*), Mubarak Al-Kabir (*mbārak l-kabīr*), and Al-Jahra (*l-žahra*) (see Figure 1). Al-Asima and Hawally were the two original governorates. In the late 1940's, other governorates were created. Before the formation of these governorates, Kuwait was divided into four areas: Qibla (*žibla*), Sharq (*šarg*), Al- Murgab *(l-murgāb)*, and Al-Wista (*l-wəṣṭa*). The ruling family of Al-Subah (*əṣ-ṣubāḥ*), along with families whose descendants hailed from Saudi Arabia and Iran, resided in Sharq; while in Qibla and Al-Wista, most of the inhabitants were families that descended from Najd. Al-Murgab, on the other hand, was considered the poorest area where Bedouins and expatriates settled (Al-Qenaie 2011).

1.2.2 Population and ethnicity

The population of Kuwait is estimated at 3,697,292, of whom 1,183,185 are Kuwaitis and 2,514,107 are non-Kuwaitis according to the 2011 PACI statistics (see Table 1.1 on the nationality and gender distribution of population according to governorates in 2011). Kuwaitis descend from four ethnic origins: Saudi, Iranian, Iraqi, and Bahraini. Non-Kuwaiti residents comprise Arabs, South Asians, and East Asians (with Indians as the largest

expatriate community). About 4% of the population are stateless Arabs known as Bidoun (*bədūn*).

1.2.3 Religions

The majority of Kuwaiti nationals and residents are Muslims (Sunni and Shiite), with Christians making up 15%, while the rest are either Hindus, Buddhists or Sikhs.

1.2.4   Language and literacy

1.2.4.1 Language

Kuwaiti Arabic is one of the Arabic dialects that are spoken throughout the Arabian/Persian Gulf region; it is also known as *xalīži* 'Khaleeji/Khaliji' Arabic, which is spoken more specifically in the Arabian Peninsula. The Gulf dialects of Arabic share several characteristics that render them similar to each other, especially in morphology and syntax. However, what make them distinguishable are their unique phonological systems and lexicons which differ from one dialect to another. Kuwaiti Arabic has been influenced by other languages such as Persian, English, Italian, Urdu, Turkish, and others. It is not surprising therefore that Kuwaiti Arabic shares certain characteristics with those languages while Standard Arabic does not.

In addition to the effect of those languages, Kuwaiti Arabic was also influenced by the surrounding dialects such as the Iraqi dialect of Arabic and the Najdi dialect. Kuwaiti Arabic comprises two major dialects: the Hadari 'modern' or 'contemporary' dialect (pronounced *ḥẓəri* in Kuwaiti Arabic), and the Bedouin dialect. The Bedouin dialect differs from the Hadari dialect in phonology and in some lexical items which have originally been borrowed from Najdi Arabic of Saudi Arabia. This is due to the fact that many of Kuwait's population are originally from Najd and other cities in Saudi Arabia. Over time, a dialectical

shift from Bedouin to Hadari occurred, even though some families chose to keep their Bedouin tongue. In this study, we shall focus on the Hadari dialect of Kuwaiti Arabic. In the following, the characteristics of Kuwaiti Arabic, based on the data collection questionnaire, will now be outlined.

As mentioned earlier, Kuwaiti Arabic has come under the influence of other languages and dialects. This is partly the result of Kuwait's strategic location, i.e. overlooking the northern side of the Arabian Gulf (a.k.a. Persian Gulf) which connects countries in the south such as Iran and India to the Levant and Turkey, and then further afield to Europe. This was a hub of trade that connected the south with the north, east with the west. Hence, Kuwaiti Arabic was in contact with several languages and dialects, from which it borrowed a number of lexical items. These lexical items are mostly proper nouns such as names of people, places, technological products, etc. See here Al-Sabaan (2002) and Muhammad (2009) for Kuwaiti loanwords and their origins.

In addition to the influence from other languages, Standard Arabic (MSA), with its high variety as used in writing, teaching, news, documentaries and cartoons, is also affecting Kuwaiti Arabic's lexicon since the former is considered as the language of education. For example, twenty years ago, the word *kərfāyah* 'bed', which is originally a loanword from Hindi, was rather common; nowadays, it has been replaced by the word *sərīr* (pronounced *sarīr* in MSA) because it sounds more educated. This has resulted in the fact that the word *kərfāyah* is heard more often among the older generation who happen to be less educated than the younger one.

From observations, Kuwaiti loanwords that are being replaced by MSA terms are not of English, Italian or French origins since those languages are considered prestigious in relation to MSA. The words that are being replaced tend to come from languages with less

prestige than MSA. To prove this hypothesis, further investigation is needed on the origin of Kuwaiti loanwords that have undergone a language shift in relation to MSA.

A list of Kuwaiti Arabic lexical items is provided in appendix I. These Lexical items were recorded using the Arabic data collection questionnaire, in which the researcher asked the participants to produce an equivalent in Kuwaiti Arabic of English lexical items and phrases s/he heard. This questionnaire is based on Behnstedt and Woidich's Word Atlas of Arabic Dialects / *Wortlas der Arabischen Dialekte* (2011).

The consonants of Kuwaiti Arabic are the same as the twenty nine consonants of MSA, with the addition of /g/, /č/ and /v/. The first (/g/) is found in loanwords and as a realisation of /q/ (other realisations are /ž/ and rarely /k/). /č/ is a realisation of /k/ and also found in loanwords. /v/ was borrowed from English, and thus occurs solely in English loanwords. The phoneme /v/ is often mispronounced as /f/ among those with less fluency in English, for as mentioned above, /v/ is not a phoneme of MSA. For example, they would pronounce the word 'video' as *fīdyu* instead of *vīdyu*. Lexical items containing the alveolar stop /ḍ/ are often pronounced by Kuwaiti Arabic speakers as the dental/alveolar fricative /ḏ̣/, meaning that the distinction between "minimal pairs such as *ḥaḏ̣īḏ̣* 'lucky' and *ḥaḍīḍ* 'bottom/base' [is] no longer maintained" (Al-Qenaie 2011:179). The vowel inventory of Kuwaiti Arabic consists of the same six vowels in the MSA vowel inventory in addition to (o, ō, e, ē, ǝ). Six of these eleven vowels are short (i, e, u, o, a, ǝ), and five are long (ī, ē, ū, ō, ā).

1.2.4.2 Literacy

The Kuwaiti society is a monolingual diglossic society that uses Classical Arabic (very high variety) in religious contexts such as daily prayers and religious lectures. Modern Standard Arabic or MSA (high variety) is used in writing, teaching, and broadcasting. In public monolingual schools, all subjects (excluding English) are taught in MSA and the textbooks are written in MSA, too. The Kuwaiti dialect (low variety) is spoken at work, in the

media and is rarely found in written forms like cultural proverbs and national poetry. In the media, there is sometimes a mix of both MSA and Kuwaiti dialect to give a more formal tone to speech as in political talk-shows.

A more vernacular variety of the Kuwaiti dialect is used at home and among friends. Kuwaiti Arabic is spoken in two dialects: Kuwaiti Modern dialect spoken by Hadar (ḥaḍar) and Bedouin dialect spoken by Bedouins. Both Hadar and Bedouins reside throughout Kuwait, with some areas having Bedouin concentration such as Al-Jahra, Al-Ahmadi and Al-Farwaniya where the Bedouin dialect is widely spoken (see Figures 2, 3, 4).

English is spoken by and among various non-Arab residents and is also spoken by Kuwaitis and Arabs when communicating with non-Arabs. After the first oil export from Kuwait in 1945, Kuwaitis' lifestyle changed dramatically, such that common jobs such as pearl diving became a hobby rather than a job especially after Japan started pearl farming. The oil discovery provided various new jobs for nationals as well as immigrants, in addition to the European (mostly British and French) excavators. This led to contacts between several languages/dialects and the Kuwaiti dialect. Literacy in Kuwait now stands at 93%; the remaining illiterate 7% comprise 6% who are over the age of 70 and 1% consisting of housewives who got married at an early age and spent their lives taking care of their families and doing house chores (Al-Sabʿan 2002:60-65).

Learning English has become essential in order to be able to connect with the rest of the world. Indeed, English has become the lingua franca in many fields such as education, business, medicine, technology, among others. Hence, in Kuwait, English is taught as a foreign language in public schools and as a second language in bilingual ones. Even pre-school children are found to have used some English already due to the media. In the 1990s, intra-sentential code-switching from Arabic to English became a phenomenon in Kuwaiti

society. Kuwaitis had started not only to replace technical Arabic words with their English equivalent but other non-technical words as well.

Governorate	Kuwaiti			Non-Kuwaiti			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Al-Asima	110423	116527	226950	169157	114398	283555	279580	230925	510505
Hawally	99754	102683	202437	341495	254448	595943	441249	357131	798380
Al-Ahmədi	12321	125690	248905	334423	132448	466871	457638	258138	715776
Al-Jahra	73333	77287	150620	188304	126936	315240	261637	204223	465860
Al-Farwaniyya	105806	111092	216898	553450	203213	756663	659256	314305	973561
Mubarak Al-Kabir	67816	69159	136975	51230	39382	90612	119046	108541	227587
Not specified	212	188	400	3075	2148	5223	3287	2336	5623
Total	580559	602626	1183185	1641134	872973	2514107	2221693	1475599	3697292

Table 1.1 Nationality and gender distribution of population according to governorates in 2011

by PACI

Governorates:

☐ Al-Jahra ☐ Al-Farwanya ☐ Al-Asima ☐ Hawally ☐ Mubarak Al-Kabir

☐ Al-Ahmadi

Figure 1: Governorates of Kuwait
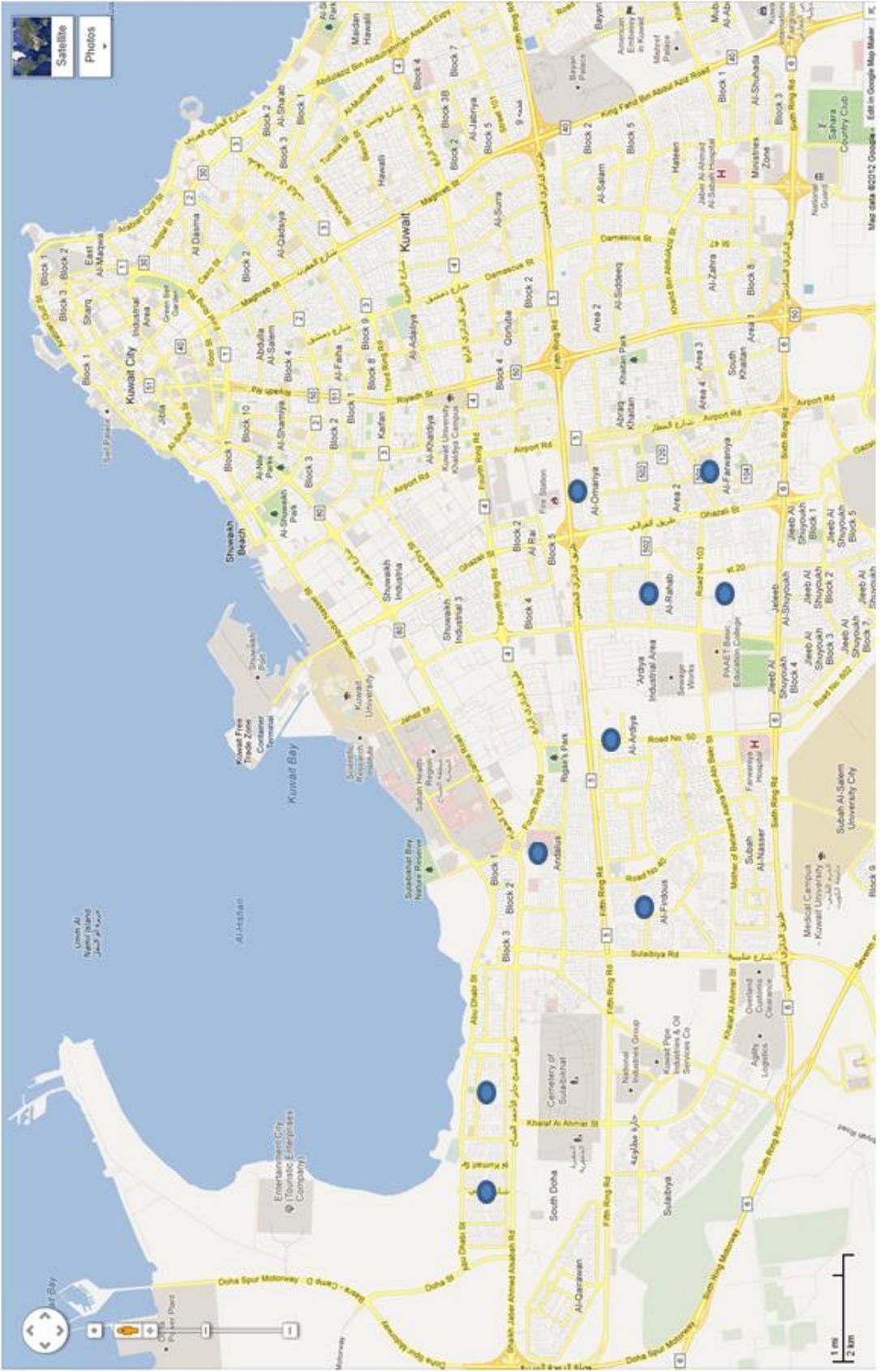
Figure **2**

● Areas of Bedouin concentration near the centre of Kuwait (Kuwait City)
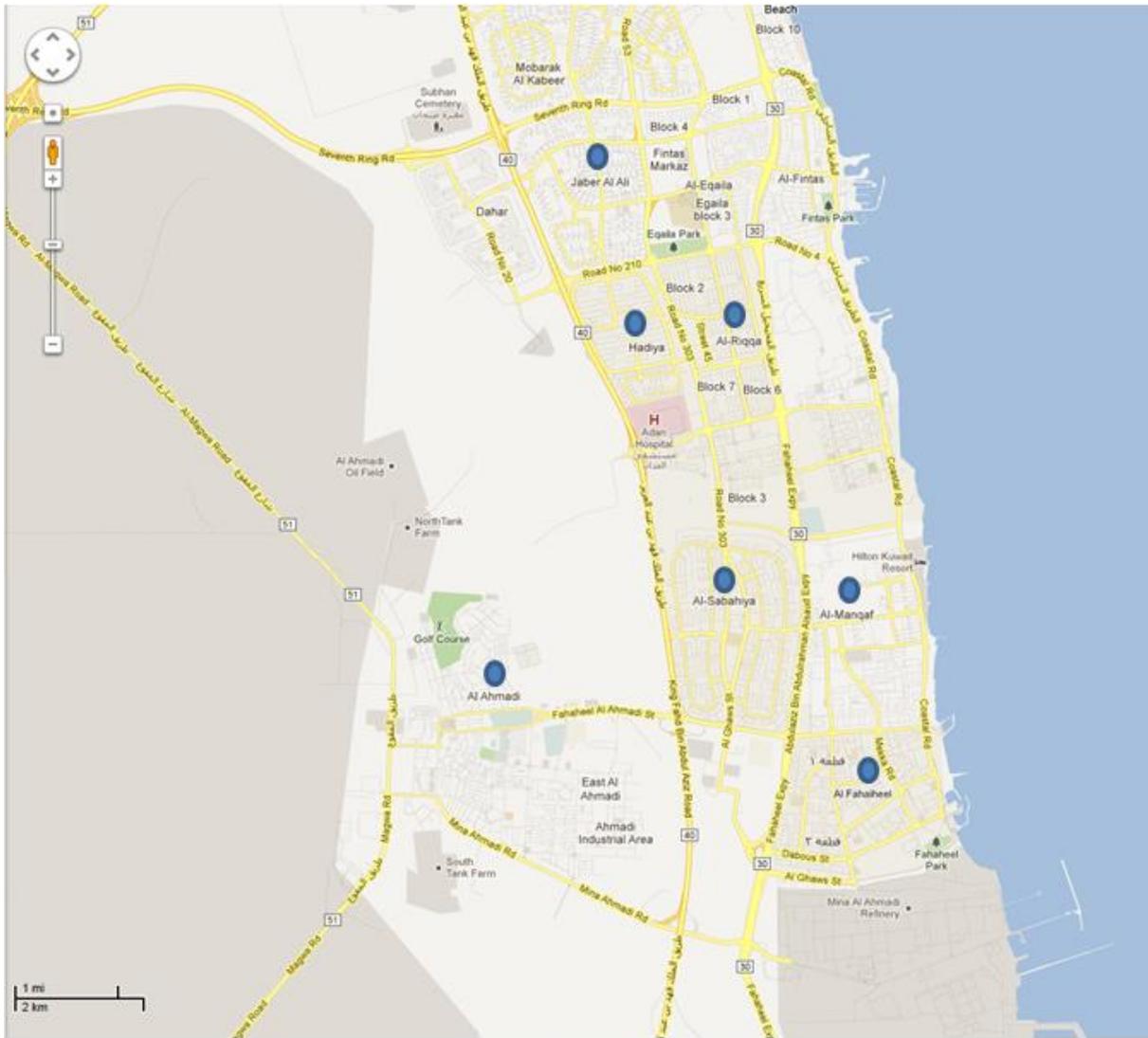
Figure **3**

Areas of Bedouin concentration at the south of Kuwait City
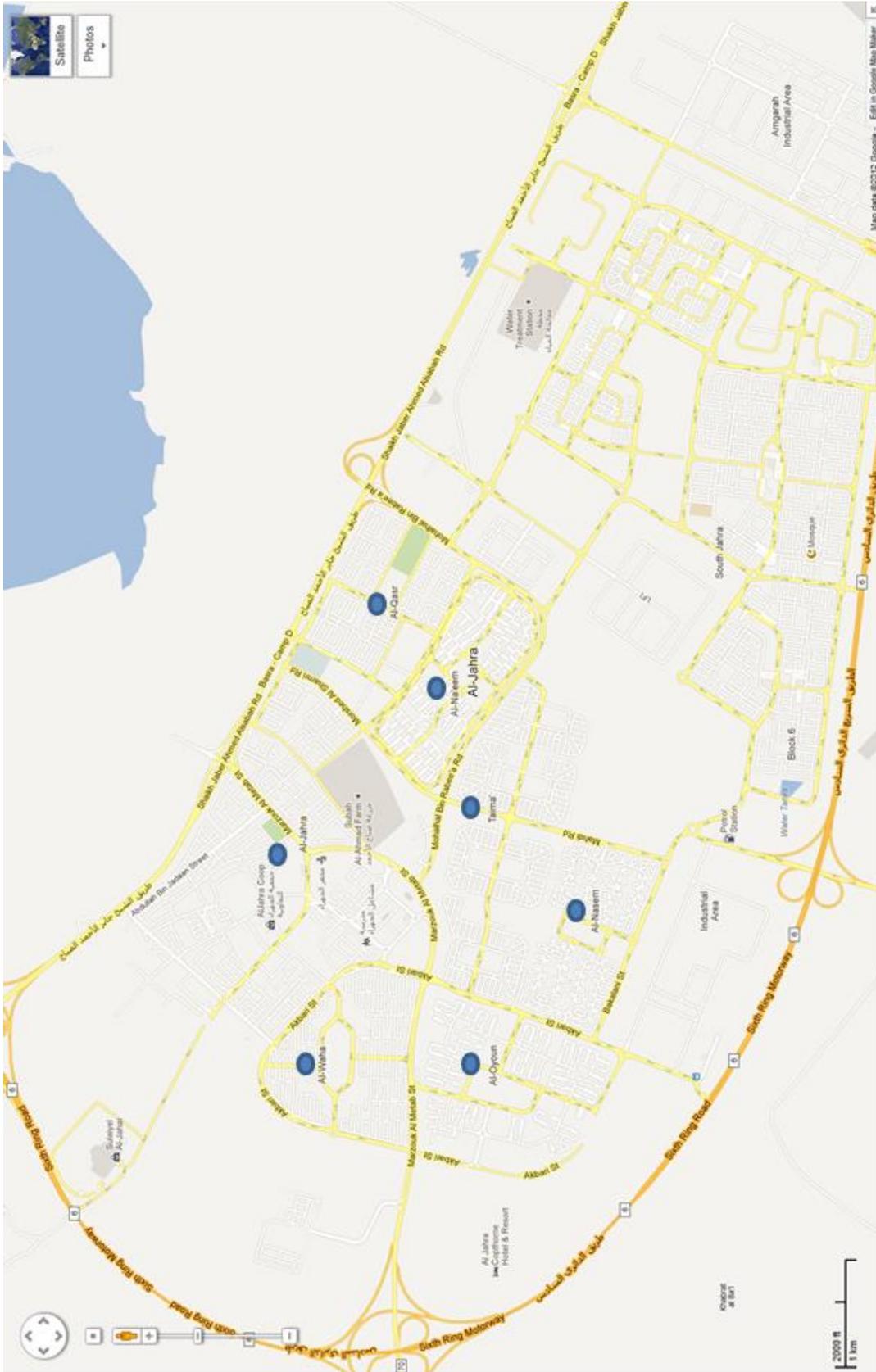
Figure **4**

● Areas of Bedouin concentration west of Kuwait (Al-džahra)

1.2.5   Schools in Kuwait

In Kuwait, schools can be categorised into three types: public, private, and qualitative. Public schools are governmental monolingual schools, while private schools are either bilingual (English-Arabic) schools or bilingual schools where a foreign language other than Arabic or English is the medium of teaching. These schools have been set up for the non-Arab communities in Kuwait, such as the Indian, Pakistani, and Iranian communities, among others. The third school type, the qualitative one, can be divided into three sub-groups: religious schools, special needs schools, and adult education schools. These qualitative schools are also divided into private and public, monolingual and bilingual ones.
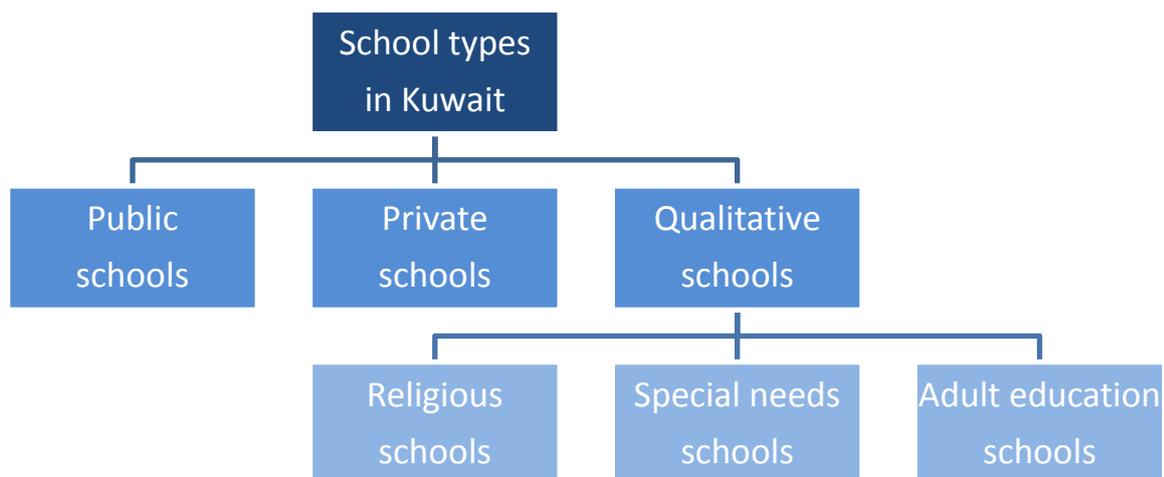
Figure 5: School types in Kuwait

In 1899, Kuwait became a British protectorate, and unlike the British colonies, the English language was not introduced to be taught in schools as a 'foreign language' until 1920. Learning English only began in the fifth grade which was also called the first year of intermediate school back then. In 1930, oil was discovered in Kuwait, which led to a dramatic increase in foreign labourers and residents moving into Kuwait. In 1940, the first Bilingual

school, 'Mulla Hashim AlBader', was founded due to the increased importance of English and the increasing number of English-speaking families who were living in the country.

In the 1960s, the oil industry was at its peak and thus more bilingual schools were set up. However, English was only used then when talking to English speakers, and code-switching amounted to the insertion of English technical terms. At the time, English was only heard on National Television's Channel 2, which was wholly dedicated to the growing English speaking community in Kuwait, and in the cinema where English-speaking films were played, supplied with Arabic subtitles.

Coinciding with the liberation of Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion in 1990-1991, the Kuwaiti government became more and more aware of the importance of the English language which has become the language of science and technology. As a result, the Ministry of Education decided in 1991 to start teaching English as a foreign language in public monolingual schools from grade one for nearly forty-five minutes a day and five days a week. The English-speaking media, which increased vastly in number in the 1990s via Satellite TV, cinema and radio, played a vital role in motivating Kuwaitis to learn English, especially among teenagers. It comes therefore as no surprise that code-switching was first observed as a phenomenon among this sector of Kuwaiti society.

As mentioned earlier, due to a dramatic increase in the number of foreign immigrants to Kuwait, as well as the realisation of the increasing importance of English on the part of the government, private bilingual schools became a necessity. According to the Annual Statistical Abstract for the year 2008, the number of private schools amounted to 480 (excluding special needs private schools), 189 of which were bilingual; whereas monolingual governmental schools amounted to 742 (excluding vocational and adult education schools).

Below is a table specifying the number of bilingual schools and students in each educational level according to the Annual Statistical Abstract 2008 as compiled by Kuwait's Ministry of Planning.

Level	Schools	Male Students	Female Students	Total
Kindergarten	82	13,516	10,724	24,240
Primary Education	86	24,128	18,501	42,629
Intermediate Education	73	10,749	8,819	19,568
Secondary Education	48	4,678	4,083	8,761

Table 1.2: Number of bilingual schools and students in each educational level

1.3 The Problem

From our general observations of the Kuwaiti speech community, Kuwaitis code-switch at different levels depending on their English level of proficiency and motivation(s) behind the code-switch. As such, the Kuwaiti community can be divided into six categories according to their usage of English:

(A) Monolinguals

These are Kuwaitis who had not received any kind of education or did not continue their primary studies. They are mainly above 45 years of age.

(B) Kuwaitis who are incompetent in English

These are Kuwaitis who were taught English in public monolingual schools, where grammar-based teaching methods were used to teach English without any emphasis on oral skills. These find themselves not competent enough to communicate in English.

(C) Kuwaiti bilinguals who speak English only with non-Arabic speakers

These are Kuwaitis who speak Arabic and do not code-switch to English unless they have to. They are competent in English and use it only to communicate with English speakers who cannot communicate in Arabic. This category tends to be above the age of 40 and includes both bilingual and monolingual school students.

(D) Kuwaiti bilinguals who regularly code-switch between Kuwaiti Arabic and English

These bilinguals are competent in both Arabic and English, and they can be further divided into three categories according to the type of code-switching:

I. English insertions into Kuwaiti Arabic speech

From our observations, this category makes up the majority of Kuwaiti society. They code-switch regularly from Kuwaiti Arabic to English, and tend to be in the younger age group between 14 and 40 years old. The majority of their switches are intra-sentential, consisting of English single-word insertions or short phrases.

II. Arabic insertions into English speech

These are young bilingual Kuwaitis who study/studied in bilingual (Arabic-English) schools. They constitute a new phenomenon in that while their speech is in English (whether at school, with their friends, or at home), they insert Arabic words or short Arabic phrases into their English conversation from time to time. Noteworthy is that more than Arabic, the

English language is highly favoured by this sector of society with a negative impact on their Arabic competence.

III.   Alternation between English and Arabic

These are fairly balanced bilinguals who are competent in both languages and use them on a regular basis. Their code-switching is either for a special conversational effect (metaphorical code-switching) or due to a change in the setting or addressee (situational code-switching). If they alternate from one language to another in a single conversation, they are signalling a change in the interpretation of their utterances.

It is worth noting that in many cases where there is a preference of the English language over the first language it resulted from being a part of an immigrant community, who try to adapt to the official language of their new country as in Li Wei's study of the Chinese community in the United Kingdom (1984). Other reasons for preferring English over the first language are manifested in countries that are currently or previously a British colony, in which English is either the official language or the second language. In Kuwait, however, there is no political or economic motivation behind the preference for English over Arabic. So, the question that poses itself is thus: why do some Kuwaitis prefer English over Arabic? And why do they code-switch from Arabic to English?

1.4 Literature review

1.4.3 Borrowing vs. Code-Switching

1.4.3.1 Defining borrowing and code-switching

Both borrowing and code-switching are language-contact phenomena where two languages have come into contact with each other. Researchers have used several terms to describe the process of the contact between two languages including code-mixing, nonce

borrowing, code-shift, loans, interference, transfer, style variation, and others. In this research, we use the terms borrowing and code-switching to describe these language contact phenomena. Code-switching can be defined as "the alternation of languages within a conversation" (Matras 2009:101), whereas borrowing can be defined as "a kind of import of a structure or form from one language system into another" (Matras 209:146).

1.4.3.2 How to differentiate between the two phenomena

Code-switching may occur in the form of a word, a phrase, or a whole utterance, whereas borrowing often involves a single word. This distinction, however, is not applicable to all case as exceptions exist. We still need to differentiate between single-word code-switches and borrowed words. Carol Myers-Scotton's definition of code-switching "a selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language (or languages) during the same conversation" (1993:4), seems to suggest that code-switching is only used by bilinguals or multilinguals (while borrowing is used by both monolinguals and bilinguals). This view has been criticised by many researchers for the reason that ascertaining whether the bilingual is code-switching or borrowing is difficult.

Many differentiate between borrowed words (loanwords) and code-switches on the basis that loanwords are integrated phonologically and morpho-syntactically into the language (Haugen 1950, Sankoff and Polack 1984). Loanwords can be integrated morpho-syntactically or phonologically with the first language. In other words, if the word has been adjusted by the addition of morphemes (e.g. derivational and inflectional morphemes) and/or addition or change in phonemes, then such a word is a loanword. This process takes place in a sizable period of time so as to allow the loanword to cope with the first language.

Code-switches, on the other hand, may sound exactly like the original words in the language from which they were temporarily borrowed. Many researchers including Fries and

Pike (1949), Haugen (1950), Sankoff and Polack (1984) consider this differentiation to be insufficient. They claim that there are instances where loanwords look exactly like the original words in the second language and therefore are identical with code-switches. Hence, Poplack and Sankoff (1984) and others have set the following criteria to distinguish loanwords from code-switches:

(A) Frequency of use

The claim here is that loanwords occur very frequently, whereas code-switches occur less frequently and some are only used for a certain period of time and then are never used again. This claim is not fully persuasive since it is very difficult to test frequency of use. Many loanwords may not be used very frequently because they occur in certain contexts which might not be very common or not used at all in everyday life. So, when testing frequency of usage, such words will be considered as code-switches even though they are not. This has led to the search for another criterion to distinguish loanwords from code-switches.

(B) Acceptability

The claim here is that loanwords are foreign words that have been accepted by the speech community by entering into first language dictionaries. This criterion is also difficult to be tested, because not all languages/dialects have dictionaries that are regularly updated, especially spoken languages/dialects. Therefore, the identification of new entries to such a language/dialect is difficult and which results in the inability to recognise their acceptance.

Loanwords can occur among both monolinguals and bilinguals, while code-switching occurs more often among bilinguals. In a monolingual community, loanwords are heard/spoken frequently since they are treated as native words (because they have replaced native words) but code-switches may not be heard/spoken because they belong to a foreign

language. On the other hand, in stable bilingual communities, code-switching is considered as the norm.

(C) Native language synonym displacement

This criterion is considered to be the most solid. If a foreign word is used in a language and it does not have a synonym in that language, then this foreign word has probably replaced a native word which is no longer used in that language. In this case, such a word is a loanword, not a code-switch. Hence Chen (2007:213):

> "When an item taken from Language B has already been incorporated as part of the lexicon of Language A, this item is regarded as a borrowed or loan word. On the other hand, if an item taken from Language B does not become part of the lexicon of Language A, then this item would be considered as a code-switched token. Code-switching is thus seen as two language systems juxtaposed, whereas borrowing is seen as only one language system in operation".

However, there are foreign insertions that are frequent, acceptable, and morpho-syntactically integrated but do not replace their native equivalents. Chen also stated that "borrowing is a diachronic consequence of language contact and CS is more likely a synchronic process of language use" (2007:213). Thus, the degree of incorporation determines whether a word is borrowed or code-switched. Therefore, code-switching and borrowing will be considered as belonging to two opposite ends of the continuum (see Figure 5). In our research, these common foreign insertions can be treated as closer to loanwords than code-switching in the diachronic code-switching-borrowing continuum. The position of the foreign word in the continuum relies on the criteria mentioned earlier: frequency, acceptability, and integration. The more they match these criteria, the closer they move towards the borrowing end (see Chapter 8 for more details).

Code-switching-borrowing continuum

Code-switching   Borrowing
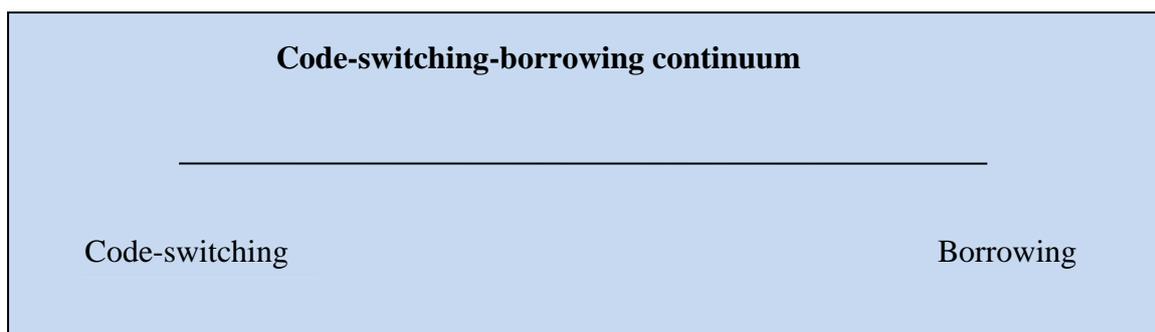
Figure 6: Code-switching - borrowing continuum by Matras (2009)

In addition, the motivations behind loanwords are different from those behind code-switches. Campbell (1998) suggested three motivations behind borrowing, of which the most accurate is necessity. People borrow foreign words into their language because they need a name for a new (mostly technical) concept that has been newly created or discovered. A famous example is the English word 'television' which has been adopted in many languages.

Finally, loanwords can occur among both monolinguals and bilinguals, while code-switching occurs more often among bilinguals. In monolingual communities, loanwords are heard/spoken frequently since they are treated as native words (because they have replaced native words) but code-switches might not be heard/spoken as frequently, because they belong to a foreign language. On the contrary, in stable bilingual communities, code-switching is considered as the norm. This situation is also found among people who immigrate to a country where a different language is spoken and among people of a colonised country in which the coloniser speaks a different language.

1.4.3.3 Views of bilingualism in general and code-switching in particular

Language purists and prescriptivists treated code-switching as non-existent. Then, they considered code-switching (and even bilingualism in general) as interference, i.e. an obstacle in the path of language acquisition. They argued that if a child is exposed to two

languages, then s/he will not end up fluent in both languages, because it is difficult to master two languages at the same time. Language purists even claim that the acquisition of a second language will affect the acquisition of the first, and then the child will end up being unable to express him/herself in either language. Moreover, they view bilingualism as a hinderance to intelligence, i.e. bilingual children have a lower IQ than monolingual ones. Bialystok (2004) claimed that bilinguals score the same as monolinguals in non-verbal tests, but less than monolinguals in verbal tests. However, Bialystok's study and other prescriptivists' claims have not found strong scientific evidence in their favour.

In addition to that, language purists and prescrptivists claimed that code-switching is a strategy meant to cover deficiencies in the first language. They reckon that when a bilingual person code-switches to another language, s/he does not remember or know the words or phrases s/he has just uttered in the first language, and that is why s/he switched to the second language (masking strategy). And therefore, they find bilingualism to be limiting the memory. Such claim does not describe accurately the motivations behind code-switching. Being incompetent in the first language does not completely explain the behaviour of bilinguals because even balanced bilinguals code-switch and their code-switching behaviour is bi-directional.

Uriel Weinreich (1953:73) has put constraints on when code-switching should be allowed and when not: "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence". Bilinguals do not always code-switch in the same way or in the same circumstances and not even with the same attitude, so being incompetent cannot be the only reason behind code-switching, and a situational change is not always the motivator.

Not only do purists and prescriptivists have a negative view of code-switching but so do some bilinguals themselves. Some bilinguals consider code-switching as "a sign of 'laziness', an 'inadvertent' speech act, an 'impurity', an instance of linguistic decadence and a potential danger to their own living performance" (Ritchie & Bhatia 2004:350). Chana and Romaine (1984) reported in their study of code-switching between Punjabi and English in the UK that the community views code-switchers as victims of colonisation, incompetent in both languages, or show-offs. On the other hand, Camilleri (1996:102) reported that in Malta:

> "using Maltese is purist and using English is snobbish but code-switching is being neutral. They view English as a language of power and influence within a global community. Few people want to cut themselves off from their Maltese heritage and use only English code switch to seem educated enough and still have Maltese identity".

In this case, code-switching has a neutral status.

1.4.3.4 Types of Code-switching

Code-switches have been categorised into several types. One of the most common is categorisation according to place of occurrence in speech (Myers-Scotton 1993). Inter-sentential code-switching is switching from one language to another, which occurs between sentences, utterances or turns. On the other hand, intra-sentential code-switching occurs within a sentence, utterance or within the same turn. Some linguists refer to alternation as code-switching and to insertion as code-mixing.

Pieter Muysken (2000) categorised the various types of code-switching (he called them processes) in yet another way:

(A) Alternation: A switch between two languages in which either language is spoken according to its own structure. So the two systems neither interlock nor overlap. The switch is between the structures of the two languages. Alternation usually involves long and complex switched stretches. In that sense, it is similar to inter-sentential code-switching.

(B) Insertion: In this case, a foreign/second language word or phrase is inserted into the first language speech. Here, the structure of the first language is used while insertion might be adjusted to cope with the first language's structure. Insertion can also be the opposite case: the speech and its structure are in the second language whereas the inserted items are in the first language. So there is only one language structure being used despite the presence of lexical items from both languages. This occurs when the speakers are fluent in both languages or more fluent in the second language than in their native language. Insertion involves words, phrases and short utterances from the switched language. The longer the utterances, the more complex they become and the more they act as alternations rather than insertions. Insertion is similar to intra-sentential code-switching.

(C) Congruent lexicalisation: Here, the structure of the first language interlocks with the structure of the second language, while words and/or phrases from both languages occur randomly. So there is a shared structure from both languages. What constrains this type of code-switching is when both languages have a similar structure such as the Subject-Verb-Object order. For example, both languages should be SVO languages or both VSO, etc. MacSwan (1997) proposes that nothing constrains code-switching except 'the requirement of the mixed grammars'. Poplack (1980) explained that if there is any violation of this constraint, then the process involved is borrowing rather than code-switching.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) categorise code-switching according to motivations:

(A) Situational code-switching: in which the change is in terms of speakers or settings. For example, two speakers are talking in one language but then change to another when another person joins in. The motivations behind this behaviour will be explained later. Suffice it to say at this point, it is tied to contexts that are relatively fixed (Blom & Gumperz 1972).

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(B) Metaphorical code-switching: in this type of code-switching, there is no change in the topic, participants or setting but switching takes place to convey a social meaning such as showing solidarity with a group. This type of code-switching is a brief intra-sentential one that is shorter than situational code-switching.

1.4.3.5 Factors behind code-switching

Ritchie and Bhatia (2004) as well as Bullock and Toribio (2009) have specified factors or reasons that prompt speakers to code-switch. Here are the most important ones:

(A) Social roles and relationship(s) among participants

This includes prestige, solidarity, and formality, among others. Monolingual speakers of any language speak (slightly) differently at home. The variety of languages spoken at home and among friends is usually more vernacular than the one spoken at work, for example. The same applies to bilinguals. Some bilinguals use one language with family members and another at work. Even at work, the language used among peers may differ from the one used when addressing the boss. Another case is solidarity: immigrants speak to each other in their native language and then code-switch if another participant speaking a different language joins the conversation. However, this might lead to some problems (Ritchie & Bhatia 2004; Bullock and Toribio 2009):

I. Language mismatch and repair

This occurs when the bilingual is not sure of the speaker's preferences. In some cases, immigrants prefer not to be addressed in their native language. In other cases, some peers do not like to be addressed informally or in a less formal language.

II. Multiple identities

Sometimes a speaker is not sure which language to use when speaking to a family member or member of the same community who happens to be his boss. Here, the boss has dual identities and each identity requires a different language choice. The incorrect language choice may lead to problems in communication. Another example is when a teacher is a relative of one of the students and the language used to communicate with relatives is different from the formal language used in school. In this case the student may, intentionally or not, use the language used at home at school to communicate with teacher leading to an inappropriate language choice.

(B) Situational factors

These factors share certain features with social factors. Speakers not only speak differently in public than in private but other factors do matter as well such as age, gender, class, education, and religion. For example, in Arabic-speaking countries, they switch from a dialect of Arabic (low variety) to standard Arabic (high variety) at school, in the media, and during religious performances. However, in this case the switch is between varieties of the same language called diglossia, and not a switch to a different language. However, in some countries there are instances of code-switching to another language in similar settings.

(C) Message-intrinsic consideration

This factor is related to linguistic and pragmatic considerations in which code-switching would be necessary to convey the message. For example, code-switching is used in quotations, idioms, paraphrasing, repeating, clarifying, emphasizing, hedging, or interjection. Sometimes, it functions as humor, bonding, dampening, or politeness.

(D) Accommodation

In this case, a speaker uses a neutral language to divest him/herself of any identity. For example, consider a conversation among three participants where two speakers speak the same language and the third speaks a different language even though s/he also understands the other two's language. One of the two speakers would speak in a neutral language, like English for instance, in order to accommodate the situation or so as not to be identified as belonging to a certain group or community.

(E) Filling a linguistic gap

This is simply a case where a bilingual is unable to recall from memory a word from the first or second language, so s/he code-switches.

(F) No motivation

Scotton (1976) and Heller (1988) pointed out that most researchers seem focused on finding one single great motivator behind code-switching even though there are cases where there is just not any. Bullock and Toribio (2010:11) also support this claim:

> "…it merits pointing out that not all language alternations in bilingual speech do signal a particular communicative intent or purpose: for many bilinguals, code-switching merely represents another way of speaking; that is, some bilinguals code-switch simply because they can and often times may not be aware that they have done so".

1.4.3.6 Approaches and models

There are three main approaches to the study of code-switching (Bullock & Toribio 2010): a structural approach, psychological approach, and sociolinguistic approach. We are concerned here with the sociolinguistic approach because it investigates the social factors behind code-switching. Stroud (1998) categorised the most famous sociolinguistic

approaches to code-switching into two categories: (i) Gumperz and Carol Myers-Scotton's views; and (ii) Peter Auer and Li Wei's views.

In this study, we focus more on the sociolinguistic approach advocated by Auer and Li Wei, which is a sequential one. It analyses data by looking at the conversation as a whole, not by separating the instances of code-switching from the rest of the conversation. It looks at turns, participants and context in order to explain the functions behind code-switching rather than the researcher's intuition (see chapter two).

1.5 Chapter review

In chapter two, the methodological approach used to collect data is discussed, followed by an explanation of the analytical framework used to analyse the data. It starts off by specifying the research questions, aims of the fieldwork, setting, participants and data collection tools.

In chapter three, one of the functions behind code-switching found in our data is discussed. The chapter starts off with our own definition of contrastiveness, followed by a look at the various types of contrastive code-switching and their functions, and finally to some illustrated examples from the corpus.

In chapter four, another function of code-switching is explained. It begins with a short review of Gumperz (1982) 'contextualisation cue', followed by an analysis of the expressive functions of code-switching.

In chapter five, the functions of floor holding and filling linguistic gaps are outlined, including a review of the literature on discourse markers and their types and functions.

In chapter six, the functions of accommodation and repair are discussed, beginning with an overview of the Accommodation Theory, followed by data analysis from our corpus.

In chapter seven, the functions of code-switching among bilinguals who attend monolingual schools are discussed, e.g. accommodation and filling linguistic gaps.

And in the final chapter, a summary of the thesis, the findings, an evalution of the methodological approach and recommendations for further study are provided.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Several tools had to be used in an effort to address the research questions of this study, mainly to answer the question of why bilinguals code-switch. A fieldwork study had to be conducted, followed by a qualitative analysis of the collected data, based on a sequential approach, among others. In this chapter, six research questions will be addressed in section 2.1, followed by a section demonstrating the fieldwork study including subsections about data collection tools such as questionnaires and interviews, the participants, and language preferences. A final section will illustrate the analytical frameworks adopted, including a literature review of the 'markedness' model, 'conversational analysis' framework, and functions behind code-switching.

2.1 Research questions

This study revolves around the code-switching behaviour of Kuwaiti bilingual school students and how it is different from the code-switching behaviour of Kuwaiti bilinguals in monolingual schools. From our observations, bilingual school students code-switch more often than bilinguals in monolingual schools as the latter's code-switching behaviour is limited to insertions of English nouns. Therefore, proving this observation and analysing the factors behind this interestingly diversified code-switching behaviour became necessary. Laid out below are six research questions that are part and parcel of the main question: "why do Kuwaiti bilingual school students code-switch?"

A. Is the code-switching behaviour of bilingual school students different from that of bilingual students attending monolingual schools? If yes, then how?

B. How do bilingual school students code-switch among themselves? Insertions, alternations, or both?

C. What are the factors that promote code-switching among bilingual school students?

D. Are the code-switches participant-related or discourse-related?

E. Which is the dominant language in bilingual school students' speech? Arabic or English?

F. What promotes the preference of one language over the other?

A general misconception among the Kuwaiti speech community is that Kuwaiti bilingual school students code-switch from Kuwaiti Arabic to English for preference reasons only. In other words, those who code-switch from Kuwaiti Arabic to English prefer using English over Kuwaiti, since English is the language of modernity, education and technology. In addition to that, in Kuwait being fluent in English is associated with higher social status than the average people, because being fluent in English means that the person has been educated in a private bilingual school. These research questions will uncover the code-switching behaviour of the bilingual school students and whether there are cases where bilinguals prefer Kuwaiti Arabic over English. Also, the research questions will enable us to identify the reasons and functions behind code-switching when it is not motivated by preference.

Moreover, the answers to these questions are not limited to one set of factors, as linguistic and metalinguistic factors play a major role in the language choice(s) of the speaker. The next four chapters will shed light on the factors behind code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual teenage female students in a unified situation and domain. This will lead to conclusions that answer the questions surrounding the code-switching phenomenon in this

particular domain. Since this study involves students, a school had to be chosen as the fieldwork domain (see the advantages of conducting interviews in schools in section 2.3.2).

2.2 Fieldwork and data collection

Before conducting fieldwork in schools, the researcher had to get through the Ethics Committee and the necessary training. The researcher ought to be able to realise the terms and conditions of the fieldwork, especially when it engages young people. After securing approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Manchester, the researcher then headed to Kuwait. In Kuwait, the researcher was not allowed to conduct fieldwork unless she passes an interview with the Ministry of Education and Private Learning's Ethics Committee. After passing the interview and completing the required paperwork, a consent form had to be signed by the principal of each school (and the owner in the cases of private schools), giving the researcher the freedom to enter the school, interview students, and record their interviews at the times agreed upon. The whole process of obtaining permissions and consents was indeed time-consuming, taking up weeks to be completed. The fieldwork at bilingual, multilingual and monolingual schools was conducted from September 15, 2011 to early January 2012 in Kuwait's Hawally governorate. The aim of the fieldwork was to collect the needed data by observing and interviewing Kuwaiti female bilingual school students, as well as Kuwaiti female bilingual students in monolingual schools. The aim was to be able to analyse their code-switching styles, keeping in mind the research questions of the study.

2.2.1 Aims of the fieldwork

Conducting fieldwork enables the researcher to collect naturally occurring data that is needed to answer the research questions of this study. Since this study is concerned with conversational code-switching, observing and experiencing the situation is the most convenient method for obtaining authentic data. Observations and getting involved in

conversations with students offer not only verbal explanations behind code-switching but also non-verbal ones. Therefore, taking note of gestures as well as speech is vital for data analysis. In addition, personal information and the psychological state of participants affect the acquired data. Analysing conversational data without being involved as a participant in fieldwork will not provide the analyst with this advantage, leading to incorrect perceptions and conclusions.

2.2.2 The setting

Chosen for this study were one monolingual public school for girls, one bilingual private school for girls, and one multilingual private school. English is taught as a second language in the bilingual and multilingual schools, and is also the medium of communication and teaching except for Islamic Studies and Arabic wherein of course Arabic is the medium. Both the bilingual school and multilingual school use the British curriculum in teaching, in addition to Cambridge examinations. In the monolingual school, English is taught as a foreign language for 50 minutes on a daily basis.

As mentioned earlier, the students' own schools were chosen as the setting for the recorded interviews based on the following reasons:

A. In a conservative society, it is not easy to arrange interviews with a group of students at one of the students' or researchers' residence. It would require the parents' consent to allow their children to enter a stranger's house and it can be expected that many of them will not agree for safety and reputation-related reasons, especially with female students.

B. Arranging meetings with groups of two or three in a public place is a difficult task since students are not always free at the same time or have transportation facilities as they do not drive.

C. Interviewing students in public places allows more external factors such as noise to interfere with the flow of the interview and thus affect the quality of the recording.

D. Interviewing students at school allows for a unified setting, time, and limited external factors throughout the whole recording process. It is of course a familiar setting for all students involved where they would normally feel comfortable and safe. It is also a convenient place for students, as they would normally be available at school at the same time on schooldays.

As mentioned earlier, only one monolingual school was included as the focus of the study is on bilingual/multilingual students' code-switching behaviour. The bilingual and multilingual schools were also different from each other in terms of their population. The bilingual school is an all-girls school, of which 97% are Kuwaitis. Moreover, more than 50% of the teaching and administrative school staff were female Arabs, teaching different subjects in English, and were not allowed to speak in Arabic except for the Arabic and Islamic Studies, since those two subjects are taught in Arabic. In the multilingual school, around 70% of the students (males and females) were Kuwaitis, while the other 30% were mostly non-Arabs who speak different native languages but use English as the lingua franca to communicate with both students and teachers. In addition, the entire school staff is made up of non-Arabs, who use English in the classroom and in communicating with their students. The exceptions are those who teach Arabic and Islamic Studies, who of necessity use Arabic as the medium of teaching. For that reason, it was expected that students at the multilingual school would code-switch to English more often than those at the bilingual school in order to communicate with their non-Arab peers and teachers.

2.2.3 Methodology

Four main tools were used to collect data: questionnaires, interviews, observations, and note-taking. In the following sections, an illustration of each tool and its method of application is provided.

2.2.3.1 Student information questionnaires

A personal information questionnaire was distributed to the female students of year 11 and year 12 at the bilingual, multilingual and monolingual schools. Two versions of the questionnaire were made, one in English and the other in Arabic. The students were asked to choose between the English and Arabic version. As expected, all students at the monolingual school preferred the Arabic version. In the other two schools, most of the students in the bilingual school asked for the English version, while in the multilingual school all of them asked for the English one.

The questionnaire questions were about the age and nationality of the student as well as those of her parents, whether she has lived or studied in an English-speaking country, and the duration of her study in the monolingual/bilingual/multilingual school (see Appendix II). This questionnaire enabled the researcher to pick the most suitable participants for the study (see the criteria in section 2.2.4.1). The researcher also had to make sure that the participants' English was not affected by any external factors. For example, if one of the student's parents is a native speaker of English, this would affect the English-Arabic code-switching behaviour and language choice as the student has been in contact with English since birth. Therefore, her code-switching behaviour cannot be considered to be that of a normal Kuwaiti bilingual student. Another case that has not been included in the sample is the case of students who have lived and/or studied in an English-speaking country for more than a year. Similar to the previous case, such students' language choice(s) might have been affected by the language of the environment in which they had lived; thus, they, too, had to be excluded from the sample.

2.2.3.2 Audio-recorded interviews

The interviews were scheduled to be held in the playground during school breaks. This choice of setting was based on the fact that the playground is the usual place where students socialise and have their meals or snacks during school breaks. In that way, the interview would not interfere with their routine. Conducting the interviews in this natural environment allows students to feel more comfortable as they would be surrounded by their friends and enjoy their snacks as they always do. It also gives the researcher the opportunity to collect naturally occurring data. In the playground, the interviews were conducted in a place chosen by the students themselves. However, two factors were interfering with the plan: first, the hot/bad weather affected the students since the playgrounds are located outdoors[1], in addition to the frequent sand storms. Second, the noise caused by other students playing and chatting in the background affected the quality of the audio-recording. And so, the interviews in the bilingual schools' took place in the playground; while, in the multilingual school the interviews took place in classrooms.

In the monolingual school, the students were interviewed in the library and classrooms. The interview questions were mainly about their studies, future plans, hobbies, likes and dislikes, their opinion about certain topics that concern teenagers, and about what they had done during their holidays a few weeks earlier (see appendix II for a sample of the questions). The duration of the audio recorded interviews varied from 15-20 minutes to 10 minutes each, depending on the schedule set by the school coordinators and duration of the breaks. A total of 45 students were interviewed wherein a total of eight hours of speech were audio-recorded.

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[1]According to Time magazine, in 2011 Kuwait City was considered to be the hottest city in the world.

All the excerpts taken from the audio-recorded interviews in chapters three to chapter six are taken from the interviews of both the bilingual and multilingual students. On the other hand, the excerpts in chapter 7 are all taken from the interviews of the students attending the monolingual school. Each interview consists of three to four participants (the researcher/interviewer and two or three students). The labelling and numbering of the participants corresponds with turns. For example, S1 is the first student to take a turn; S2 is the second one and so on. Therefore each interview has S1, S2 and sometimes S3 according to the participant taking the floor first. The participants were not labelled uniquely from S1 to S45 because conversational analysis focuses on the interview as a whole by interpreting each turn, what precedes it what and follows it. Thus it was important to label the students in each interview separately according to who took the turn first rather than labelling each student uniquely, in order to facilitate for the reader the understanding of who took the floor first in this particular conversation, and avoid confusion caused by using sequent two digit numbers. Unique individual speech style and different code-switching behaviour of some of the students were noted in the analysis of excerpts by mentioning the label of the student as well as the number of the excerpts where this behaviour occurs; therefore, not using a distinguishing label for each student did not lead to the neglect of analysing the student's individual speech behaviour.

2.2.3.3 Parents' and students' perception-interviews

It is obvious that the languages spoken at school do have an impact on students' language choices, since they spend around 7-9 hours at school per day. Also, parents' language choices at home also hugely affect the language choices of their children. Thus, it was necessary to have a chat with both parents and students about the status of English in their lives. In the case of parents, it was planned that they would be interviewed for ten minutes when picking up their children from school. However, two difficulties confronted the

researcher: First, the unavailability of a sufficient number of parents to be interviewed since most students return home by bus or are picked up by their drivers or another family member. Second, the ten parents who were interviewed refused to be audio-recorded. It was then decided that perception interviews will not be recorded but notes for the questions will be casual and short. The questions were addressed to the bilingual and multilingual school students and their parents as they were the focus-group of this study not the bilinguals attending monolingual schools. The questions concerned the languages spoken at home, reasons for English usage at home, reasons for admitting their children to a bilingual/multilingual school, and a general question regarding their perception of English (see appendix IV for the interview questions).

The choice of using audio-recording rather than video-recording is based on three reasons. First, Kuwait is a conservative society; therefore, video-recording will be considered as intruding into the privacy of (some) participants. Otherwise, many students would have refused to participate in the study. Second, the presence of a camera will give students the feeling of being watched and that every gesture they make and word they utter are being observed, leading them to think carefully before uttering anything instead of speaking freely and naturally. Finally, video-recording without observation and note-taking will lead the researcher to rely on the camera's perception when replayed rather than the participants' immediate perception. Saville-Troike (2003:99) stated that:

> "observation of communicative behaviour which has been videotaped is a potentially useful adjunct to the participant-observation and interview, particularly because of the convenience of replaying for microanalysis, but it is always limited in focus and scope to the camera's perception, and can only be adequately in a more holistic context".

2.2.3.4 Observations and note-taking

According to Saville-Troike, "observation without participation is seldom adequate, but there are times when it is an appropriate data collection procedure" (2003:98). In order to analyse a conversation accurately, observations are important to note any change(s) in the conversational behaviour of students and the non-verbal communication that cannot be acquired by audio-recordings. Duranti (1997) grouped participant-observation into two modes: passive participation and complete participation. Passive participation is when the researcher tries not to intrude or interfere with the conversation, thus observing from a distance. Complete participation, on the other hand, is when the researcher interacts with the other participants (Duranti 1997:99). In this study, observation was made in terms of the complete mode, since the researcher was involved in the conversation, not only asking questions but also commenting and answering the students' questions. The reason for preferring complete participation over a passive one is that it provides "a great opportunity to directly experience the very processes they are trying to document. Though it is by no means equivalent to entering the mind and body of the speaker, performing gives a researcher important insights into what it means to be participant in a given situation" (Duranti 1997:100).

Observations and note-taking were made during school breaks in the playground when students were having their meal/snack or socializing with other students. They were also made during the five-minute breaks between classes when students change from one classroom to another. It is to be noted that these short conversations or chats between students are essential, since they are the most naturally occurring data without the influence of any outsider such as the researcher who is trying to take control of the conversation. Comparing the code-switching style in these short conversations with the one in the interviews allows the

researcher to verify whether her presence in the conversation affected the code-switching behaviour or not.

Furthermore, notes on the short conversations that preceded the interviews of the bilingual school students as well as those of non-verbal activities; such as pauses, hesitation, laughter, pitch and intonation, during the interviews were noted and analysed according to the conversational analysis approach. These notes support the analysis since non-verbal communication is as important as the verbal one. Notes of other Kuwaiti bilingual/multilingual school students' conversations that the researcher contacted during and after the field study were also kept.

2.2.4 Participants

2.2.4.1 Students

Fourteen Kuwaiti female monolingual school students as well as thirty-one Kuwaiti female bilingual/multilingual school students were interviewed in groups of two to three students at a time. Only female students were chosen for this study for two reasons. First, it was necessary to limit the variables in the sample. If there were too many variables, the study would be time-consuming due to the large number of participants which may lead to inconsistent results. Therefore, age and gender had to be specified. Besides, it is a well-known fact that males converse differently from females whether in a monolingual or bilingual situation; thus generalisations regarding code-switching styles might not be adequate. Female students were chosen instead of male ones because it was easier for the researcher, a female, to interview female students especially in monolingual public schools where it is either an all-girls or all-boys school. The easier accessibility to all-girls schools comes from the fact that Kuwait is a conservative society, making it tricky if not uncomfortable for male students to be interviewed by a female researcher who is an outsider.

For a female researcher, it is a lot easier to be an insider among female students, with better chances of more naturally occurring utterances being sought in this research.

Furthermore, choosing students in the final years of secondary school, and not younger ones, is resulted from the observation that the phenomenon of code-switching among bilingual school students is more common among this group. Younger students would still be in the learning and acquisition process of language(s), whose usage of Arabic more than English might be the result of their incomplete language acquisition of English and not of any preference on their part. The interviewees were chosen according to their answers to the personal information questionnaire and had to meet the following (required) characteristics:

A. Female student aged 17-18 (year 11 & 12).

B. Student of Kuwaiti parents.

C. First language of both parents is Arabic.

D. Student has not studied or lived in an English-speaking country for more than a year.

These characteristics ensure that the outcome of the analysis would be consistent, transparent and applicable to other students with the same characteristics within the same setting. It was important to ensure that the student's English or code-switching behaviour is not triggered by native speakers of English surrounding them, nor by living in an English-speaking country.

After choosing the most suitable participants in terms of the above criteria, a list of their names was made and given to the principal in order to arrange for the interviews. The students were picked up by the researcher from their classrooms and then directed to the playground. At the start, the interviewer introduced herself and explained the procedures of the interview. Two to three participants were interviewed at once, and each participant was

offered the chance to choose her interview partner(s) from the list of the most suitable participants. Most participants chose their closest friends/colleagues, because it made them feel more comfortable when being interviewed since they have a lot in common and have shared experiences together. This was a key advantage to the study, as it allows for the recording of more relaxed and naturally occurring data.

2.2.4.2 Parents

Ten sets of parents of bilingual school students participated in the perception interviews (see section 2.2.3.3 of this chapter). Their educational as well as English proficiency details were not accessible to the researcher. However, from observations, the educational background of bilingual/multilingual school students' parents varies from those with a diploma and/or bachelor degree to those with a master's degree or higher. Some of those parents studied in monolingual public schools, while others studied in bilingual schools. Also, some of them have already spent a long period of their lives living or studying in an English-speaking country. All these factors affect their language choices at home as well as the language choices they recommend to their children. In Kuwait, all bilingual/multilingual schools are private and require annual tuition fees. In the multilingual school, secondary school fees cost around 8,600 GBP per academic year. This suggests that the social status of bilingual/multilingual school students' parents is above that of the average Kuwaiti citizen.

Participants/Tool	Bilingual students attending monolingual schools	Bilingual school students	Multilingual school students	Total of students	Parents of bilingual students
Questionnaire	40	35	30	105	-
Audio-recorded interview	14	21	14	49	-
Perception interviews	-	8		-	10

Table 2.1 Number of participants and the methods used for data collection

2.2.5 Language preference

Prior to each interview, the researcher informed the students of their free language choice, i.e. they were free to choose the interview language. The interviewer did not choose one language over the other but code-switched between the two languages spontaneously throughout the interviews. The researcher started the introductory conversation using the language that the students last spoke among each other in order not to affect the students' language choice. As will be illustrated later on, some students were affected by the language choices of the other participants while others did not. Students had the choice of using English, Arabic, both at the same time or any other preferred language. In the monolingual

school, all students chose Arabic as the language of conversation without exception. In the bilingual and multilingual schools, the language choices varied from one student to the other. Some chose English as the language of conversation, others chose Arabic. Three students informed the researcher before the audio-recording started of the language they would use during the interview. In the bilingual school, one student stated that she intended to use Arabic only. Also, in the multilingual school, one student mentioned her intention of using Arabic only, while another student mentioned that English would be her language of choice since she does not speak Arabic. Nevertheless, the speech of those three students included instances of code-switching to the language they did not want to use. This indicates that those students were code-switching unintentionally. Despite having stated their language preferences, their actual usage was a different matter.

Five bilingual/multilingual students out of eight mentioned that English is the preferred language at home, and six preferred to speak English at school. According to the bilingual/multilingual students, English being the 'language of education and technology' was the first reason for learning English, followed by it being the language of prestige, not to mention being an easy language to learn and speak. Learning English for the sake of being able to master another language came last. The figures below clarify the bilingual/multilingual students' answers to the perception interviews:
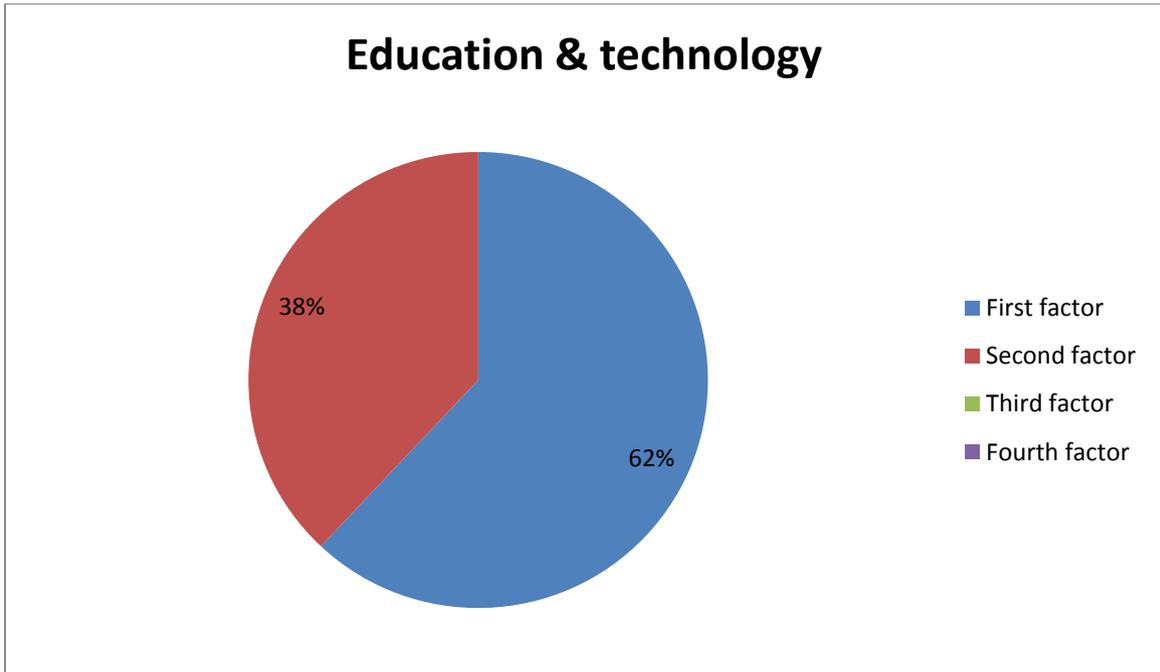
Figure 7: Education and technology as factors behind learning English
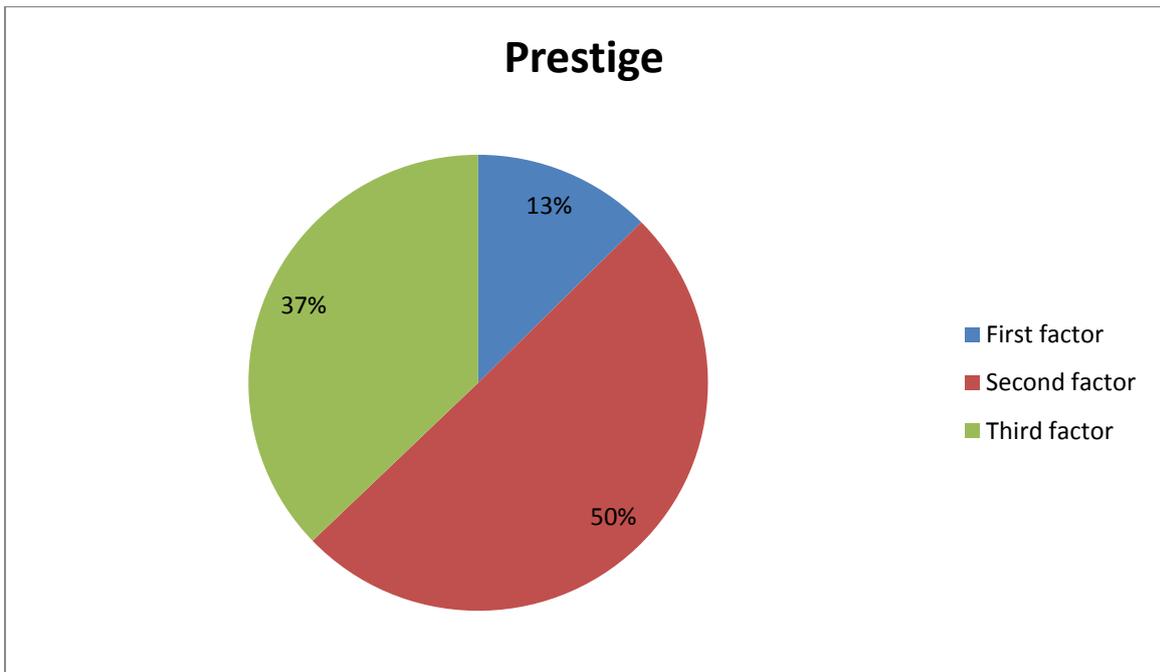
Figure 8: Prestige as a factor behind learning English
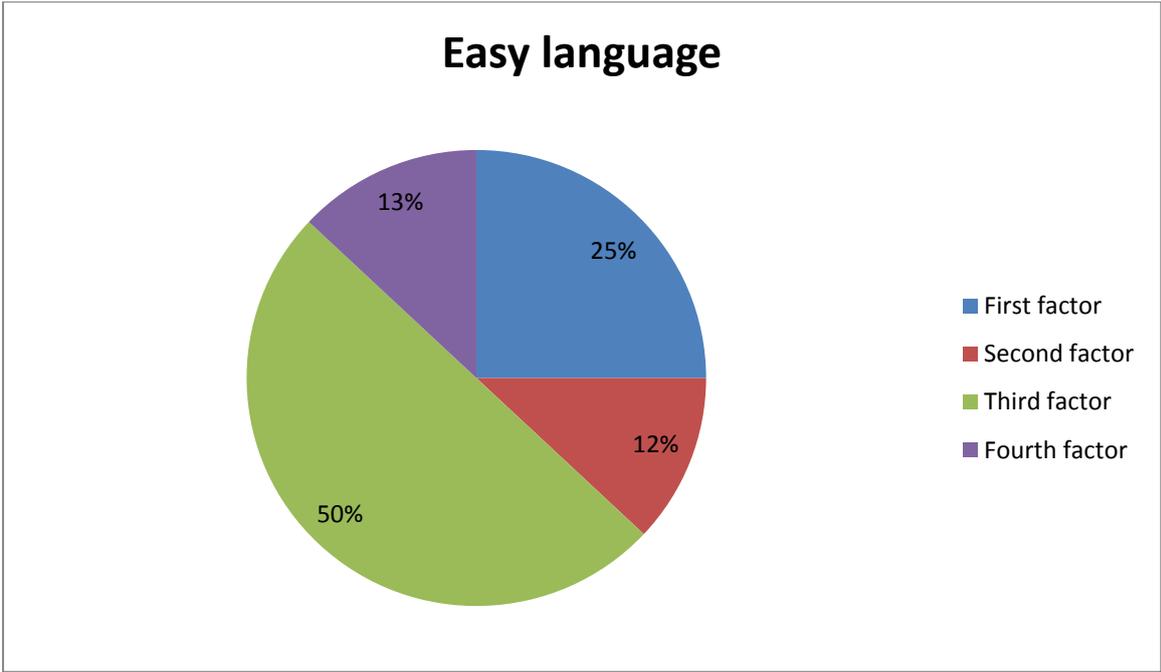
Figure 9: Being an easy language as a factor behind learning English
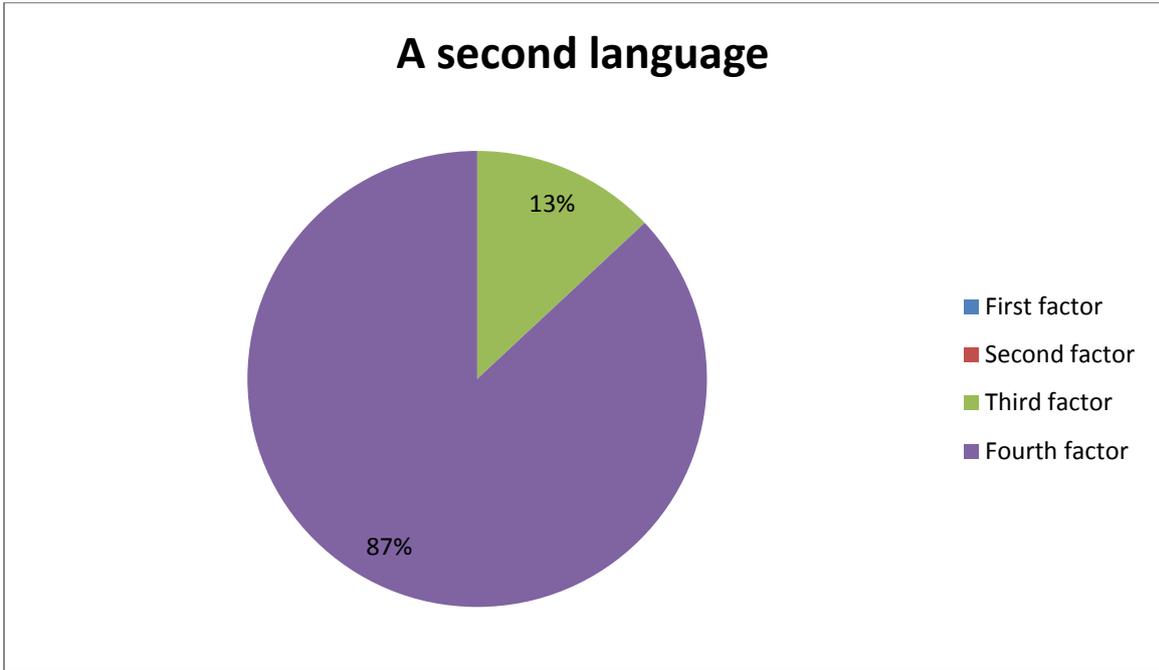
Figure 10: Learning a second language as a factor behind learning English

Students' perception of English
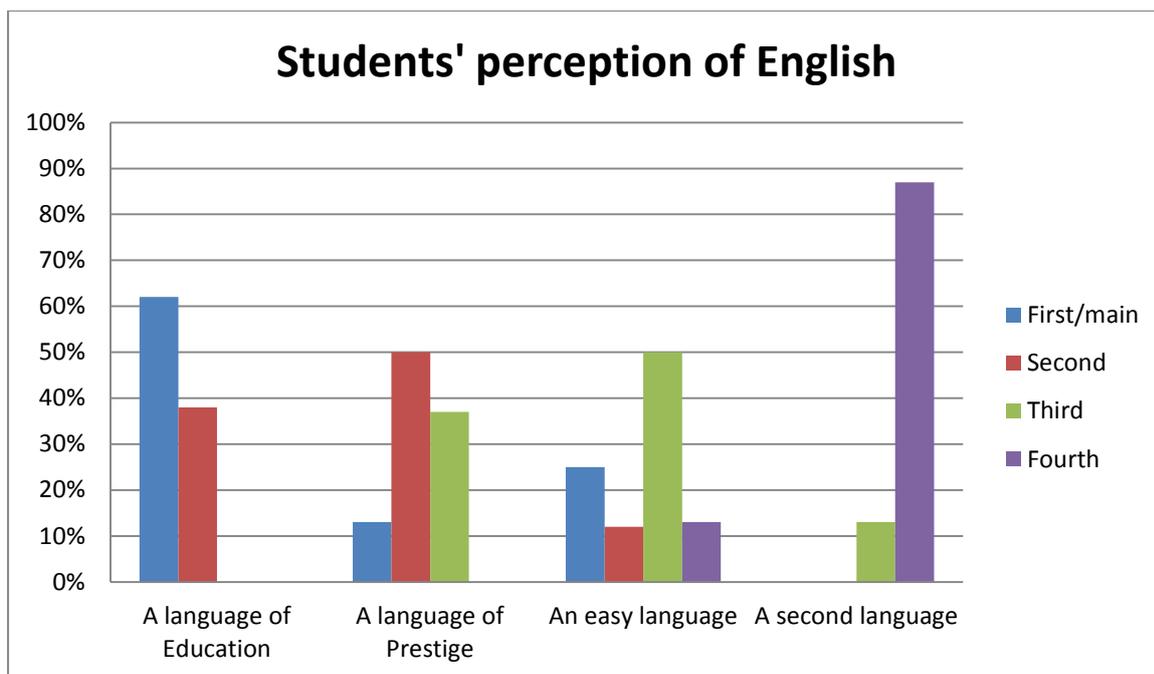
Figure 11: Bilingual students' perception of English

From the parents' short interviews conducted by the researcher, 30% of parents emphasise to their children that English is only a language for the classroom and a means of communication with non-Arabs. At home, the Arabic language is dominant as English is discouraged and considered inappropriate. These parents want their children to be fluent in English without losing their Arab identity. One parent mentioned that "speaking two languages is better than speaking only one" and another had this to say: "I don't want my child growing up not knowing how to speak his own language. It's a shame. How is she going to communicate with people when she grows up and finds work? They'd think she's not Kuwaiti with her slips of the tongue". On the other hand, 70% of the parents use both English and Arabic, with 60% of them using Arabic more often and only 10% using English more often. The reasons behind the use of English at home revolve around the benefits of being fluent in English to their children's future. One parent mentioned that the students' teachers recommend communicating with their children in English at home especially those in the early stages so that they would acquire the language faster. She mentioned that English is

greatly encouraged to the extent that it has led many parents to choose English-speaking maids for their household.

The chart below (Figure 12) illustrates the languages used by parents at home. The parents were also asked about the reasons that led them to register their children in a private bilingual school, and 60% of them answered "to be fluent in English" and 40% answered "because of the better curriculum" (compared to the curriculum used in public monolingual schools). Finally, the parents were asked about their perception of English, with the majority considering English as the language of education, knowledge and technology in addition to its prestigious status in Kuwaiti society. In Kuwaiti society, fluent Kuwaiti speakers of English are associated with a high social status. English fluency is linked to studying in private bilingual schools or studying abroad which the average Kuwaiti family may not be able to afford.
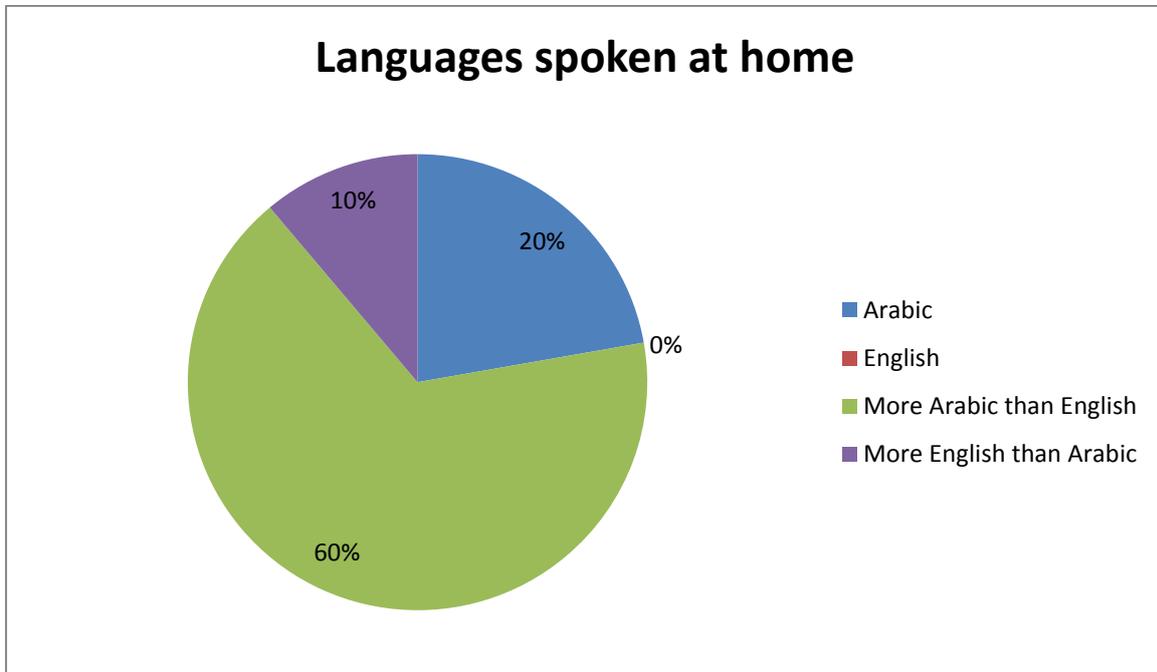
Figure 12: Languages spoken at home by the parents of the bilingual school students

Reasons for admitting children to bilingual schools

40%

60%

■ English fluency
■ Strong curriculum
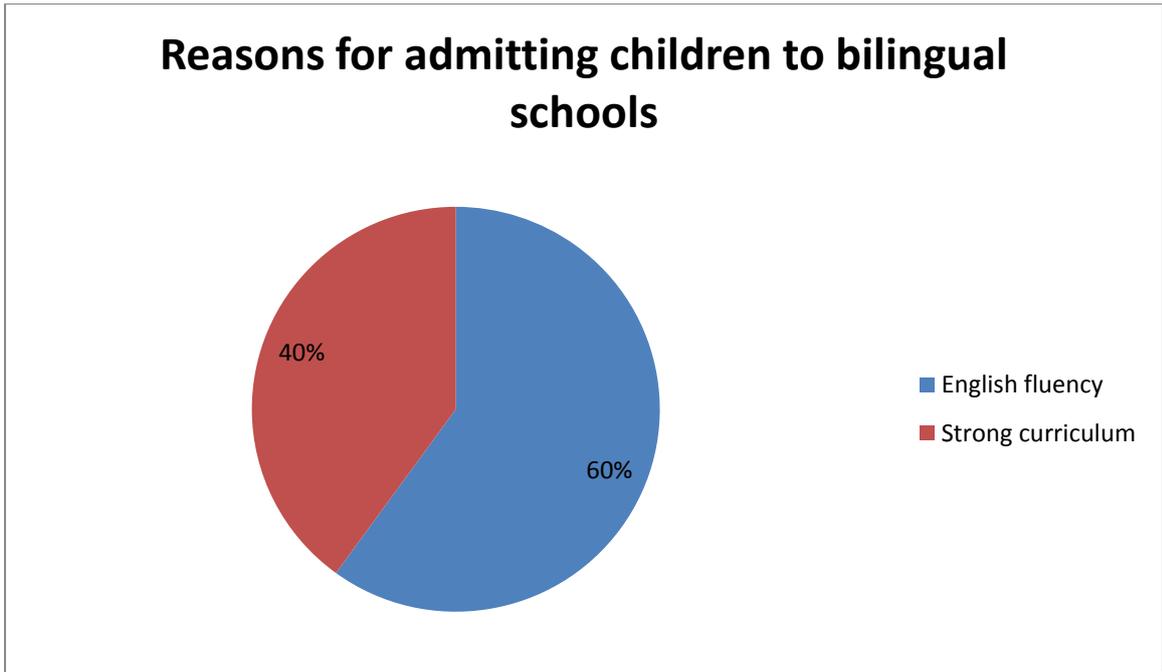
Figure 13: Reasons leading parents to admit their children to bilingual schools

Parents' perception of English

■ First/main
■ Second
■ Third

A language of Education & technology   A language of Prestige   A second language
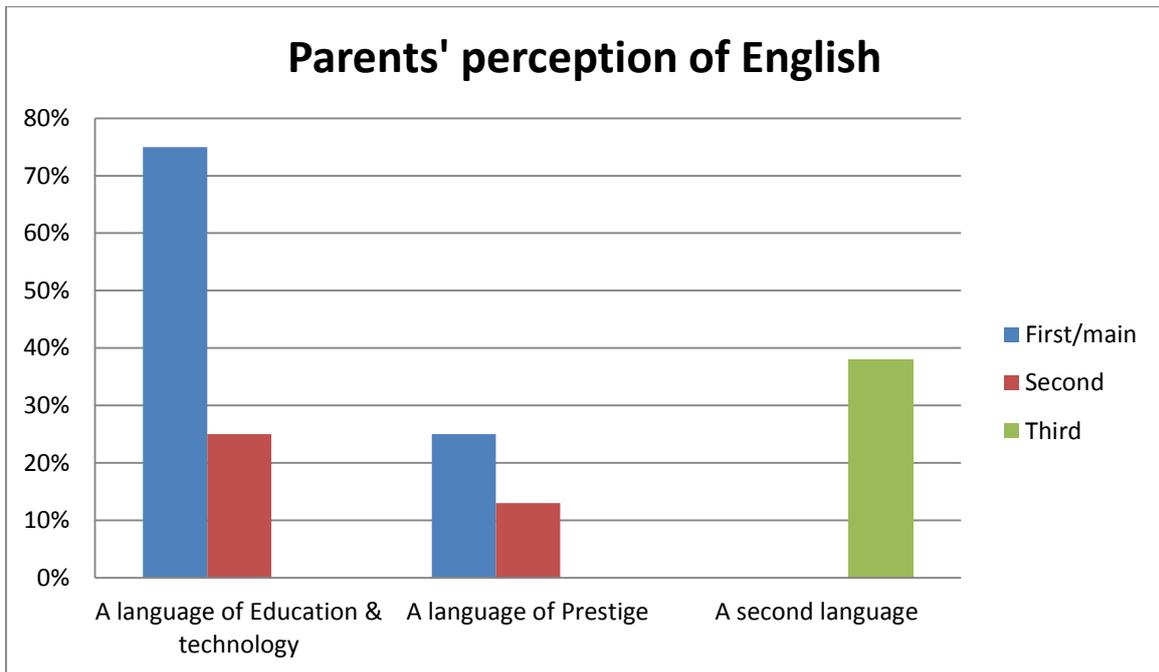
Figure 14: Perception of English among bilingual school students' parents

2.3 Analytical framework

Two of the main approaches to interpreting code-switching are the structural approach and the sociolinguistic approach. A diversity of structural approaches has tried to put constraints on the occurrence or absence of code-switching. Poplack's 'free morpheme constraint' (1980) and Myers-Scotton's 'MLF model' (1993) are two of the basic approaches in the structural interpretation of code-switching. We are concerned here with the sociolinguistic/pragmatic approach, which investigates the social factors behind code-switching and views code-switching as a meaningful communicative activity, since it best answers our research questions. Below is an overview of two predominant views of code-switching:

2.3.1 Predominant perspectives on code-switching

2.3.1.1 Carol Myers-Scotton's 'Markedness' approach

McConvell (1994:8) explains that Myers-Scotton's approaches "subscribe to some form of the view that the social meanings of conversational code-switches are carried by a set of social categories 'metaphorically symbolised by particular languages' ". In addition to McConvell and Heller, Myers-Scotton claimed that when speakers code-switch, then they are obeying the rights, obligations and expressing the identities each language offers (Stroud 1998). Therefore, a speaker must avoid flaunting the listener's rights and act according to certain obligations and according to the listener's (and speaker's) identity and expectations. Only in this way is a code-switch considered meaningful.

In addition, the RO (rights and obligations) model is seen as a universal one that is not limited to a certain bilingual community. However, counter-examples are found in the data collected where the speakers who code-switch flaunt the rights and obligations or

expectations of the listener, yet the conversation remains meaningful. Also, the RO model does not answer the question of 'why the speaker code-switches'; therefore, the motivations behind code-switching remain unexplained.

Another important model is the 'markedness model' by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993:75). This model proposes that:

> "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the personal preference and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place. This markedness has a normative basis within the community, and speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices because the unmarked choice is 'safer' (i.e. it conveys no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship), speakers generally make this choice but not always. Speakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices, and make their decisions, typically unconsciously".

Hence, speakers often use the unmarked choice because it satisfies the expectations of the listener, while the marked choice is the unusual or unexpected choice which is less used, and when used it is for specific reasons. However, there are certain circumstances in which the speaker prefers to use the marked choice or yet another choice called the exploratory choice since each of these choices has its own motivations (Myers-Scotton 1993).

(A) The unmarked choice

A speaker chooses the unmarked choice if s/he wants to establish or affirm the rights and obligations. This results in two types of unmarked code-switching:

I.   Sequential code-switching

Sequential code-switching is similar to the situational code-switching by Blom and Gumperz (1972) as explained in the first chapter, which occurs when there is a change in the situation. However, Myers-Scotton does not like labeling it as situational for she believes that

the change of situation does not trigger the change; the speaker does. Sequential code-switching occurs when the speaker code-switches to another language and by doing this s/he is acknowledging the new rights and obligations, i.e. the role and identity of the speaker and hearer in the community, as well as accepting the change to the new unmarked choice.

II.   Code-switching itself as an unmarked choice

This type of code-switching is a quick continuous intra-sentential switch (insertion) from one language to another in a single speech. In some cases, this switch occurs within a word as in word endings, making it look more like a loanword rather than a code-switch.

(B) The marked choice

Instead of choosing the unmarked choice to identify the rules of obligation for the speaker and listener, the speaker dis-identifies these rules and obligations by using an unexpected or marked choice. By this choice, the speaker is telling listeners to put aside the social identity and role that the speaker carries and speak to him/her according to their relationship. The reason behind this choice is "to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection and to negotiate outcomes ranging from demonstrations of authority or of superior educational status to assertions of ethnic identity" (Myers-Scotton 1993:132). This results in either increasing or decreasing the social distance between the participants. For example, a person may code-switch when angry to decrease the social distance or to affirm authority. Poplack (1980) considers choosing the unexpected choice to indicate emotions or distance as the expressive function of code-switching, because the speaker is expressing his/her feelings throughout the switch. Narrowing the social distance is not only social but can also be ethnical. For example, if three speakers are involved in a talk and then one of the speakers

switches to a language that one of the other speakers does not understand, then this switch is an unexpected choice made to ethnically distance the speaker.

Other than distance, unmarked choices are used as meta-linguistic functions such as in quotations and retelling of an incident. When a speaker wants to quote from the speech or writing which has been said or written in a different language, the speaker is then obliged to code-switch. In another situation, a speaker may code-switch just to signal that s/he is telling a story (narration) even though it is not necessary that such a story be said/written in the language of the code-switch. Others choose an unmarked choice just to give a stylistic effect to the speech. In addition, a speaker may repeat what s/he has already said in another language (structural flagging). The motivation behind it is to make sure that the participant(s) understands what has been said. It is claimed that the marked choice is pronounced with a higher pitch than the unmarked one, so it is phonologically flagged as well. Moreover, such a switch can be triggered simply by a lack of knowledge in the language of speech (Myers-Scotton 1995). This often involves insertion of words from another language and not long stretches of speech as in the case of alternation.

(C) The exploratory choice

This is the least common choice. It occurs when the speaker cannot identify clearly the identity or social role of the listener, and therefore the unmarked choice cannot be identified. This leads to code-switching which signals that the speaker can speak in whatever language that is suitable to the listener. This choice is a neutral one because it avoids speaking in one language and therefore having only a single set of rights and obligations. It often takes place in bilingual communities where one language is informal and spoken among family and friends and the other is formal and spoken in public and at work. In addition, the

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speakers involved have dual identities, such as being the brother and boss at the same time, leaving the speaker confused as to what language s/he should use.

An analyst would have difficulties interpreting the social motivations behind code-switching when the analysis is based solely on the 'markedness model'. First, it is no easy task recognising which language is the marked language and which one is the unmarked language in many situations, especially when speakers are balanced bilinguals such as the case in the collected data. Second, Carol Myers-Scotton states that the exploratory choice is the least common type of code-switching while in the data collected it is the most common one, as the speakers code-switch continuously rather than choose a certain language for a particular addressee/situation, and that in spite of the fact that they can identify the participants' language preferences. Third, the markedness model interprets the instance of code-switching in a single utterance, but does not account for the social motivation behind the whole turn. It does not recognise the importance of what precedes and what follows the code-switch. Fourth, the markedness model provides a certain set of motivations as an explanation of code-switching rather than explaining what is really intended or expressed. It is unrealistic to specify certain functions for certain code-switches since code-switches can be interpreted differently in different situations. Therefore, the pragmatic function of code-switching cannot be interpreted fully using the 'markedness model' since it is an analyst-oriented model, depending on the analysts' own interpretation rather than the participants'.

2.3.1.2 Conversational analysis

Conversational analysis (CA) was developed by sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. It is the study of talk-in-interaction which aims at examining "the order/organisation/orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practice, in the sayings/telling/doing of

members of society" (Psathas 1995:2). According to Schegloff (1980), the answer to the question of 'why that now?' is not related to the speaker's intentions but to the theoretical constant of daily interaction which is context-free, such as adjacency pairs and sequence remarks. Moreover, Schegloff (1996) focused on participants' own analyses of utterances rather than the analysts' own perception.

Psathas stated that conversational analysis is based on seven assumptions (1995:2-3):

A. Order is a produced orderliness.

B. Order is produced by the parties in situ; that is, it is both situational and occasional.

C. The parties orient themselves to that order; that is, this order is not an analyst's conception, not the result of the use of some performed or performulated theoretical conceptions concerning what action should/must/ought to be taken, or based on a generalizing or summarizing statement about what the action generally/frequently/often is.

D. Order is repeatable and recurrent.

E. The discovery, description, and analysis of that produced orderliness is the task of the analyst.

F. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the structures, machinery, organised practices, formal procedures, and the way in which order is produced.

G. Structures of social action, once so discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal terms, that is, structural, organisational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstract, terms.

According to Li Wei, Milroy and Ching, conversational analysis involves "searching the data for recurrent sequential patterns, which are then interpreted with reference both to the observable behaviour of participants and to generalisations derived inductively from previously observed conversational corpora" (2007:151). This means that in order to understand conversational strategies such as code-switching, a speaker's language patterns and language ability must be taken into consideration.

Auer claims that code choice should be dealt with in accordance with turn-by-turn or what he calls 'turn construction unit' (Auer 2000:137), which explains not only how speakers code-switch but also why they do it. To understand turn-by-turn mechanism, which is a type of sequential organisation, the structure of turn-taking must be explained first. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) noticed that speakers often speak one at a time, leading to smooth change in turns, with short overlapped utterances. 'Taking the floor' occurred appropriately at turn relevance transition points even if the previous turn was not completed. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), and Schegloff (2007) classified the turn-taking system into two main components: turn-constructional component and turn-allocation component. Turn-constructional component is the point where a turn is completed before a turn-transition point takes place followed by turn-allocation which is when the participants distribute turns among themselves by selecting the next speaker. Turn-allocation techniques are used by the current speaker to choose the next speaker or self-select him/herself unless overlap occurs. In case the current speaker does not select a speaker, s/he may continue the conversation or complete his/her turn without selection, leading to silence; hence, another speaker self-selects him/herself and takes the floor (Psathas 1995).

Conversational analysis is a transparent method that is re-applicable to different situations, domains and even other communities. According to Li Wei (2005:381), conversational analysis has three basic principles:

A. To be applied to everyday, social life face-to-face interactions.

B. The analysis explains how and why people do things and is not concerned with hidden motives or rationality.

C. An analysis based on a conversational analytic approach is accomplished by using a focused and systematic analysis of ongoing interactions.

The most significant features of CA approach in the interpretation of code-switching can thus be summarised as follows:

I. Sequentiality

Sequentiality refers to Auer's 'turn construction unit' in which the interpretation of code-switching is not limited to the instance of code-switching itself but also to the turn that precedes it and the one that follows it. What precedes a code-switch may indicate why the code-switching occurred in the first place (e.g. change of topic), and what follows it which constitutes the listener's reaction to the code-switch may indicate whether the speaker's motivation behind the code-switch was met or not (e.g. the listener may ignore the change of topic). According to Auer (124:2007).:

> "'sequential environment': this is given in the first place, by the conversational turn immediately preceding it, to which code-alternation may respond in various ways. While the preceding verbal activities provide the contextual frame for a current utterance, the following utterance by a next participant reflects his or her interpretation of that preceding utterance. Therefore, following utterances are important cues for the analyst and for the first speaker as to if and how a first utterance has been understood".

Unlike the 'markedness model', motivations cannot be interpreted solely on the code-switch but on the interaction of the other participants as well who contribute to the interpretation of code-switching as much as the speaker who code-switched and affected the subsequent speech (Li Wei 1998). Sequentiality emphasises the avoidance of analyst-oriented analysis, in which lists of code-switching functions are provided and that code-switching instances must match these functions (Li Wei & Milroy 1995). Since instances of code-switching are unlimited, their functions are unlimited, too. The functions of code-switches depend on previous and later utterances and cannot be analysed in isolation and assigned functions extracted from a pre-established list of functions.

II. Participant-oriented interpretation

As mentioned previously, all participants of a conversation contribute to the interpretation of the instances of code-switching in that conversation. Sandy Lo stated it this way: "Because (successful) conversation is the result of cooperative efforts of all participants, the interpretation of code-switching should be participant-oriented" (2008:88). It emphasises that CA focuses on the local interpretation of code-switching rather than relating the motivations to external factors even though that does not mean that the macro-level of interpretation will be neglected. According to Li Wei, "It 'limits the external analysts' interpretation leeway because it relates his or her interpretation back to the member's mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour" (1998:162). CA does not specify a set of inflexible interpretations to code-switching. A certain code-switch can have multiple interpretations, depending on the contribution of the rest of the participants, i.e. what precedes and what follows the code-switch (Auer 1984).

III. Contextualisation cue

A contextualisation cue is defined by Gumperz (1996:379) as:

"verbal and non-verbal metalinguistic signs that serve to retrieve the context-bound presuppositions in terms of which component messages are interpreted, [and] play an important role here. A contextualisation cue is one of a cluster of indexical signs produced in the act of speaking that jointly index, that is, invoke a frame of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterance".

This means that code-switching not only acts as a verbal means of communication, but can also function as a non-verbal one like the case of prosodic (intonation, rhythm, accent, etc.) and gestural cues (silence, etc.), signalling the speaker's orientation or turn termination (Auer 1984, 1999; Li Wei & Milroy 1995). When participants are code-switching, they are cooperating to establish the context's relevance and meaningfulness. Code-switching as a non-verbal contextualisation cue can function as irony, topic shift, among others or can indicate the speaker's attitude towards the speaker. These functions are as important as the functions of verbal communication in interpreting utterances since they may add or cancel information which will help listeners in understanding the intended meaning of the speaker (see chapter 4 for more details).

2.3.2 Functions of code-switching

Gumperz (1982), Li Wei (1994), Auer (1984), among others, agree that code-switching is a multifunctional contextualisation cue that identifies preferences, turn-taking, repair, repetition, etc. As laid out in the following, those functions divide code-switching into three categories (Sandy Lo 2008):

2.3.2.1 Situational code-switching

Situational code-switching does not only refer to code-switches that result from a change in the formality of a situation (public vs. private setting), but also refers to other situations where CS is affected by factors such as age, gender, class, education, and religion of the participants. In Arabic-speaking countries, Arabic speakers switch from a dialect of

Arabic (low variety) to standard Arabic (high variety) at school, in the media and in religious performances. In this case, the switch is between varieties of the same language, which is known as diglossia. However, in some countries there are instances of code-switching to another language in similar settings. In other words, monolingual speakers of any language speak (slightly) differently at home. The variety of the language spoken at home and among friends is usually more vernacular than the one spoken at work, for example.

The same applies to bilinguals: some bilinguals use one language with their family members and another at work. Even at work the language used among peers may differ from the one used when addressing the boss. Another case is solidarity where immigrants speak to each other in their native language, then code-switch when another participant speaking a different language joins the conversation. According to Gumperz (1982), this type of code-switching also occurs when there is a change or addition of an addressee where the speaker may try to accommodate the new participant's language preferences and identity by switching to the new participant's language or switching to a neutral language that all participants understand as a gesture of showing solidarity, or distancing the new participant by switching to a language that s/he does not understand.

2.3.2.2 Discourse-related code-switching

The interpretation of discourse-related CS depends on the organisation of the conversation itself, rather than the situation in which it takes place or the characteristics of participants. The interpretation relies on the effect of these code-switches on the conversation and the role they play in changing, adding, or cancelling information. It is not the case that these instances of CS occur for emphasis solely, but rather for extra-linguistic functions. Gumperz (1982:93) refers to it as metaphorical CS (as opposed to situational CS). He claims that:

"code-switching is thus more than simply a way of contrastively emphasising part of a message. It does not merely set off a sequence from preceding and following ones. The direction of the shift may also have semantic value in a sense the oppositions warning/personal appeal, casual remark/personal feeling, decision based on convenience/decision based on annoyance, personal opinion/generally known fact can be seen as metaphoric extensions of the 'we code', 'they code' opposition".

Illustrated below are some of the most common functions of discourse-related code-switches. Auer (1984: 32) categorises code-switching according to the types of local meaning:

(A) Change in participant constellation

This is considered by Auer as the most frequent type of discourse-related code-switching which specifies turn construction and allocation. Speakers can change the interactional status of a participant in interaction or exclude him/her from the conversation by code-switching. This is demonstrated in situations where one (or more) of the participants is incompetent in the newly selected language, and hence excluded from the conversation. Here, code-switching not only changed the addressee(s) but also changed the status of one (or more) of the participants from being participant(s) to bystander(s).

(B) Sequential contrast and double cohesion

In these situations, code-switching is used either to distance from the topic or to reinforce. A change in the language of conversation signals a change in function. For example, code-switching can signal side-remarks that are unrelated to the topic being discussed. It alarms the participant that what is being said must not be understood as associated with the prior utterance. On the other hand, code-switching can act as a confirmation of previous utterance by the use of repetition. The speaker supports his/her utterance by repeating it in another language to avoid disbelief, incoherence, or misunderstanding. Auer (1984:52) notes that when the cohesion is low, the conversationalist

switches to the preferred language of conversation in order to convey his/her message correctly.

(C) Dispreference

Dispreference can be both a discourse-related and participant-related function of code-switching. It is discourse-related when the speaker produces an utterance that contrasts the language of the previous utterance to indicate dispreference or disliking. It is often manifested in question/answer, request/offer sequences, where the answer contrasts, negates or rejects the previous question or offer (Li Wei 1994). It is not as in the case of participant-related code-switching where it is related to identity issues (see section 2.2.3). Code-switching may also function as an escape strategy where the second-generation speaker ignores answering the first generation's question by switching to another language (dispreferring to answer the question). Other strategies include reformulating the question in another language not for the reason of language incompetence but due to a lack of knowledge on the topic being discussed (topic dispreference).

(D) Reiteration

Repeating a word or a whole utterance can be regarded as trying to draw attention to what is being said. If the speaker realises that the other participants have lost interest in what s/he is saying, then code-switching is used as a strategy to draw the attention before other participants take the turn. Other functions of reiteration are to emphasise the authenticity of what is being said when the participants show signs of lack of credibility, or to indicate the importance of the information the speaker is providing when listeners show signs of indifference.

(E) Quotation

Code-switching occurs when a speaker quotes a phrase spoken/written in a language other than the language of conversation. In many cases, the quotation is followed by a translation or a paraphrase of the same quotation in the language of conversation. The speaker code-switches when quoting, not only because it is the language of the original quotation, but also because of the non-verbal information the quotation provides such as intonation and rhythm which act as a non-verbal contextualisation cue. Another reason for quoting in the original language is the inaccuracy or unavailability of translation in the language of conversation. This includes cultural-related lexical items, idioms and discourse markers that carry different and cognitively driven functions (see Matras 1998, 2000).

(F) Expressive code-switching

Code-switching can express the opinion, preference or emotions of the speaker. It may occur as a side-comment/remark to the topic being discussed which may not contribute to the topic being discussed but to the speaker's attitude towards it. In such cases, the code-switching is embedded, i.e. the conversation starts in language A, then the speaker switches to language B to express his/her opinion/emotion towards the topic, then switches back to language A to continue the discussion. Code-switches are also used as pre-sequences for expressing opinions or emotions. This involves the insertion of expressions such as 'in my opinion', 'I feel', etc., which will be dealt with in more detail in chapters 4 and 5.

2.3.2.3 Participant-related code-switching

In many immigrant bilingual communities, second and later generations prefer speaking the language of the country they live in, not the language of the country they are originally from for identity reasons. They want to distance themselves from their community and be recognised as belonging to the community where they now live. In non-immigrant bilingual communities, new generations prefer using the more prestigious languages over

their local language. These two cases result in code-switching among the first and second generations. Li Wei (1994) explains that when children use English instead of Cantonese, it is not the case that they are incompetent in Cantonese, but only because they do not want to be associated with speakers of that language. Milroy (1987:185) argues that "the expected pattern of response is that where a language or variety has high prestige, speakers will often claim to use it, and where it is of low prestige, they will deny knowledge of it".

Participant-related code-switching also occurs when the speaker chooses to switch to a different language, either because it is the preferred language as mentioned earlier or to fill a linguistic gap. The latter results from a lack of memory or lack of competence in the language of conversation (Auer 1995). These code-switches are often preceded by silence which indicates uncertainty, hesitation or the need for more time to recall the intended lexical item(s) due to the lack of memory. This is often observed in unbalanced bilinguals who are competent in one language more than in the other. For details on discourse and participant-related code-switching, see chapter 2.

In this study, the data will be analysed by adopting an interactional conversational analytical approach which focuses on both 'how and why a speaker code-switches'. It explores the pragmatic dimensions of conversation as it views code-switching as an activity or an action that needs to be disclosed and understood because of the pragmatic functions this activity provides. Li Wei (2005, p. 388) states that "language is not simply a medium for the expression of intentions, motives or interests but also a resource for uncovering the methods through which an ordered activity is generated". Therefore, CA provides us with an interpretation of those code-switching instances in conversation by examining the whole conversation or turn-by-turn as Li Wei calls it, and not only the utterances wherein code-switching takes place. CA unveils the meaning of naturally occurring code-switching in interaction.

According to Auer (1984:5), CA focuses on the "the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, that is, the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organisation of his or her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers". It also "limits the external analyst's interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behavior" (Auer 1984:6). So, any other theory that neglects the importance of sequentiality, and depends solely on external factors or the analysts' intuition is bound to fail. The language choices of preceding and following utterances contribute to the meaning of the conversation as well as its content. They clarify the factors behind the occurrences of unexpected utterances or actions. The functions behind each instance of code-switching will be stated according to the participants' interpretation or behaviour before and after its occurrence rather than picked from a list of factors.

Thus, Conversational Analysis (CA) will be adopted as the main framework, combined with other approaches in cases where it fails to work on its own as in the case of discourse markers wherein the concept of metalanguage (Maschler 1994) is applied (see chapter 5). The process of data analysis comprises five steps:

A. Listening to the interview as a whole and taking preliminary notes.

B. Transcribing the audio-recorded interviews in detail using Gail Jefferson's transcription system, including pauses, hesitations, overlaps, fillers, and back-channels.

C. Categorising instances of code-switches according to functions, taking into consideration the effect of previous and later turns.

D. Identifying similar occurrences of code-switches that have similar functions in our corpus and in the literature.

D. Applying the conversational analytic framework to analyse the functions of each code-switch.

To sum up, a combination of tools were used in order to collect and analyse data in this study. For data collection, questionnaires, audio-recorded interviews, observations and note-taking were used; while for data analysis, two of the main perspectives in the analysis of code-switching guided the researcher in analysing the functions behind code-switching.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTRASTIVE CODE-SWITCHING

In this chapter, one of the most recurrent functions of code-switching in our data will be discussed. First, the general notion of contrast will be defined, followed by another definition in relation to code-switching. Second, the notions of participant-related and discourse-related contrastive code-switching will be introduced. Finally, an analysis of contrastive code-switching found in our corpus will be provided.

3.1. Defining contrast

3.1.1 General definition

Rudolph (1996:8) explains that:

> "the knowledge of contrast is one of the basic human experiences as all of us already in early childhood learn to feel and understand distance to other people and things as a contrast. In our daily life we perceive the world as being full of oppositions so that the phenomenon of contrast is very familiar to us. Therefore it is not surprising that all languages are full of contrastive pairs such as the opposition of day and night, warm and cold, walking and sitting, up and down".

In this study, contrastive code-switching will be classified into two types: participant-related and discourse-related contrastive code-switching. Participant-related contrastive code-switching is exclusive to bilinguals because it engages two languages. This is the use of a different language other than the language of speech to contradict the relationship between the participants. In other words, this type of contrast does not create a change in the content of the discourse but rather a change in the relationship between the speakers. On the other hand, discourse-related contrastive code-switching is the use of unexpected information to contradict the propositional content of the previous utterance (see section 3.3).

The notion of contrast here is used to describe what (Levinson 1983, Pomerantz 1984, Atkinson and Drew 1979 & Li Wei & Milroy 1994) call 'dispreference' in preference organisation. Preference organisation is:

> "the ranking of alternative second parts of the so-called adjacency pairs, such as acceptance or refusal of an offer, or agreement or disagreement with an assessment.. It has been argued that such alternatives are not generally of equal status; rather, some second parts are 'preferred' while others are 'dispreferred' (for example, acceptance of offers as opposed to rejections; agreements with assessments rather than disagreements)" (Li Wei & Milroy 1994:287).

Contrast in this study is used to define the second part of an adjacency pair that marks dispreference; such as dislike or rejection of either the language used in the first part of the adjacency pair or of the propositional content of the first part of the adjacency pair. The term contrast is used instead of 'dispreference', because the latter entails that the opposition in the second adjacency pair is motivated solely by preference; whereas the term 'contrast' is more general entailing that the opposition in language or propositional content in the second adjacency pair is motivated primarily by preference but not exclusively.

3.1.2 Contrastive code-switching

Contrastive code-switching is where the whole contrastive utterance is inserted into a different language in order to highlight and strengthen the contrastive case. A code-switch can help create a contrastive relationship without the use of a contrastive connective. The participants are able to interpret a case of contrast by the use of contradictory information supported by a code-switch. As mentioned earlier, contrastive code-switching can be participant-related and discourse-related, depending on the function of the code-switch and how the participants interpret it.

3.2. Participant-related and discourse related contrastive code-switching

Contrastive code-switching can be manifested in two different situations: one is participant-related and the other is discourse-related.

3.2.1 Participant-related contrastive code-switching

According to Auer (1999), participant-related code-switching is manifested in the participant's language preference or the participant's competence. In other words, the motivation behind this type of code-switching depends on the preferred language choice of the speaker or his/her fluency in the language of speech, and is not motivated by the organisation or content of the conversation. In such a situation, the language in the preceding utterance does not have any major impact on the language choice of the speaker, since the language choice was made in terms of competence or preference. As a result, contrast between two languages occurs.

Participant-related contrastive code-switching is a strategy in which the speaker insists on his/her language choice and refuses to accommodate or negotiate the language of interaction. This is often motivated not only by language incompetence, but also by identity issues. Speakers may associate certain languages with certain characteristics. For example, in Kuwait, fluency in English is associated with modernity and high social status, as English is used as the main medium of teaching in private schools. It also identifies the speaker as someone who not only has studied and lived abroad but could also afford the study and living expenses. Therefore, a fluent speaker in English will be identified as belonging to a high social class, so much so that some speakers prefer English over Arabic in order to be identified as such. Thus, accommodation with the previous speaker's language choice or with the dominant language of interaction in this case will lead to a misconception of identity which is dispreferred by the speaker. It is participant-related because the code-switch was prompted by the participant, and not by the organisation of discourse or the content of the conversation (Auer 1999). And it is contrastive because it contradicts the preference and expectations of the other participants. This is the case in many bilingual immigrant

communities where second (and later) generations prefer to speak in the language of the country they currently live or were born in rather than communicating in their mother tongue.

In Li Wei's study (1994, 2002, 2005) of Chinese immigrants to the UK, the second generation does not wish to be identified as belonging to the country of origin. As a result, their speech is dominated by English even when communicating with the first-generation immigrants who prefer communicating in Cantonese. On the other hand, first-generation immigrants prefer to communicate in their mother tongue, and some even refuse to communicate with second-generation immigrants in English. Li Wei's example (2002:169), of a Chinese woman refusing to answer her 8-year-old daughter's request because of her use of English, thereby leading to a 'communicative breakdown', is a perfect example of language preference. The mother is expecting her daughter to address her in Cantonese since "the authority structure of the family in Chinese culture expects children to comply with their parents" (Li Wei 2002:170) but the daughter insists on using English because it is her preferred language choice. Both speakers insist on their respective language of choice and refuse to accommodate. As transcribed in the following, the pauses in the conversation indicate refusal and dispreference of the language choices made. A is the daughter, B is the mother, and C is the son.

(1) A: Cut it out for me (.) please.

(2) B: (2.5)

(3) C: [Give us a look.

(4) B: [*Mute-ye?*

      'What'

(5) A: Cut this out

(6) B: *Mute-ye*

    'What?'

(7) C: Give us a look

(8) (2.0)

(9) B: *Nay m yingwa lei?*

  'Why don't you answer me?'

In a study by Shin and Milroy (2000) of conversational code-switching among Korean-English bilingual children, they attributed the participant-related code-switching behaviour and the preference of English over Korean to the fact that English is the language of the young and the unmarked choice for the classroom. The children were fluent in both Korean and English but as in the case of Li Wei's study mentioned earlier; they preferred using English even when addressed in Korean by the elderly. In non-immigrant communities such as in Kuwait, preferring English over Arabic, even in an Arabic dominant conversation, has come about due to the prestigious status of English, in addition to other factors (see chapter 2). In cases where interlocutors do not have a language preference, language negotiation takes place. When one of the speakers code-switches between two or more languages, it is an indication to the other speakers to choose a preferred language (Meyerhoff 2011).

3.2.1.1 The notion of 'pragmatically dominant language'

In this study, the speaker's language of choice is measured by the frequency of usage. For example, the number of utterances in Arabic is compared to the number of English utterances. The language that is used more regularly in conversation is identified as the

'dominant language'. However, there are utterances where code-switches are inserted, making it difficult to recognise the language of utterance. If the insertion is a single word common noun insertion, then it is not so complicated to identify the language of utterance or the dominant language of this specific utterance. But in utterances where the speakers code-switch continuously, then the language of the predication is the language of the utterance. This is based on the works of Matras (2014:2) who states that:

> "in a multilingual communication setting, the choice of 'language' amounts to the choice of structures used to anchor the predication and its arguments (verb-inflectional morphology such as person, tense, modality and aspect). The choice of, for example, lexical material, modifiers, or prosody is less crucial in this respect, and so these are more easily 'transferrable' from one language to another".

A pragmatically dominant language, on the other hand, is a more general concept which is not associated with language choice behaviour within a single utterance but rather during the whole conversation. A pragmatically dominant language is "the language which, in a given moment of discourse interaction, is granted maximum mental effort by speakers. This may be the speaker's first language, or one that is dominant for a particular domain of linguistic interaction, or one that exerts pressure due to its overall role as the majority language that is culturally prestigious or economically powerful" (Matras 2000:84). In a bilingual community, a pragmatically dominant language could be the language spoken by the majority, or the language that indicates education, prestige, and power (Matras 1998; Matras 2000).

3.2.2. Discourse-related contrastive code-switching

According to Auer (1999), discourse-related code-switching is the type of code-switching that is motivated by the organisation of discourse in a particular utterance. Gumperz (1982), among others, categorised the discourse-related code-switching according to six functions: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message

qualification, and personalisation vs. objectivisation. However, the functions of discourse-related code-switching cannot be limited to the aforementioned. Discourse-related code-switches vary, not only from one language to another but also from one situation to another within the same language(s) in a single conversation. Discourse-related code-switching is the type of code-switching which acts as a contextualisation cue (see chapter 4) that is purposeful, and as a meaningful verbal activity that serves a certain goal.

In this section, we are concerned with the contrastive functions behind discourse-related contrastive code-switches. Discourse-related contrastive switches can be motivated by dispreference of the content of the previous utterance among other things. This means that a speaker may change the language of conversation in order to show that s/he disprefers, dislikes, or disapproves of the previous utterance's content. It is often manifested in question/answer, request/acceptance sequences, where the answer contrasts, negates or rejects the previous question or request (Li Wei 1994). Therefore, changing the language of speech indicates dislike of the question or request. In some cases, the change of language is used as an escape strategy in which the speaker changes the language of conversation as well as the topic, and refuses to answer the question or accept the request.

A good example is that of Li Wei (2002: 172) where a mother is asking her 12-year-old son, who is playing with his computer, about his homework. A is the mother and B is her son.

(1) A: finished homework?

(2) B: (2.0)

(3) A: Steven, *yiu mo wan sue?*

'Do you want to do your homework?'

(4) B: (1.5) I've finished

In this example, the mother starts the conversation in English which is the preferred language of her son but is answered with silence, signalling dispreference of what has been said. Such silence cannot be interpreted as participant-related because it fulfils the expectations, rights and obligations of the addressee. Here, silence and therefore dispreference were not caused by the mother's language choice but by the utterance itself since English happens to be the son's preferred language choice. The mother reformulates her question in Cantonese, the language of authority and generally preferred by the older generations, to signal her dislike of her son's silence and her request for an answer. Again, her son shows his dispreference of his mother's utterance by his silence and the use of English in reply. The son used a different language than the language of the previous utterance which was also preceded by silence to indicate his dislike of his mother's question which he interpreted as a request to do his homework instead of playing with his computer.

Based on the data, the following tools have been created by the researcher to assist with the identification of participant-related and discourse-related contrastive code-switching:

A. If the code-switch or what follows it negates, disagrees, disprefers, dislikes, disapproves, or denies what precedes it, then the code-switch functions as contrast. What precedes a code-switch contributes to its occurrence. It is not the case that a code-switch only contrasts with what directly precedes it. A code-switch occurring at the end of a conversation may contrast or anticipate a contrast with an utterance taking place at the beginning of the same conversation.

B. If the code-switch is used as a strategy to distance the speaker from the other participant(s) for reasons of identity, solidarity or formality of situation, then the code-switch is contrastive. In this case, the speaker wants to be identified as (strikingly) different from what is associated with the other language spoken by the other participant(s).

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3.3 Participant-related and discourse–related contrastive code-switching in our data

In our corpus, both instances of participant-related contrastive code-switching and instances of discourse-related contrastive code-switching[2] were identified among bilingual and multilingual school students by analysing the conversation as a whole, turn by turn, and within a single utterance. An utterance can even be a case of both participant-related code-switching and discourse-related code-switching at the same time. In other words, a speaker may code-switch to a language other than the language of speech for preference reasons, and then insert within his/her utterance a discourse-related code-switch.

In the following example, the researcher started by alternating between English and Arabic, signalling that the speakers have the freedom to choose the language of conversation. The researcher is asking the three students about their mock exams that took place a few days earlier. I is the researcher, S1 is the first student in the conversation, and so forth. During this conversation, S1 chose Arabic (over English) as the language of conversation; hence, Arabic was the dominant language in this conversation. S2, the second student in this conversation, also produced more Arabic than English utterances but also code-switched from time to time. S3, the third student in this conversation, chose English at first over Arabic as the language of conversation but then towards the end of the conversation her language behaviour started to change. Therefore, more than the other two, S3 will be the focus of our analysis As mentioned earlier, in order to identify participant-related code-switching, an analysis of the whole conversation is needed to ascertain the language behaviour.

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[2]Those instances of discourse-related contrastive code-switching motivated by opposition in opinion and opposition in emotional state will be analysed in chapter 4 as it deals with expressive code-switching.

Since the conversation is a very long one to be analysed as a whole, I chose some excerpts that indicate change in the code-switching behaviour of S3 and demonstrating a participant-related contrastive code-switching. The example will be divided into four excerpts each followed by its description, then all of them will be analysed as one example for an easier and more convenient analysis.

(Ex.3.1)

(Ex.3.1.1)

(1) I: OK *fa šlōnk-um min ʕugub il-*mock exams?

(2) S1: *əl-ḥəmdillāh bas yaʕni fi əmtiḥān-āt yaʕni fi ašyā' ṣaʕba*

(3) I: mm

(4) S1: *yaʕni əḥna kinna gāʕd-īn n-āxið* tuitions *w čəði yaʕni il-mudarrəs-īn ḥāṭṭ-īn ləna mudarrə-sīn min awwal šai fa yaʕni il-ḥimdillah fāhm-īn kil šai čəði bas fi ašyā' ṣaʕba*

(5) I: OK *[w]*

(6) S2: [-] not everything was easy *yaʕni kān fi* easy *illi maθalan* paper one *haðēla kānaw* easy *bas zēn il-ḥimdillāh*

(7) I: *l-ḥimdillāh. w kil il-mawād əmtaḥan-t-aw willa?*

(8) S3: *ī* all the subjects like it was fine I find it OK *əl-ḥimdillāh*

(9) I: OK *w al-ḥīn inšāllah yimkin bāgīl-lə-kum sina aw* this is the last year for some of you

(10) S1: yeah

(11) I: what are you thinking of doing later on like going abroad? Studying in Kuwait?

(12) S1: I don't know still

(13) I: (laugh) you still don't know

(14) S2: *āna ənšāllah yā amrīka ya* UK *ləlḥīn mā adri. inšāllah la xaðēt nisba arūḥ a-kammil barra w čəði*

(15) I: OK *ḥəlu*. What about you?

(16) S3: <u>I still don't have anything in mind but I'm staying in Kuwait.</u>

(17) I: *ənšāllah. ənzēn žāmʕat lə-kwēt ʕində-hum šaġla inna m-saww-īn manʕ ikhtilāṭ inna m-saww-īn* campus *xāṣ* for boys *w* campus *xāṣ* for girls. Do you think it's a good idea?

(18) S3: <u>No, I don't 'cause it's useful (correct self) useless I guess. There is no point in separating boys and girls and they can still be together like in breaks they're together, in cafeteria they're together so by separating that creates more problems.</u>

<u>Translation (Ex.3.1.1)</u>

(1) I: OK *so how are you after the-*mock exams?

(2) S1: *Thank God but I mean there are exams I mean there are things that are difficult*

(3) I: mm

(4) S1: *I mean we were taking* tuitions *and like that I mean the teachers have assigned teachers for us from the beginning so I mean thank God we understand everything like that but there are things that are difficult*

(5) I: OK *[and]*

(6) S2: [-] not everything was easy *I mean there was* easy *that is for example* paper *one those were* easy *but good thank God.*

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(7) I: *Thank God. and you're done with all the subjects you were examined or?*

(8) S3: <u>*yes* all the subjects like it was fine I find it OK *thank God*</u>

(9) I: OK *and now I guess only one year is left or* this is the last year for some of you

(10) S1: yeah

(11) I: what are you thinking of doing later on like going abroad? Studying in Kuwait?

(12) S1: I don't know still

(13) I: (laugh) you still don't know

(14) S2: *for me either America or* UK *I don't know til now. If I get a good GPA I'll study abroad and like that.*

(15) I: OK *nice*. What about you?

(16) S3: <u>I still don't have anything in mind but I'm staying in Kuwait.</u>

(17) I: By the way Kuwait University *have gender separation policy that they built* campus *special* for boys *and* campus *special* for girls. Do you think it's a good idea?

(18) S3: <u>No, I don't 'cause it's useful (correct self) useless I guess. There is no point in separating boys and girls and they can still be together like in breaks they're together, in cafeteria they're together so by separating that creates more problems.</u>

    In the first extract, the researcher started the conversation by asking the student about the mock exams, to which S1 replied that it was good but there were difficult questions. She explained her answer by saying that they were taking tuitions and teachers were assigned for the students to prepare them for the exams, and while they understood everything, at the end the questions were difficult. S2 then added that not everything was easy, but it was just paper

one. I then asked whether they have been examined in all the subjects and S3 replied that they have. Then, I mentioned that it is the students' final year in high school and asked them about whether they were planning to continue with their studies in Kuwait or abroad. S1 replied that she does not have a plan yet while S2 stated that she is planning to either study in the US or UK but her high school GPA would decide whether she would be getting a scholarship to study abroad or not. I then addressed the same question to S3 who does not seem involved or interested in the topic. S3 replied that she is staying in Kuwait but does not know what she will be studying yet. Then I asked S3, since she is planning to study in Kuwait, about gender segregation policy at Kuwait University. S3 replied that it is useless, because during breaks female students would be able to communicate with male students, so separating them is only creating more problems.

(Ex.3.1.2)

 (66) I: *ənzein ha-ššaġla mā ttaʕʕib il-ahal maθalan waḥda bi-t-rūḥ il- žāmʕa maθalan ʕindəh-um* two kids *b-il žāmʕa y-wadd-ūn hāða willa y-wadd-ūn hāða w i--ssāyig y-waddi hāða willa hāða fa* isn't it like better to drive at sixteen?

(67) <u>S3: it's better *bas yaʕni* there are disadvantages *yaʕni harām* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *yaʕni* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *yaʕni* what if something happens in the road?</u>

(68) I: *ṣaḥ*

<u>Translation (Ex.3.1.2)</u>

(66) I: *OK this thing wouldn't it affect the parents for example one wants to drive to college, and they have* two kids *in different colleges they drive this one or that? and the driver drives this one or that? So* isn't it like better to drive at sixteen?

(67) S3: it's better *but I mean* there are disadvantages *I mean poor* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *I mean* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *I mean* what if something happens in the road?

(68) I: *true*

     In the second extract of the same conversation, the researcher asked the students about their opinion regarding driving in Kuwait at the age of sixteen instead of eighteen, because it would help parents with driving their children to school. S3 stated that it is better to drive at the age of sixteen but there will be disadvantages as they are still young and not responsible enough which may lead to more accidents.

(Ex.3.1.3)

(99) I: OK what about the part time jobs because in Kuwait you can't work w study at the university at the same time if it's like a bachelor degree. it's kinda [forbidden]

(100) S3: [It's] they have more activities to do instead of staying at home and doing nothing and they can work *bas* in Kuwait it's different *yaʕni əhna ʕāyšīn* like not like not in Europe at all *yaʕni* you need your family, you're used to people doing things for you *hatta* like living alone is hard you know you are used to staying with your family them doing this them doing that *fa uhma ġēr* they can live alone they're used to their parents travelling, they're used to living abroad there's a big difference between their history and our history

Translation (3.1.3)

(99) I: OK what about the part time jobs because in Kuwait you can't work *and* study at the university at the same time if it's like a bachelor degree. it's kinda [forbidden]

(100) S3: [It's] they have more activities to do instead of staying at home and doing nothing and they can work *bas* in Kuwait it's different *I mean we are living* like not like not in Europe at all *I mean* you need your family, you're used to people doing things for you *even* like living alone is hard you know you are used to staying with your family them doing this them doing that *so they are different* they can live alone they're used to their parents travelling, they're used to living abroad there's a big difference between their history and our history

In the third extract of the same conversation, I asked them about allowing students to work in part-time jobs in Kuwait, which is still prohibited. S3 explained that it is better than staying at home but the situation in Kuwait is different from that in the West. In Kuwait, young people are still dependent on their parents; whereas youths in the West can even travel and live alone.

(Ex.3.1.4)

(103) I: for the part time job

(104) S3: for the part time job OK *wanāsa inna* your kids they go they're gonna get their own money

(105) I: yeah their own money they [know]

(106) S3: [at the] same time I don't find it comfortable for me I don't as I study go to *žāmʕa* and then work it's like *māla dāʕi*.

Translation (Ex.3.1.4)

(103) I: for the part time job

(104) S3: <u>for the part time job OK *it's fun that* your kids they go they're gonna get their own</u>

<u>money</u>

(105) I: yeah their own money they [know]

(106) S3<u>: [at the] same time I don't find it comfortable for me I don't as I study go to</u>

<u>*university* and then work it's like *not necessary.*</u>

In the final extract of the same conversation, the conversation regarding part-time jobs continued, and S3 clarified that part-time jobs and making one's own money are fun but she finds it hard to go to work immediately after finishing lectures at university.

Below is a table summarising the language choice behaviour of the three students in the previous conversation (Ex.3.1). It lists the language of every utterance by the three students; A is for Arabic or Arabic dominant, E is for English or English dominant, and CS is for code-switching. This table demonstrates the change in S3's language behaviour and how English was her preferred language choice even when the language of conversation was Kuwaiti Arabic. As mentioned earlier, S1 used more Arabic utterances that English, S2 also produced more Arabic utterances but code-switched occasionally and finally S3 preferred using English in this particular conversation but started inserting Arabic words towards the end of the conversation.

S1	Comments	S2	Comments	S3	Comments
A	-	CS	-	E	Except *i* & *əl-ḥimdillāh*
A	Except for 'tutions'	A	-	E	-
E	One word	CS	-	E	-

	utterance 'yeah'				
E	-	A	-	E	-
A	Except for 'no'	A	-	E	-
A	-	A	Except for 'focus'	E	-
A	-	A	-	E	-
A	Except for 'family'	A	-	E	-
A	-	CS	-	E	-
A	-	A	-	E	Except for *yaʕni* & *ḥarām*
A	-	A	-	E	Except for *fa*
A	-	A	-	E	Except for *ḥawādiθ*
A	-	A	-	E	Except for *w ana, səʕūdiiya* & *zaḥma*
A	-	A	-	E	-
A	-	A	Except for 'girls'	E	-
A	-	A	-	E	Except for *yaʕni, əḥna*

					ʕāyšīn & fa uhma ġēr
A	-	A	Except for 'part-time'	E	-
A	Except for 'no'	A	-	E	Except for *wanāsa*
A	Except for 'uniform' & 'college'	CS	The English switch is a repetition of the previous speaker's utterance	E	Except for *zaḥma & māala dāʕi*
A	Except for 'eighteen' & 'sixteen'	CS	The English switch is a repetition of the previous speaker's utterance	E	-
A	-	A	Except for 'children'	E	Except for *uhma ġēr & əḥna hni la'*
A	-	A	-	E	-

Table 3.1 Language choice of students in excerpt 3.1

The change that occurred to S3's language choice from producing English utterances to code-switching between the two languages manifests that at the beginning of the

conversation, her Arabic repertoire was slightly activated, then towards the end both her English and Arabic were activated. According to Grosjean's bilingual mode (2008), bilinguals' language choice behaviour varies according to language activation, i.e. bilingualism (code-switching in our case) might be slightly, intermediately, or highly activated. The speaker may insert a few code-switches in monolingual speech, insert many code-switches in the same speech, or code-switch continuously in which the base language of speech is unidentifiable. After using a certain speech mode, the speaker may continue his/her speech mode, change it to another speech mode, or switch completely to another language (see chapter 1).

S3 had an unstable language mode throughout this conversation. S3 started at the beginning of the continuum by being completely monolingual, then changed to being slightly activated by means of a few insertions, and at the end the mode became intermediate in which more code-switches were inserted. On the other hand, S1's language behaviour in this particular conversation was characterised by the consistent use of Arabic over English with few exceptions. One such exception was the common noun 'tuitions' in (4) which was clearly stated in English due to the unavailability of its Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent being an institutional term, i.e. only used in bilingual schools. In monolingual schools, the teaching system differs from that in bilingual schools as there are no tuitions. This explains the unavailability of a Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent. The other instances of English produced by S1 can be attributed to the effect of the previous utterances by the researcher, which were completely in English. Hence, S1 accommodated the previous language of the utterance for conversational coherence by the use of 'yeah' in (10), 'I don't know still' in (12) and 'no' in (23) and (89), but switched back to Arabic immediately afterwards. The effect of the language choice is observable in the use of the same terminologies that were used by the researcher in English, as in (27) and (63) (see chapter 6).

As mentioned earlier, S2's language preference behaviour was similar to S1's except for a few code-switches. In (6), S2 used English to state a fact, then justified it as clarification and added remarks to it in Arabic (see chapter 4). The other instances of code-switching consisted of words used previously by the researcher in previous utterance(s). Therefore, it can be attributed to conversational coherence, accommodation, and the effect of the researcher's language choice (see chapter7). Even though the interview took place at school, S1 and S2 preferred the use of Arabic over English due to one or more of the following reasons. First, the researcher is an Arab, therefore she should be addressed in Arabic as might have been recommended by their parents (see chapter 2). Second, the researcher is not a member of the school staff; hence, it is not necessary to address her in English. Third, the interview was conducted during the school break and in the playground, but not inside a classroom where English is the medium of communication. Finally and most importantly, the students may have chosen the language which they felt most comfortable using, as indicated by the researcher before the interview began. This can be observed in the changing language behaviour of S3.

As for S3, she had the most interesting and unexpected language choice behaviour. She preferred the use of English over Kuwaiti Arabic without seemingly being affected by the changing language choices of the other participants. She contrasted the language choices of the other participants throughout the interview by using English where Arabic is the language of conversation. She refused any attempts by I, S1 and S2 at language negotiation and maintained her choice. Her few instances of Arabic insertions did not result from an attempt at accommodating previous utterances. According to Gumperz's (1982) 'we code' and 'they code' (see chapter 1), S3's language choice will be analysed as an attempt to distance herself from the rest of the participants by choosing a different code (in this case, English). According to accommodation theory, if the speaker refuses to accommodate the language of

conversation then this leads to divergence. S3 is distancing herself from the language used among peers as it is an informal one and chose the language used in the classroom as she considered the setting to have been a formal one. To prove that, it was noted that S3 was not as engaged in the interview as the rest of the participants especially at the beginning, which led to her utterance in (31) 'sorry', showing that she was not paying full attention. According to Gumperz (1982) and Chen (2007), the Arabic insertions towards the end of the conversation might suggest a change in S3's psychological state, by becoming more involved in the conversation, less formal and more relaxed as opposed to being distant, formal and serious. However, S3's utterances in this interview were English dominant which contrasted with the other students' language choices but not always with the researcher's, since the researcher alternated between languages from time to time. Moreover, the distribution of some Arabic insertions is functional, as will be discussed below, and cannot be attributed solely to the change in the speaker's psychological state. S3's choice of English may assign her a certain social identity but it would not distance her from the other participants as they are all fluent in English (Sebba & Wootten 1998).

In Ex.3.1.1, S3 produced participant-related contrastive code-switching in all of her utterances by replying in English instead of replying in Kuwaiti Arabic the language used by the other speakers. It is participant-related because it was not motivated by the content or organisation of the preceding utterances but motivated by the participant's perception of the language. In other words, S3 is using English because it is the formal language used at school; whereas, to her, Kuwaiti Arabic is the language used among friends and at home. The only exceptions is *əl-ḥimdillāh,* which is the second part of an adjacency pair. The first part was in (1) 'OK *fa šlōnk-um min ʕugub il-*mock exams?' In all the data recorded, the answer of *šlōnk-um* 'how are you' was in Arabic or partially in Arabic with the insertion of the word *əl-ḥimdillāh* 'thank God'. Adjacency pairs consist of two utterances uttered by two different

speakers, in which the existence of the first pair is imposed on the existence of the other. The relationship between the first and second part is conditional. Adjacency pairs are found in greetings (such as in the example above), offer/acceptance, question/answer, among others. The importance of the adjacency pair concept when analysing bilingual speech lies in its ability to systematically explain the occurrences of code-switches. In (7), S3 inserted *i* for self-selection; however, she did not accommodate the interviewer's choice as she switched back to English and translated the terminology '*kil il-mawād*' by the interviewer to the English 'all the subjects' instead of repeating it in Kuwaiti Arabic. Again, the speaker insisted on her language choice creating participant-related contrastive code-switches to the previous utterance(s).

In Ex 3.1.2, S3 continued using English as the language of conversation but inserted the Arabic discourse markers *yaʕni* four times as a tool to hold the floor, remember, compete for turn (Auer 1984), among other functions (see chapter 5 for discourse markers). In (67), she inserted the contrastive connective and discourse marker *bas yaʕni* which according to Rudolph's (1996) concept of contrast, contradict what precedes it with what follows. What follows ('there are disadvantages') contrasts and partially negates what precedes it ('it's better'). It can be paraphrased as, 'I partially agree with driving at 16 because there are advantages and disadvantages'. The insertion of *yaʕni* after *bas* reinforces the contrast. The second insertion of *yaʕni* (67) anticipates the switch to Arabic that is exemplified in the insertion of *ḥarām*. The insertion of *ḥarām* is attributed to the lack of an accurate English equivalent to the Arabic term, so it was used to fulfil a linguistic need (see chapter 5). The word *ḥarām* in Kuwaiti Arabic has two usages: one is the literal meaning of the word 'forbidden (in Islam)' and the second is the metaphorical meaning 'unfortunate' used to convey sympathy. The use of *ḥarām* instead of the English 'unfortunate' also contrasts with 'it's better' implying that 'it is better but in some cases 'it's unfortunate'. This contrast is

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discourse-related since it opposes the propositional content of what preceded it which was produced by the speaker herself. The speaker does not disprefer the entire content but part of it.

As mentioned earlier, four insertions of *yaʕni* occurred in this utterance. *yaʕni* functioned as a sentence-filler, a floor holding device, CS pre-sequence, and an example marker. According to Sebba and Wootten (1998:269), a sentence-filler functions as a kind of commentary on the surrounding (English) material and is clearly offset from it. This code difference seems to correspond to a difference between information-carrying parts of the turn and comment (see chapter 4). On the other hand, 'like' which can be considered as its English equivalent occurred only twice. 'Like' was used to introduce an example and to provide more information, but not as a filler to hold the floor which is a strategy used by monolinguals.

In Ex 3.1.3 contrastive code-switching was used for identity reasons but is not participant-related. The researcher in (99) is accommodating the language choice of S3 who prefers using English over Kuwaiti Arabic throughout the entire conversation. In (100), however, a few insertions of Kuwaiti Arabic discourse markers, such as *bas, yaʕni, ḥatta* and *fa,* are observed (see chapter 5). The first and second insertions (*bas* and *yaʕni əḥna ʕāyshīn*) indicate a contrast in identity as the switch to Kuwaiti Arabic occurred when the speaker intended to contrast the Europeans to the Kuwaitis. She first talked about Europeans using English then switched to Kuwaiti Arabic by inserting the discourse marker *bas* 'but' marking that what follows is the opposite of what precedes to show her solidarity with the Arab group she belongs to. In other words, she chose, with and without the use of adversative or concessive connectives, English, the language of the West, when talking about Europeans 'they' and switched to her own mother tongue, the language of Arabs, when talking about Kuwaitis *əḥna* 'we'. Using *əḥna* 'we' instead of 'the Kuwaitis' proves that the code-switch was not random. The code-switch not only shows contrast in languages and in propositions

but also a contrast in identitites as each language represents a certain identity. This metaphorical and symbolic opposition indicates distance from the Europeans versus involvement in the Arab identity. Kuwaiti Arabic, in this example, can be considered the 'we-code'.

In this case, identity and solidarity are not participant-related. The speaker is not switching to another language because of the status of the other participants. S3 shows her identity and solidarity by using English which is identified as the language of the West to describe Europeans and Americans. On the other hand, she uses Kuwaiti Arabic not only when talking about Kuwaitis but also about herself as a member of the Kuwaiti community. This language choice signalled a contrast between two cultures, and confirmed her identity and solidarity by distancing herself from the West, even if her language preference throughout the conversation was English. This behaviour indicates her perception and attitude towards both cultures. Sequential analysis allowed the analyst to interpret S3's Arabic insertions in (100). Through sequentiality, the analyst was able to interpret the contrast in languages as one of identity. What preceded and followed this code switch contributed to the overall interpretation of the code-switch, which was meaningful. The second Kuwaiti Arabic insertion in (100) contextualised subjectivity. She inserted *fa uhma ġēr* 'so they are different' to evaluate and mark a conclusion to the statements that she has already produced. She concluded that the youth in Europe are different from the youth of Kuwait for all the reasons that I have just stated.

In Ex 3.1.4 the conversation continued in English with the interviewer inserting 'yeah' to indicate agreement with the previous utterance. Then, S3 self-selected but forgot the topic being discussed, which is observable in her pause and later by asking to be reminded of the question. I reminded S3 about the topic being discussed, but also in English. Then in (104), S3 took the turn again by conversing in English, then inserting *wanāsa* 'it's fun' within

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the English utterance. This code-switch is an expressive contrastive code-switch because it expresses excitement and evaluation of the topic being discussed, especially that it was uttered in an ascending intonation. S3 used her native language (Kuwaiti Arabic), which seems here to be the more personal choice used to communicate feelings, and express opinion or excitement (see chapter 4). Proving her excitement about the topic being discussed, I in (105) repeats the previous utterance to declare her agreement and to end the topic being discussed but is overlapped with S3's utterance indicating her excitement, involvement and wishing to continue talking about this topic. S3 added more information in English, the language of her preference, then inserted *māla dāʕi* to conclude her remarks on the topic of part-time jobs. With this code-switch, S3 expressed her attitude towards the topic, i.e. although it is fun to make your own money, it is not worth the effort. This contrast between the two languages indicated that two different activities are being performed. One is the information being conveyed, while the other is the action being performed, and code-switching was the tool that set the boundaries between the two.

In the previous example, contrastive code-switching was both participant-related and discourse-related. By examining the interview as a whole, S3's language choices (as shown in her intentional choice of English as a language of conversation in this interview and her refusal to accommodate with the language choice of the other participants) were examples of participant-related code-switching. Her refusal to negotiate languages indicates favouring one language over the other. Participant-related contrastive code-switching is a result of language preference for distance or identity reasons. Discourse-related contrastive code-switches occurred for a number of reasons such as dispreference, rejection and refusal of the propositional content of the previous utterance.

S3 showed both participant-related and discourse-related contrastive code-switching. First, she demonstrated a case of participant-related contrastive code-switching by using

English as the language of conversation throughout the interview neglecting the preferred choice by the other speakers. This language behaviour was motivated by the participant and the situation rather than the content and organisation of the speech. S3 considers English as the suitable language for this interview and thus uses it as the language of conversation. This contrast in language distanced S3 from the informality associated with Kuwaiti Arabic at school, eventhough, it was used by her peers. On the other hand, her few instances of inserting Arabic words towards the end of the conversation were discourse-related. Some of her Kuwaiti-Arabic insertions functioned as discourse-related contrastive switches, a strategy used by bilingual speakers when switching from one language to another to contrast the content of the preceding utterance(s). This type of contrast depends on the organisation and content of discourse rather than the speaker's preference and competence. What precedes and follows the code-switch critically contributes to the analysis of such code-switches. Sequentiality and participant-oriented analysis (Auer 1984; Li Wei 2005) were used as a conversational analysis method to identify the functions behind the contrastive code-switches. This provides sequential analysis rather than relating the code-switching to external factors (see chapter 1 for the literature review).

In the following example, the interviewer was asking students about how they spent Ramadan (the holy month of fasting) and whether they attended any Ramadan exhibitions. The researcher started the interview in Arabic and both students accommodated by using the same language choice. The language choice of the conversation remained Kuwaiti Arabic until S1 switched to English in (10).

(Ex.3.2)

(1) I: *w kint-aw le mita t-ishər-ūn b-rmuḏan willa mu wāyid?*

(2) S2: *(laugh) nōm mbaččir*

(3) S1: *kinna n-wāṣil*

(4) S2: *le əṣ-ṣibḥ*

(5) I: *oh min hal nōʕ yaʕni*

(6) S2: (laugh)

(7) I: *ʕšān mā tḥiss-ūn b-il -əṣyām ha?*

(8) S2: *ī b-əð̣-ð̣abṭ*

(9) I: *mm zēn.. saw-ēt-aw b-rmuð̣ān maθalan əštarak-taw b* events *maθalan maʕāri ð̣ illi y-saww-ūn-ha willa la'?*

(10) S1: not really

(11) I: *wala riḥt-aw šift-aw maʕārið̣*

(12) S1: *ī riḥ-na šif-na maʕārið̣ fi il- maʕārið̣ malōt il-*costumes *malōt il-gərgēʕān malōt hal suwālif .*

Translation (Ex.3.2)

(1) I: *And until when did you stay up late at night or not much?*

(2) S2: (laugh) *sleep early*

(3) S1: *We were up all night*

(4) S2: *until the morning*

(5) I: *oh so you are that type*

(6) S2: (laugh)

(7) I: *so you won't feel the hunger right?*

(8) S2: *yes exactly*

(9) I: mm *OK.. did you do in Ramadan for example participate in* events *for example expos that they make or not?*

(10) S1: not really

(11) I: *not even go attend them?*

(12) S1: *yes we attended expos there were exhibitions with the* costumes *for Girgei'an for those things.*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about their daily routine in Ramadan, Islam's holy month of fasting from food and drinks from sunrise to sunset. In Ramadan, the youth are known for staying up late at night watching TV dramas and going to sleep at sunrise in order to wake up at sunset when it is time to break the fast. In (2) S2 replied that they sleep early but her answer was preceded with a laugh to indicate the opposite. The student's laugh indicates her mock of her own behavior that is sleeping very late. This laugh was a contextualisation cue that guided the participants to the intended meaning. This interpretation is supported by S1's following answer. In (3) S1 clarified S2's laugh by mentioning that they used to stay up all night, while S2 in (4) added that they stayed up until morning. CA's principles of sequantiality i.e. turn by turn analysis and participant-oriented analysis provided the correct analysis for this contextualisation cue. If the laugh was to be interpreted in isolation it might have been analysed differently, but interpreting the contextualisation cue in relation to the following turns and the participants' reaction towards it, provided the accurate interpretation. Then in (5) and (7) I joked about them being the type of youth who sleep during the fasting period in order not to feel thirsty or hungry and they confirmed so in (6) and in (8) using the same language of conversation without any instances of code-switching.

Then in (9) the researcher asked the students whether they participated in any expos during Ramadan. Ramadan is also famous for traditional clothing expos, where women buy traditional dresses to celebrate the event of Girgei'an (pronounced *girgēʕān*) and Eid (pronounced *ʕīd*) at the beginning of the month after Ramadan when the fast is well and truly over. S1 replied in (10) with a negative answer and S2 did not take the floor which indicated that her answer is similar to S1's. In the previous turns the language choice of S1 and S2 was Kuwaiti Arabic as expected, since it is an attempt to accommodate the language choice of the interviewer; however, in (10) S1 switched to English. This code-switch to English established a boundary between two different verbal actions. S1 used English as a strategy of negation by contrasting the two languages. The switch from a stable Arabic conversation to English created contrast in both languages and reflected the opposition of the content. S1 accommodated with the language choice of the participants throughout the conversation until her answer was a negation, which contradicts what was stated earlier. By saying 'not really', first, she chose an unexpected answer, an English utterance and not containing yes/no, as the second pair of an adjacency pair to the polar question. Second, her choice of switching to English instead of providing the Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent '*mū b-əð̣ð̣abṭ*' not only indicates negation of the previous proposition but also dislike of the act itself, which is participating in exhibitions. It indicated negation as well as dispreference of participation in Ramadan exhibitions. Third, the condescending tone of the answer in (10) supports her dislike of 'participating in exhibitions' as well as negating doing so. The tone also carries an element of surprise as the students previously mentioned that singing is their hobby, not handicrafts or designs; therefore, asking about participating in exhibitions would not be a relevant question. According to Li Wei and Milroy's (1994) preference organisation, a speaker may code-switch to a different language than the language of conversation due to dispreference, dislike, disagreement, rejection or decline of the propositional content of the first part of the

adjacency pair. This code-switch is a discourse-related contrastive code-switching as it contextualises the opposition of the previous propositional content, because of the dispreference of such content. In addition to that, using a turn by turn analysis strengthens this interpretation. In other words, what precedes the code-switch and what follows it contribute to the overall analysis. In both (8) and (12), where S1's answer was affirmative, she accommodated the language of the question, the first part of the adjacency pair, which is also the language of conversation; whereas, when her answer was negative as in (10), she chose English to emphasise her negative answer.

In the next sequence which, as mentioned earlier, supports the previous analysis of the code-switch in (10), I reformulated the question in (11) and asked if they attended any of those expos, and S1 replied in (12) that she attended those expos with specialisation in Girgei'an costumes. The interviewer posed the question in Arabic despite the fact that the previous utterance was in English, about attending exhibitions, instead of not participating in them, and S1 chose Arabic this time because she wanted to support her attendance at such exhibitions. Another case of discourse-related contrastive switching takes place here: changing the language choice back to Arabic to accommodate the previous utterance as well as being the dominant language in this interaction indicates a return to the previous verbal action which can be interpreted as preferred, liked and agreeable. S1 not only used English as the language of negation before switching to Arabic to contrast the previous utterance of negation with the upcoming utterance of assertiveness, but also replied to the question with an expected second of an adjacency pair *I* 'yes'. This type of code-switching is a discourse-related one since it was motivated by the content of the preceding question. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), markedness model (see chapter 2), speakers tend to adhere to the rights and obligations of the other participants to facilitate communication by producing the

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expected unmarked choice, in this case, answering in Kuwaiti Arabic and producing *i* 'yes' the expected choice of second part of an adjacency pair.

The next excerpt is another case of discourse-related contrastive code-switching where both students used a language other than the language of the previous utterance to highlight contradicting its propositional content. This interview took place in the first school break when most students have their breakfast or buy one from the school's cafeteria. The researcher encouraged the students to have their breakfast while interviewing them. Throughout the conversation, S1 varied her language choice from English to Arabic and then to code-switching between them.

(Ex. 3.3)

(1) I: *ṭalʕ-aw* your breakfast *əkl-aw inšāllah b-t-anṭar-ūn*?

(2) S1: breakfast? I already ate it

(3) I: oh you ate it.

(4) S1: I eat my lunch in second break

(5) S2: *b-il-bēt*

Translation (Ex.3.3)

(1) I: *get* your breakfast *out* (of your bags). *Eat, I hope you're not going to wait!* (until we finish)!

(2) S1: breakfast? I already ate.

(3) I: oh you ate.

(4) S1: I eat my lunch in second break

(5) S2*: At home*

In this extract, the interviewer requested that both students eat their breakfast during the recording of the conversation, since the conversation takes place during school breaks. S1 refused the request by saying that she has already eaten her breakfast and that she has lunch on the second break. S2, on the other hand, mentioned that she already had her meal at home.

In (1) the interviewer started the conversation in Arabic with the exception of the insertion of the English word 'breakfast' which is, from observations, more common among bilingual teenagers than the Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent *rəyūg*. The reason behind the first part of S1's reply 'breakfast?' in (2), being in English can be attributed to both the common likelihood of the term among young bilinguals as mentioned earlier; however, 'I already ate it' was the unexpected part of the reply, since the researcher's Arabic utterance constituted the first part of an adjacency pair (request) while the second part was produced in a different language. As explained earlier, this switch is discourse-related contrastive code-switch motivated by preference organisation. S1 used English to refuse the request along with its justification and qualification, i.e. the student will not eat during the interview because she has already eaten. The interviewer then commented in English in (3), which is the same language used by S1, signalling understanding and acceptance of the refusal. S1 also used English again in (4) in providing more information ('I eat my lunch in the second break') to notify the interviewer that she will have her lunch during the second break which will coincide with the recording of the second part of the interview. S2, on the other hand, replied in Arabic *b-il-bēt* in (5) which contrasted with the language of the previous utterances to state that unlike S1 who has her lunch in the second break, she has it at home. By switching to Arabic, S2 not only negated the previous utterance by S1, i.e. she will not eat lunch during the second break because she eats it at home, but also declined the researcher's offer in (1).

The contrast between the two languages reflected the opposition and negation of the propositional content of what preceded and what followed the switch.

Unique instances of contrastive code-switching occurred in our data in which the speaker produces alternational code-switching continuously and simultaneously between English and Kuwaiti Arabic. In the example below, the researcher started the conversation in Kuwaiti Arabic by asking both students about how their exams went. In this excerpt, the researcher used Kuwaiti Arabic at each turn, while S1 and S2 code-switch between the two languages.

(Ex .3.4)

(1) I: OK *awwal šai šlōn-kum maʕa əd-dirāsa?*

(2) S1: *zēn-īn il-ḥimdillāh.* Actually year eleven is a bit harder a lot of pressure we're in. Actually next week we have mocks. *w inna mā yamdi n-adris wāyid .* We're taking tuitions *fa mā yamdi.*

(3) I*: mā yamdi. Inšāllah ʕugub mā t-xalṣ-ūn il-*high school *šənu m-fakr-īn t-saww-ūn? in-kum t-adrəs-ūn barra wəlla bi-t-ẓill-ūn b-il-Kwēt?*

(4) S2: *āna* for me *yaʕni āna inna adris barra omm-i w obū-y y-šajʕūn-i adris barra li-'anna šisma aḥis ənna abi y-ṣir fi* confidence *b-nafs-i yaʕni adabbir nafs-i.*

(5) I: *i*

(6) S2: *zēn, fa mā adri yaʕni afakkər b-lə Kwēt aḥis inna šai ʕādi.*

Translation (Ex.3.4)

 (1) I: OK *first of all, how are you doing with your studies?*

(2) S1: *We are good praises to God.* Actually year eleven is a bit harder a lot of pressure we're in. Actually next week we have mocks. *And we do not have* enough time to study. We're taking tuitions *so not enough time.*

(3) I*: not enough time. After finishing* high school *what are you thinking of doing? That you study abroad or in Kuwait?*

(4) S2: *Me* for me *I mean for me that I study abroad, my mother and father encourage me that I study abroad because what do we call it I feel I want to have* confidence *in myself I mean take care of myself.*

(5) I: *yeah*

(6) S2: *OK so I don't know I mean I'll think. In Kuwait I feel that it is normal.*

The researcher started the conversation by asking the students about their studies. S1 took the floor and replied to the question by providing an explanation for her answer. She mentioned that year eleven is far more difficult than the previous stages, especially the fact that they have mock exams and not enough time to study. Then I took the floor because S1's answer was sufficient but I did not address the question to S2, as she seemed to agree with S1's answer by nodding. I then changed the question. It was about what their plans are after graduating high school and whether they are planning to continue their studies abroad. S2 answered by appointing herself as the next speaker, and mentioned that her parents encourage her to study abroad because it will make her more confident and I agreed with her. Then she continued by mentioning that in Kuwait it is just normal - as opposed to going abroad.

In segment (1), the researcher posed a question, asking about information that includes the question word *šlōn-kum* 'how are you'*,* which is often replied to with a fixed formulaic expression. In (2), S1 starts her reply in Kuwaiti Arabic, which is expected, as it is

the second of a formulaic adjacency pair. As mentioned earlier, the reply to *šlōn-kum* is often (if not always) *zēn-īn il-ḥimdillāh* or just *il-ḥimdillā* 'praise be to God'. It is a religious tradition that a Muslim should praise God in both good times and bad times. The student accommodated the language of the speaker because of the automaticity of the adjacency pair. There is only one answer to the interviewer's question and it can only be produced in the same language as the question. This formulaic expression is always interpreted as 'being well'. The automatic answer is not necessarily the actual answer; therefore, contextualisation cues offer the intended meaning. A falling intonation, a facial or head gesture can indicate the opposite of 'being good'. In other occasions, a comment for repair follows the formulaic expression, explaining that although the reply was *il-ḥimdillā*, the fact is the opposite 'not being good'. In the case of bilinguals, a code-switch to another language, whether accompanied by other cues or not, is able to indicate such opposition. As mentioned earlier, choosing a different language signals a different action which in this case is the opposite interpretation.

Thus, the first part of the adjacency pair had two parallel second pairs. The first is in Kuwaiti Arabic following the expectations of the researcher, and the second is in English carrying the needed information. In (2), the student used a contrastive discourse-related code-switching to describe her actual state, which is being under pressure. The evidence for such an interpretation is the use of 'actually'. First, the student states that she is good, then repairs it by code-switching to English highlighting a contrasting relationship supported by the use of 'actually', the trigger of the switch, to signal to the speaker that what I have said before is only an automatic reply to an adjacency pair and the fact is what comes next. The student continued her turn in English, starting with another use of 'actually' to further repair her actual state. The second use of 'actually' clarifies the reason behind the pressure, because they are having mock exams next week. After this statement, S1 switched back to Kuwaiti

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Arabic to contrast the previous objectivity with the upcoming subjectivity, her comment on her utterance mentioning that they do not have enough time to study. Then unsurprisingly, she switched again to English to state another fact, namely, that in addition to the mock exams next week, they are also taking tuitions. After that, S1 switched once more to Kuwaiti Arabic to comment that they do not have enough time to study in order to highlight the fact that the students are under pressure because of all the reasons previously stated. The use of Kuwaiti Arabic concludes her answer: the last year in high school is harder than the other years, mock exams will take place next week, and they are taking tuitions which are time-consuming; therefore, they do not have time to study.

S1 here clearly illustrated how the contrast between two languages (by using one language to complete a formulaic adjacency pair, repairing her answer by switching to another one for objectivity, and switching back to the first language of choice for subjectivity) can create boundaries separating each activity. The completion of an adjacency pair in the language in which the first pair occurred is to be expected. However, the switch to another language in order to produce the intended meaning, and then switch back again to evaluate it is unexpected. The spontaneous code-switching from one language to another indicates that this communicative behaviour takes place at the unconscious level. S2 is using code-switching to indirectly signal a contrasting proposition without the need to mention that what follows is a side-remark or comment and without the need to use an adversative or concessive connective. Here, code-switching is a contextualisation cue, indicating the speaker's actual perception. This code-switch is not only carrying a lexical meaning but a pragmatic one as well. The use of a sequential approach guided us to the actual interpretation of the code-switching behaviour. It is possible that in some occasions, the statements would occur in Kuwaiti Arabic and the comments would occur in English. Here, the switch from one language to another signals a change in interpretation, rather than one language signalling

certain functions while the other one signalling different ones (see next chapter). A sequential approach is a participant-oriented approach that depends on the participants' interpretation rather than the analyst's, which is the case if each language is associated with a specific function or speech act.

Then in (3) the researcher reiterated the last utterance by S1, in the same language it was uttered, as a topic closure, and then changed the topic by asking a different question, leaving the floor for self-selection. S2 selects herself as the next speaker and accommodates the language of the previous turn so as to answer the question on whether they want to continue with their studies. At first, it may look as if the student is using Kuwaiti Arabic in expressing her opinion over English, because of the use of 'for me'. It might be interpreted that Kuwaiti Arabic is her native language; thus, she finds it more personal and more comfortable to use it in expressing her emotions or opinions. However, in this extract, this is not the case. S2 is trying to accommodate the language of the interviewer, as the interviewer used Kuwaiti Arabic in posing both questions. What enabled us to interpret this utterance as an instance of accommodation (see chapter 6) rather than an expressive code-switching (see chapter 5) is that S2 started (4) in Kuwaiti Arabic, repeated it in English, then repaired her language choice by switching again to Kuwaiti Arabic and continued using Kuwaiti Arabic before inserting 'confidence' in English, and then continued the rest in Kuwaiti Arabic. This behaviour indicated that S2 is able to express her opinion better in English than in Arabic. In other words, her English competence surpasses her competence of Arabic. To prove it, first she switched to English then, forced herself to accommodate the language of the interviewer which resulted in producing a calque. S2 then blended the English language structure with Kuwaiti Arabic lexical items, producing a grammatically weak statement. Second, she uses the discourse marker *šisma 'what do we call it'* which proves that the speaker is trying to hold the floor while she recalls information. This leads to the conclusion that S2 is having

difficulty expressing her opinion in Kuwaiti Arabic which is proven by her inability to recall the Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent of 'confidence' (see chapter 4).

3.4 Conclusion

Following the conversational analysis principles of sequentiality provided the researcher with a participant-oriented interpretation, rather than an analyst-oriented one. A turn by turn analysis was a tool assisting the researchers in discovering the functions and motivations behind code-switching as all participants were treated as contributors to the overall understanding of the conversation. In this chapter, code-switching played a contrastive role by reflecting the opposition of the participant's language preference, identity, as well as the opposition of the propositional content of the previous utterance(s). Contrastive code-switching was both participant-related and discourse-related contextualising the opposition, negativeness and dispreference of either the relationship of the conversationalists or the topic being discussed. Code-switching can be characterised as contrastive in different environments such as distant vs. involvement, formal vs. informal, serious vs. relaxed, like vs. dislike, preference vs. dispreference, agreement vs. disagreement, subjectivity vs. objectivity..etc. A unique function of code-switching was observed, which is using English as a metaphorical tool indicating distance from the group of people talked about, rather than the participants; while using Arabic, the speaker's native language as the language of solidarity with the ethnic group even when language preference is English.

In this chapter, the distinctive cultural setting of the Kuwaiti speech community mapped to the other setting of previous studies conducted by other researchers such as Li Wei, Auer, Milroy and Shin among others as the code-switching functions were similar to each other. However, the code-switching styles among bilingual school students varied from one student to another. Some used insertional code-switches, others used alternation; and

very few instances, in our corpus, showed participant-related reasons behind code-switching such as identity and distance.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPRESSIVE CODE-SWITCHING

As mentioned previously in chapter 2, one of the features of conversational analysis is contextualisation cues. Among others, Gumperz and Hymes (1972), Gumperz (1982), Auer (1992) maintain that code-switching between languages is a contextualisation cue that signals and states an activity or an interactional function. In this chapter, Gumperz' notion of contextualisation cue will be discussed in more details, followed by an illustration of the expressive functions of code-switching. Two types of expressive code-switching have been observed in our data and which recurred among several students: one is expressing opinion and attitude, and the other is expressing emotionality.

4.1 Gumperz's notion of "contextualisation cue"

Gumperz (1982:131) defined contextualisation cue as:

"any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions. Such cues may have a number of such linguistic realisations depending on the historically given linguistic repertoire of the participants. Although such cues carry information, meanings are conveyed as part of the interactive process. Unlike meanings that can be discussed out of context, the meanings of contextualisation cues are implicit. They are not usually talked about out of context"

Contextualisation cues are both verbal and non-verbal metalinguistic signs that aid the listener on how to interpret the meaning of any utterance (Gumperz 1996). Auer defines contextualisation cue as "a relationship between a speaker, a context (a "cognitive construct" like a frame, schema,...), an utterance and a (non-referential) contextualisation cue. *Contextualisation cues are used by speakers in order to enact a context for the interpretation of a particular utterance" (*1992:25). As mentioned earlier, contextualisation cues can be verbal or non-verbal, such as phonological variants, prosody, gestures, etc. Bilinguals,

however, are able to use an additional contextualisation cue that is not available to monolinguals, that is, code-switching.

Contextualisation cues are activities that "make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of utterance" (Auer 2007:129). Contextualisation cues do not carry meaning but contribute to the intended meaning of the whole utterance. They provide additional information regarding the activity in which the participants are engaged, the mood in which the activity is performed, the participants' roles and social relationships with each other (Auer 2007). According to Li Wei, "their chief function [is] to signal participants' orientation to each other. Sometimes they are used primarily to contextualise imminent completion of a turn at talk or topic shifts, but at other times they have the capacity to signal meanings such as irony or seriousness, and social identities and attitudes of the participants" (1995:282).

Three characteristics have been identified by Auer (2007:130) that may guide us in identifying contextualisation cues. Those characteristics can be summarised as follows:

A. Contextualisation cues are interpreted through inference, which is dependent on the context of the utterance, because, unlike lexical items, they do not carry referential meaning.

B. Contextualisation cues establish contrast or inherent meaning potential. In other words, they may either be interpreted by depending on the information provided by the existing local context or indicate that something new is going to happen because of the inferential meaning potential the contextualisation cue has received.

C. Contextualisation cues are redundant, yet they are purposeful as the analysis of one cue supports that of the other.

In the following, we are basically concerned with the phenomenon in which code-switching is treated as a contextualisation cue, because code-switching carries the previous characteristics (in addition to others). This will guide the conversationalists in interpreting the

functions of utterances accurately as intended by the speaker. Code-switching must be interpreted sequentially, because a contextualisation cue can be interpreted differently depending on the situation (Auer 2007).

4.2 Code-switching as a contextualisation cue

When a speaker switches between two or more languages, s/he is signalling or stating an additional interpretation. In other words, when a code-switch takes place, it is the participants' job to interpret not only the content of the utterance but the effect this code-switch has on the utterance since it is purposeful. Code-switching is considered to be a contextualisation cue since it establishes a contrast between two languages. This contrast signals to the listener(s) that a new activity has started. After the listener(s) notices this change, s/he interprets the meaning of the utterance both lexically and pragmatically with regard to the additional information the code-switch has provided. In other words, the change in language leads to a change in interpretation. Utterances have both a lexical and an intended, conventionalised or pragmatic meaning which conveys a conversational effect (Auer 1992). In the case of code-switching, attention should be given to the intended meaning of the switched utterance. If a code-switch is treated as a contextualisation cue, then it "establishes, crosses or destroys group boundaries to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their accompanying rights and obligations" (Gal, 1988: 247).

Chen (1994:9) claims that code-switching does not always function as a contextualisation cue. It only functions as a contextualisation cue when the motivation behind it is pragmatic. He assumes that when code-switching carries a social effect, as in change of identity or lexical gaps, then it should be regarded as a 'textualisation cue'. A textualisation cue only hints and highlights that the following utterance should be interpreted differently, and does not signal an activity which carries a communicative function as in the case of contextualisation cues. However, hinting or highlighting a change in interpretation is an act in

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itself and carries a communicative function; therefore, it is also a contextualisation cue. Whether the switch is hinting, highlighting, adding or signalling a change in interpretation, both acts convey a communicative function.

4.3 Expressive code-switching

Chen states that "social and linguistic functions fulfilled by code-switching are categorised into expressive, directive, metalinguistic, poetic and referential functions" (1996:271). Expressive code-switching can be defined as the juxtaposition of two languages in order to highlight emotions, attitudes and opinions. It is the use of a language other than the language of the previous utterance to express the emotional or psychological state of the speaker, express his/her opinion on the subject being discussed, or simply comment on his/her own statement that has been uttered previously.

In our data, interesting language behaviour was observed among the bilingual and multilingual school students. Students use one language for statements then switch to another for side-remarks or commenting on those statements. These comments express the students' opinions, degree of involvement in the conversation, attitudes or emotions towards the topic being discussed. In addition, there were instances where Kuwaiti Arabic was used in the production of metaphorical utterances, while English was used to produce the intended meaning. Unlike monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals have the ability to separate cultural and metaphorical expressions from the rest of the utterance by switching to another language. This switch signals to the hearer that a change in interpretation is taking place. As mentioned earlier, a change in interpretation might be an addition, a cancellation, or a reinforcement of the previous proposition.

The literature discussing the expressive functions of code-switching, such as giving an opinion, evaluation, involvement, and commenting, is scarce. Only brief mentions of code-switching as a side-remark and expressive code-switching were found. Siegman and Pope

(1965) are two of the first to discuss the effect of emotions on speech. However, their study was concerned with the rate of speech production. They noticed that anxiety-related topics lead to more verbal productivity. Moreover, experimental studies carried out by Kanfer (1960) and Feldstein, Brenner and Jaffe (1963) suggest that while discussing topics such as sex and family, the participants were emotionally involved, leading to a change in speech rate as the verbal production increased in comparison to the discussion of non-emotional topics.

Those studies led to the increasing interest in the study of emotionality, and whether a change in emotions leads to a change in language behaviour. Bender and Mahl's (1960) study on Southerners in the northern states of the US, who had abandoned their southern dialect, is evidence of emotionality affecting language choice. In their study, they discovered that Southerners switched back to their Southern accent when speaking about stressful events. The first study reporting a switch between two languages was made by Herman (1961). He found that when Jewish immigrants to Israel were tired or excited, they code-switched to their mother tongue instead of using Hebrew. Another similar study is by Brook (1963) which reported a dialectal switch when a change in the emotional state occurred. His study highlighted the fact that it is very common in the British speech community for speakers to change their dialect due to different reasons, or switch back to their native dialect when excited or in stressful situations. Those studies focused on one side of emotionality, i.e. stressfulness. Studies analysing code-switches in terms of other emotions or expressing opinion were relatively little.

4.3.1 Code-switching expressing opinion and attitude

In Gumperz's study of code-switching, very brief statements were made regarding code-switching being used as a tool to express personal opinion: "The code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action,

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or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, refers to specific instances or whether it has the authority of generally known fact" (1997:18).

In his English/Hindi example, Gumperz states that code-switching acts as an indirect speech act, i.e. switching to Hindi to express an opinion signals a change from a statement into an opinion without the need to state that the next utterance is an opinion. Code-switching here saves time and effort through indirect communication. According to Kent Back, a speech act is "the performance of several acts at once, distinguished by different aspects of the speaker's intention: there is the act of saying something, what one does in saying it, such as requesting or promising, and how one is trying to affect one's audience" (2014:1). A speech act is a performative utterance, where the content of the utterance performs an action(s). According to Austin (2011), a speech act can be analysed through three different levels: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. A locutionary act is the act of saying something or uttering the actual utterance. Illocutionary act is the pragmatic force of the utterance. In other words, it is the verbal action that the utterance performs. Finally, the perlocutionary act is the additional effect that comes from producing the performative utterance. According to Searle (1975), a speech act can be declarative, assertive, directive, commissive, or expressive.

The following criteria guide analysts in identifying a code-switch expressing opinion:
A. The use of interpersonal discourse markers such as 'I think', 'in my opinion', 'for me', 'in my point of view', 'I see that',etc. (see chapter 4).
B. The code-switch is an evaluation, positive or negative, of the statement or idea that precedes it, whether produced by the same or a different speaker, such as 'it's not fair', 'it's nice', 'it's good', etc. It provides the speaker's perception and attitude towards the topic being discussed.

C. The code-switch expresses the degree of the speaker's involvement in the topic being discussed as opposed to distance.

D. The code-switch creates a boundary between subjectivity and objectivity.

4.3.2 Code-switching expressing emotionality

As mentioned earlier, researchers noticed a change in the language behaviour of speakers when discussing emotion-related topics. Bilinguals switch to their native language, dialect or accent when discussing emotional topics or when being in an emotional situation. It is argued that speakers form a perception for each language they use. Similar to diglossia, one language is regarded as a formal language used in everyday life, while the other one is more personal and is used to express emotions.

In Chen's (1996:271) study of Chinese/English code-switching in Taiwan, he states that:

> "no matter what role-relationship is involved, the people in my study all use code-switching to perform the expressive function of emotional release, particularly for tension relief or the unburdening of pent-up feeling. They insert English swear words, English words that are taboo in Chinese in that context, and English words of affection (e.g. love, flattering), in Chinese-dominant interactions in order to express emotional passion... and to relieve tension in other situations characterised by anger, fear, surprise, and frustration. English is used as a neutral code in these situations to express emotions and true feelings while avoiding the negative connotations of those words or phrases in Chinese. The use of English in Chinese-based interactions for these functions is due to the fact that Chinese social values stress modesty in behaviour".

In Chen's study, English is perceived as the psychologically easier language to convey feelings whether good or bad. In other words, since Chinese is considered as the language of respect and good behaviour in the Taiwanese speech community, speakers avoid it in the production of emotion-related utterances. The use of English will lessen the effect of such emotions especially swear words and taboo lexical items.

Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a, 1998b, 1999) and Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b, 2008) examined the effect of emotions on both monolingual and bilingual speech as well as their

effect on body and facial expressions. Wierzbicka studied the difference between expressing emotions in Russian versus English. She noticed that the bilingual participants in her study used more Russian words in describing an emotional situation in comparison to the number of English words used to describe the same situation. In her study, there were instances where the participants failed to translate the word to English due to absence of an equivalent in the English language. She concluded from her study that the Russian language is richer than English in lexical items expressing emotions, especially verbs. Therefore, emotionality differs from one language to another and from one culture to another. She explains that Russian has "tremendous stress on emotions and on their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signalling emotions and shades of emotions" (1992:395). Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b) supports Wierzbicka's hypothesis and suggests that the time in which a language is learned affects its usage. She assumes that learning a second language at puberty affects the emotional impact of such a language. A speaker will prefer his/her first language in expressing his/her emotions as it is more personal than the language s/he has learned later in life, because it is not associated with personal experiences (2002b:27).

Grim (2008) also supported this hypothesis in his Benjamin case-study. Benjamin is a bilingual four-year-old living in an English-speaking community. His mother tongue is English but at home his mother speaks to him in French, and his father speaks to him in English. When speaking to his mother, he accommodates the language choice of his mother except in emotional situations where he switches back to English. Grim explains: "It is probable that since English had become his dominant language, Benjamin felt more comfortable and more satisfied expressing himself in it. The logical language of personal expression should be the language with which an individual is most comfortable and, more likely, most proficient" (2008:205).

Pavlenko (2002b) mentioned that there are exceptions to the above conclusion. In one of her case studies on multilinguals, those multilinguals stated that they are impressed with the new language they have learned after puberty and are keen to use it in expressing their emotions. Another case study by Pavlenko also manifested the use of the second language to express emotions rather than the native one. The speaker wanted to distance himself from negative emotions; thus, he used the impersonal language to express the negative emotions. The use of swearwords and taboo lexical items in the second language is a strategy used by bilinguals to avoid the guilt caused by uttering them in the native language. Uttering them in their native language will remind the speaker of the prohibition that s/he has learned in childhood. Other motivations included exercising self-control, wielding power, and even practising the language itself (Pavlenko 2008:159). Therefore, multilinguals associate their emotions with one language, whether it is their first language or second, and use the other language as a language of power and/or formality.

On the contrary, Auer (1997:125-126) argued that code-switching serves the same functions in both directions. He stated that:

> "in modern bilingual societies, the relationship between languages and speech activities is by no means unambiguous. Many speech activities are not tied to one particular language, and even among those which have a tendency to be realised more often in one language than in another, the correlation is never strong enough to predict language choice in a more probabilistic way... many investigations have shown that the mere fact of juxtaposing two codes can have a signalling value of its own, independent of the direction of code-alternation; in such cases, it is obviously impossible to explain the conversational meaning of code-alternation by any kind of association between languages and speech activities".

Therefore, in our study, a sequential approach will be used to describe and analyse the instances of code-switching rather than relying exclusively on associating each language with certain emotions (see chapter 1). Emotional code-switching can be identified via the following criteria:

A. An emotional topic is a topic discussing or provoking feelings of happiness, sadness, anger, worry, stress, anxiety, love, disappointment, etc.

B. An emotional topic also includes discussions about taboo topics and the use of swear words.

In chapter three, discourse-related contrastive code-switching was discussed and analysed. In section 3.3, it was mentioned that the instances of discourse-related contrastive code-switching motivated by opposition in opinion and opposition in emotional state will be analysed in chapter 4 as it deals with expressive code-switching. This means those code-switches contextualising negative emotions or opposing ideas and opinions are both contrastive and expressive types of code-switching; because they highlight an opposition of the previous propositional content as well as emphasise the expressiveness of emotions and opinions. In other words, all expressive code-switches contextualising negative emotions and opposing opinions are discourse-related contrastive code-switches, because the contrast in language highlights a contrast in propositional content. However, not all discourse-related contrastive code-switches are expressive switches, because the negative and opposed propositional content does not necessarily contextualise emotions and opinions. It may contextualise opposing identity, negating facts, indifference..etc.

4.4 Expressive code-switching in our study

4.4.1 Code-switching expressing opinion and attitude in our corpus

In the following example, the researcher was asking the students about their hobbies, and one of the students mentioned that she loves fashion design. Notice her (S1) language choice as it changes in order to express her opinion. This example starts with a statement in English regarding fashion.

(Ex 4.1)

(1) I: So about fashion and designing I also consider shopping as a hobby

(2) S2: yeah

(3) I: my favourite hobby. *šənu t-ḥəbbīn t-ṣaməm-īn* casual *wəlla soiré*?

(4) S1: um casual? Yeah casual winter clothes *ahla šai* I prefer winter clothes

(5) I: so *yaʕni šənu alḥīn il-habba il-yədīda šənu il-mōẓa*?

(6) S2: *alḥīn* for winter?

(7) I: aha

(8) S2: studs

(9) S1: *uf*

(10) S2: yeah studs and leather, like different materials in one like for example like leggings you have leather with cotton with anything

(11) I: *ḥəlu*. OK *maθalan āna alḥīn lābsa hāða w bil-lēl y-ṣīr šwai bard šənu albis wiyyāh?*

(12) S1: Trench coat

(13) S2: yeah a trench coat

(14) I: aha

(15) S2: and like finger gloves are in

(16) S1: boots

(17) S2: yeah boots

(18) I: (laugh because S2 is checking what footwear 'I' is wearing). *āna alḥīn mu lābsa* boots *lēš šwai fi šams.*

(19) S2: yeah

(20) I: *zēn w fī il-*blazers *xalləṣ-at mōẓat-hūm willa le lḥīn fi*?

(21) S3: no I love blazers [always in]

(22) S2: [yeah] blazers are always in

(23) I: *w šlōn il-*metallic *w il-*sparkly *willa*

(24) S2: um sequins are in

(25) S1: *ī* metallics are in now

(26) S2: yeah

(27) I: *w ʕādi n-albis-hum ṣibḥ, ʕaṣir, lēl*?

(28) S1: <u>*ahla šai*</u> *b-il-lēl*

(29) S2: *yaʕni* you should know how to wear them [*maθalan*]

(30) S3: [not too much]

(31) S1: not too much

<u>Translation (Ex.4.1)</u>

(1) I: So about fashion and designing I also consider shopping as a hobby

(2) S2: yeah

(3) I: my favourite hobby. *What do you like to design* casual *or evening (pieces)*?

(4) S1: um casual? Yeah casual winter clothes (are the) <u>*most beautiful thing*</u> I prefer winter clothes

(5) I: so *I mean what is trending now what is in fashion*?

(6) S2: *now* for winter?

(7) I: aha

(8) S2: studs

(9) S1: *uf* (a sound meaning 'totally'*)*

(10) S2: yeah studs and leather, like different materials in one like for example like leggings you have leather with cotton with anything

(11) I: nice. OK *for example now I'm wearing this and in the evening it gets a little cold. What shall I wear with it?*

(12) S1: Trench coat

(13) S2: yeah a trench coat

(14) I: aha

(15) S2: and like finger gloves are in

(16) S1: boots

(17) S2: yeah boots

(18) I: (laugh because S2 is checking what footwear 'I' is wearing). *Now I'm not wearing* boots *because it is sunny.*

(19) S2: yeah

(20) I: *and the-*blazers *are they still trending*?

(21) S3: no I love blazers [always in]

(22) S2: [yeah] blazers are always in

(23) I: *and is it the-*metallic *and the-*sparkly *or?*

(24) S2: um sequins are in

(25) S1: *yeah* metallics are in now

(26) S2: yeah

(27) I: *and is it OK to wear them in the morning, afternoon, evening?*

(28) S1: (it would be) most beautiful in the evening.

(29) S2: *I mean* you should know how to wear them [*for example*]

(30) S3: [not too much]

(31) S1: not too much

The new topic started with the researcher stating that she considers shopping as a hobby. S2 agreed but did not provide any additional information or explanation to her answer. I then commented that it is her favourite hobby, and then asked a new question about what the students love to design, casual or evening wear. S1 posed a question to herself, then answered her own question that she prefers winter casual clothes. Then I took the floor and asked a new question about the new fashion trends. S2 answered the question with another question, seeking clarification on whether winter trends or summer trends. Then S2 mentioned that studs are a winter trend, with S1 agreeing with her. S2 adds more information to her answer by adding other trending items. Afterwards, the researcher asked for a fashion

consultation, asking the students what to add to her outfit if the weather gets cold. The researcher left the floor open for self-selection. S1 then took the floor by saying 'trench coat', and S2 agrees with her. They continued the conversation by suggesting what I could wear, and then providing their opinion regarding some fashion items.

In (1), the researcher started a new topic using English and expected one of the students to comment on her statement that she considers fashion as her hobby. However, S2 self-selected and replied only with 'yeah'. Therefore, I in (3) switched to Kuwaiti Arabic to pose a new question in order to maintain a smooth flow to the conversation. S1 in (4) started the answer in English, not accommodating the language of the question. Her turn started with another question but addressed it to herself, to give her enough time to think about the answer instead of silence. According to Local (1992:220), code-switching here:

> "contextusalises turn-taking, pre- and embedded sequences and preference organisation, parallel to the way in which various kinds of prosodic, phonetic, and indeed non-verbal marking contextualise such material in monolingual conversations. We can therefore argue that code-switching constitutes a linguistic resource available to conversation participants, especially bilinguals, to 'indicate the status of parts of their talk' ".

Li Wei also suggests that code-switching here can be considered as a presequence. A presequence is "a type of conversational structure which prefigures or clears the ground for a later interactional episode. Presequences simultaneously mark the boundary of two interactive episodes (Levinson 1983), and our data suggests that this boundary is often marked by code-switching" (2007). Moreover, it "can help the speaker to restart a conversation at the end of an interactive episode, or to change conversational direction; it also helps the participants to keep track of the main 'drift' of the interaction by mapping out complex nested structural patterns in the conversation" (Li Wei 1998:169).

S1 answered the question in (4) and then commented on her answer by inserting the Arabic insertion *aḥla šai* 'the most beautiful', expressing her opinion regarding what she

likes to design and evaluating the previous utterance. This code-switch separates the objective answer to I's question from the subjective one. This Kuwaiti Arabic insertion not only expresses an opinion but also excitement and preference. S1 then switched back to English in ('I prefer') in order to amplify the Kuwaiti Arabic switch and continue the conversation in her preferred language (English). The interviewer continued in Kuwaiti Arabic and all three students continued using English, their preferred language, until S1 inserted *aḫla šai* again in (28) for the same reasons. In this extract, the interviewer chose Kuwaiti Arabic and also switched between Kuwaiti Arabic and English when posing the questions. The only instance where S1 inserted a Kuwaiti Arabic phrase was when she was expressing her opinion and preference. Since this behaviour is being repeated in the same conversation, it can be concluded that S1 chose English as the preferred language of conversation and used the switch to Kuwaiti Arabic as a contextualisation cue to signal and support the evaluation of the topic being discussed. Thus, she created a boundary between objectivity and subjectivity.

The language choice in the following example is the opposite of the previous one. Kuwaiti Arabic was the language marking preference, whereas English insertions were used to highlight a point of view. The topic being discussed is shopping.

(Ex 4.2)

(1) I: *šənu t-ḥib-īn* shopping *hdūm wil-la* electronics? *əksiswārāt*?

(2) S2: *hdūm. madri*

(3) I: *maθalan hdūm riyāẓa willa ma t-ḥib-īn ər-riyāẓa*?

(4) S2: *lā la'*

(5) I: *maθalan fi nas y-mūt-ūn ʕala hdūm ər-riyāẓa y-əštər-ūn ay šai ḥatta law mā y-ilʕəb-ūn riyāẓa bas mužarrad ənna hawas*

(6) S1: *uhwa šūfai lamman hab.. kil wāḥid w šənu y-hib fīh habbat lə-kwēt. ət-*t-shirt*-āt kil man ləbas.*

(7) I: *zēn alḥīn šənu il-habba, b-il libs?*

(8) S1: *ṣarāḥa* <u>I don't really care</u>

(9) I: *li'nna ana alḥīn ṣār-li fatra* I'm studying abroad *fa lamma ayi hni agūl mābi y-ṣīr šakli* weird *labs-a šai qadīm mal awwal. šənu əš-šai il-yədīd alḥīn b-il-*fashion?

(10) S1: I think *il-ḥžāb il-gəṭin rəfījāti y-albis-ūn gəṭin*

(11) I: *āna ma ʕaraf-t šlon y-albis-ūn-a*

(12) S1: *wala ana*

<u>Translation (Ex 4.2)</u>

(1) I: *what do you like (buying when)* shopping *clothes or* electronics? *Accessories*?

(2) S2: *clothes. I don't know*

(3) I: *for example sportswear or you don't like sports*?

(4) S2: *no no*

(5) I: *for example there are people who adore buying sportswear they buy anything even if they don't play sports just an obsession*

(6) S1: *it is look when it was trending.. everyone and whatever they like there is something trending in Kuwait. The* t-shirt*s everyone wore them.*

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(7) I: *OK now what is trending, in fashion?*

(8) S1: *honestly* <u>I don't really care</u>

(9) I: *because it's been a long time* I'm studying abroad *so when I come back I say I don't want to look* weird *wearing something old fashioned. What's new now in* fashion?

(10) S1: I think *the cotton headscarf. My friends wear cotton.*

(11) I: *I don't know how to wear it.*

(12) S1: *me neither.*

In this extract, the researcher addressed the question to S2 about what she enjoys most about shopping. The student answered with 'clothes' then added 'I don't know' as she seemed not interested in the topic. I then tried to get more information from S2 and asked whether she likes sportswear. S2 replied with a no as an answer without any clarification which also indicated her lack of interest. I gave an example of people who love sportswear, although they do not practise any sport. S1 then takes the floor as she interpreted S2's behaviour as a turn transition point where she could take the floor. S1 explains that what to buy depends on what is trending in Kuwait, and that t-shirts used to be a big trend and everyone wore them. I then took the chance to ask about what is currently trending. S1 replies that she doesn't care about trends. I explained that the motivation behind this question is that she is currently studying abroad and is missing out on trends in Kuwait. S1 then answers by saying that cotton head covers are trending now in Kuwait. The interviewer concludes the topic by stating that she does not know how to wear them and S1 agreed with I.

In (2), the student shows no interest in the topic being discussed. The researcher tries to reformulate the questions by giving examples. Both chose Kuwaiti Arabic until in (8), S1 inserted an English utterance. This insertion reinforced her opinion regarding the topic being

discussed. By code-switching to English and producing 'I don't care', she is expressing her attitude and lack of interest in the topic of fashion, which most girls of her age are obsessed with. She used English not only to signal an expressive statement but also to express a negative one. Here, the code-switch to English contextualised both negativeness and distance from the topic (Chen, 2007). As in the case of Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b) and Chen (1996) mentioned earlier, the second language a bilingual learns, is used to express negative feelings, taboo and swearwords, while the native language or the more personal language is used to express feelings of affection. Most students in our corpus use English to express negative feelings or opinions such as indifference, likes and dislikes. In this example, it would be considered impolite if the student had produced the same statement in Kuwaiti Arabic. The English language has a less negative impact in this case than Kuwaiti Arabic. Therefore, S1 chose English to lessen the negative effect and distance herself from judgement. In this case, code-switching cannot be in both directions, because the equivalent of this negative utterance in Kuwaiti Arabic is dispreferred. In addition to that, the switch in (8) is also a contrastive code-switch, because the opposition in language showed an opposition in propositional content, an opinion in this case (see chapter 3).

On the other hand, the second instance of code-switching in (10) may appear as a counter example. S1 started her turn with the English 'I think', not accommodating the language of the previous utterance, and then switched to Kuwaiti Arabic. This contrast between the language of the previous utterance and her own utterance highlighted a new activity. In other words, the switch is a contextualisation cue signalling that what follows is my own opinion which might not be a hundred percent accurate. This code-switch indicated a symbolic opposition between subjectivity and objectivity. The latter switch, however, was motivated by the lack of an accurate equivalent in English of *il-ḥžāb il-gəṭin,* a fashion-related term, common among Muslims.

A similar example recurs in the excerpt below where the switch is a discourse-related contrastive code-switching and an expressive one highlighting the speaker's opinion and attitude towards the topic being discussed.

(Ex. 4.3)

(1) S1: Rock *yaʕni.. ʕaraftai āna asmaʕ ašyāʾ* in 1990s and 70s *činna ʕāyša b-hal žīl ʕaraft-ai*.

(2) I: *la la* cool, this is cool

(3) S1: and my style *ʕaraft-ai ummi t-gūll-i*, because my mother is a fashion designer *t-ṣammim azyāʾ w mādri šənu, fa alḥīn mōḏa burtaqāli ma y-ṣīr čəði. agūl-laha alḥīn āna mābi. ʕāyša b-əs-sabʕīnāt māku muškila* no problem.

(4) I: *yaʕni ḥatta libs t-albəs-īn čəōi w mālič šəġil fī-hum*?

(5) S1: <u>I don't care about what anyone says</u>

(6) I: that's cool you have to be you

<u>Translation (Ex.4.3)</u>

(1) S1: Rock *I mean.. You know I listen to things* in 1990s and 70s *as if I'm living in such generation.*

(2) I: *no no (that's)* cool, this is cool

(3) S1: and my style *you know my mum tells me..* because my mother is a fashion designer *she designs clothes and don't know what, so now it's orange fashion "you can't wear this". I tell her now I don't want to, I'm living in the seventies. (I have) no problem.* No problem

(4) I: *You mean even the outfits you wear like that? And you don't care what they think?*

(5) S1: <u>I don't care about what anyone says</u>

(6) I: that's cool you have to be you

In this excerpt, I asked the students about their hobbies, and S1 mentioned in (1) that she enjoys listening to Rock music from the 70s and 90s, as if she is living in that period of time. I commented on S1's answer in (2) that it is a cool thing to like music of this period. S1 then added that although her mother is a fashion designer and insists on being trendy, she prefers being dressed as someone of that period and does not care what other people say about her style. In (1), 'Rock' was inserted in English as it does not have an Arabic equivalent; hence, it is a loanword not a code-switch. The whole utterance can be regarded as Arabic dominant since as mentioned previously 'Rock' is a loanword. The use of *yaʕni* in this monolingual utterance also functions as a floor-holding device (see chapter 5). This analysis is strengthened by the existence of a pause following the discourse marker *yaʕni* in (1) and the use of a second discourse marker to enable the speaker to retrieve the required lexical items or information from memory.

In (3), S1 accommodates the interviewer's language choice by starting the utterance in English which happens to be the last language used by I in the previous utterance, then switched to Kuwaiti Arabic to narrate what her mother had told her. S1 interrupted the flow of the narration by switching to English for side-remarks, providing a reason why she is mentioning an incident of her mother commenting on her style ('because my mother is a fashion designer'). This switch distinguishes and separates the switched utterance from the rest of the content which is narration. Sebba and Wootten (1998:268) describe this type of switching as "clearly offset from the main theme of the turn" as it does not contribute to the narration but relates to it. Then, S1 switched back to Kuwaiti Arabic to define 'fashion designer' and continue the narration in Kuwaiti Arabic except for the last insertion of 'no

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problem' which is a repetition and translation of the '*māku muškila*' that preceded it. This repetition serves as an affirmation that no matter what her mother tells her, she would dress however she pleases. In other words, it emphasises that although S1's mother is a fashion designer who is advising her daughter to wear orange since it is trendy and in fashion, S1 is refusing to follow her advice. By uttering '*māku muškila*' and repeating it in English, S1 reinforces her refusal to heed her mother's advice in addition to clarifying her own style.

Afterwards, the interviewer posed a question in Arabic for clarification regarding other people's attitudes towards how she dresses, and S1 answered in English contrasting with her own previous choices as well as the researcher's. Based on Li Wei's notion of dispreference discussed earlier in chapter 3, this sudden switch to English indicates dispreference and indifference of what has been stated in the previous utterance by the researcher. The use of the negation ('I don't care') supports such analysis. By uttering the statement in English, S1 is negating what has been stated in the previous utterance as well as showing her opinion and attitude towards the topic being discussed. The switch to English is a contextualisation cue emphasising the speaker's opinion regarding this topic and separates it from the rest of the talk. S1 not only does not care about what other people might say about her style, but also shows annoyance implying that she might have already been annoyed by some people's comments on her style. In this excerpt, S1's English utterance in (5) was a discourse-related contrastive switch negating the proposition of the previous question motivated by dislike and dispreference of such proposition.

In the following example, all three students show disagreement, an expressive function of discourse-related contrastive code-switching, by answering with a code-switch in a different language than the language of the question. I was asking about the fashion sense of Kuwaiti girls and whether they should dress like Europeans and Americans.

(Ex.4.4)

(1) I: *inna zēn mū ǝnna* they should go for simpler like Europeans *willa* Americans?

(2) S3: no no no

(3) I: like tees and jeans

(4) S1: *lā* they're too simple

(5) S2: *ī. lā* too simple (laugh)

Translation (Ex.4.4)

(1) I: *that it is good not that* they should go for simpler like Europeans *or* Americans?

(2) S3: no no no

(3) I: like tees and jeans

(4) S1: *no* they're too simple

(5) S2: *yes no* too simple (laugh)

In this extract, a question regarding how Kuwaiti women dress and how they should dress was posed. I proposed that they should have a simpler style like European and American women, but S1 disagreed with this proposal because it is too simple, and S2 supported S1's answer by repeating it. In (2), S3 replied in English and to show her total disagreement, she repeated 'no' twice. Her use of English is attributed to her participant-related preference as it was her, as well as the other two students', dominant language in this conversation. S1 used a code-switch to disagree, that is, the insertion of the Kuwaiti Arabic '*lā*'. This insertion answered the question with a negation, contrasting the language of the previous question as well as her language of preference to reinforce her disagreement.

Moreover, 'no' in Kuwaiti Arabic exists in two forms: '*la*' and '*lā'*'. The first is a short ending with a glottal stop while the second has a longer vowel. The effect of using the longer variation emphasises its function which can also be achieved by repetition or loudness. S2 used Kuwaiti Arabic at the beginning of this utterance to contrast with the language of I, showing that the agreement is not with I but with S1. To avoid confusion, she continued by quoting S1's answer. The laugh at the end is attributed to the fact that saying '*i'*' and then saying '*lā'*' immediately after leads to confusion. Both students chose Kuwaiti Arabic as a contextualisation cue emphasising their disagreement. Therefore, among bilingual school students, it is not the case that one language is used for agreement, while the other one for disagreement but it is the use of a contrasting language to show the contrastiveness in opinion, whether it is a positive proposition or a negative one.

In the following examples, the students gave their opinion about a new topic that they have not discussed before. They use code-switching to contextualise their opinion, followed by Kuwaiti Arabic for commentary. The topic being discussed is reestablishment of the conscription law.

(Ex. 4.5)

(1) I: OK let's talk about something else.. we talked about this (looking at a paper).. *ee atwaqqaʕ səmaʕt-aw b mawẓūʕ ət-tažnīd inna alḥīn radd-aw marra θānya ḥag lə-ṣbayyān*

(2) S2*: šənu uhwa*?

(3) I: *əl-tažnīd elli uhwa [*

(4) S1: *[žēš?]*

(5) I: *b-il-žēš y-it-darrəbōn mudda muʕayyana.* Do you think it's a good thing *willa ṣār farḍ ḥag il-kil?*

(6) S1: *la* <u>it's a good thing</u> *li'nna əš-šabāb alḥīn wāyid ṣāyrīn "la wallah žēš"* (speaking in a soft voice) *w mai šənu*

(7) S2: *la dalaʕ wāyid* (?)

(8) S1: *i dalaʕ*

(9) S2: over *yaʕni māku ružūla b-əxtiṣār.*

(10) S1: *ī maku ružūla fa l-žēš y-xallī-hum* more (?)

(11) S2: *alḥīn yaʕni b-il-kwēt ġaaṣban ʕlē-hum y-rūḥ-ūn il-žēš?*

(12) I: *ī xalāṣ* (?)

(13) S1: *aḥsan*

(14) I: *uhwa min zəmān kān mawžūd ha-l-qānūn baʕdēn min ʕugub il-ġazu waggəf-ōh alḥīn radd-ōh marra θānya taqrīban š-kəθir ṣār ləna* twenty years *radd-ōh marra θānya inna xalāṣ ay wāḥid aqal min* thirty *taqrīban min y-xalliṣ il-žāmʕa b-il-*twenties *b-hal ʕumur ġaṣban ʕlēh y-rūḥ tadrīb mu snīn la' tadrīb či.*

(15) S1: *la* <u>it's better</u>

(16) S2: it's better *wāyid*

<u>Translation (Ex 4.5)</u>

(1) I: OK let's talk about something else.. we talked about this (looking at a paper).. *yeah I think you've heard of conscription that they have re-applied the regulation for boys.*

(2) S2*: what is it?*

(3) I: *conscription is that [*

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(4) S1: *[army?]*

(5) I: *They train in the army for a period of time.* Do you think it's a good thing *that it is an obligation for all?*

(6) S1: *no* it's a good thing *because the youth no have become like "oh no army!" (speaking in a soft voice) and I don't know what*

(7) S2: *no (they are) too much coy* (?)

(8) S1: *yeah coy*

(9) S2: over *I mean in summary there is no manhood*

(10) S1: *yeah no manhood so the army will turn them into* more (?)

(11) S2: (*so) now in Kuwait they are obliged to go to the army*?

(12) I: *yes* (?)

(13) S1: (that's) *better*

(14) I: *It (the regulation) was there long time ago but they cancelled it after the Iraqi invasion (on Kuwait) it has been now around* twenty years *they re-established it that anyone below* thirty *when he finishes college in his* twenties *around this age, the it is compulsory that he gets admitted at the army training not for years just training like that.*

(15) S1: *no* it's better

(16) S2: it's better *alot*

In this excerpt, I wanted to change the topic to discuss the new governmental decision to re-establish conscription. S2 did not know what conscription was, simply because the law was cancelled before she was born. When I tried to explain what it is, S1 overlapped and

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suggested that it is related to the army. I then explained what it meant in Kuwaiti Arabic and reformulated the question in both English and Arabic. S1 answered that it is a good thing and justified it by saying that nowadays the youths are so spoiled, and S2 agrees with her that they are very coy, then S1 also adds that they are very coy and not manly enough. Then S2 asked for more information regarding the new conscription decision and whether it is going to be obligatory for all young men. I confirmed that it is obligatory and S2 commented again that it is for the best. Then I explained in detail what conscription is and how it works. Afterwards, S1 states that she agrees it is a good thing and S2 also agrees.

In (1), the interviewer switched to Kuwaiti Arabic to start a new topic. Both students accommodated the new language choice. In (5), I explained what conscription means in Kuwaiti Arabic then reformulated the question in English, asking the students again about their opinion and if it is a good thing, and then switched back to Kuwaiti Arabic to ask if it is a bad thing. In (6), S1 answered in Kuwaiti Arabic *la* to accommodate the language of the second part of the question, because it disagrees with the second part of the question. This answer comprised the second of the adjacency pair. After that, she reiterated the English phrase uttered by I to indicate agreement with it and that 'it's a good thing'. This English insertion is a reply to the English part of the question uttered by the interviewer. It reflected the speaker's opinion regarding the topic being discussed which is disagreement with the statement that it is not good to make it obligatory, and agreement with the statement 'it is a good thing'. She then clarified her answer in Kuwaiti Arabic to contextualise a new activity, i.e. the activity is expressing her opinion which has been accomplished, and a new activity is providing a clarification for the answer.

The conversation continued in Kuwaiti Arabic until in (15) S1 code-switched again to English by saying 'it's better'. S1 here used code-switching as a contextualisation cue, excluding her opinion from the rest of the talk. By this code-switch, she is signalling that she

understood what is meant by conscription, no further explanation by I is needed, and that her opinion regarding this topic is agreeing that it is a good thing. Code-switching organised the different ideas and facilitated their interpretation for the participants. It also separated the speaker's opinion from its clarification. S2 then reiterated S1's answer and added *wāyid* to indicate that she agrees with what S1 stated, but her opinion is that I is not only 'better' but 'a lot better'. This switch to Kuwaiti Arabic separated S1's opinion from S2's.

It is noticeable from the previous three examples that the language in which the students express their opinion is not stable among all students. This proves that code-switching in itself is, as an activity, signalling an opinion no matter what the language is. It was earlier concluded that negative expressions are produced in English by the students in order to distance themselves from the guilt behind them. However, this does not connote that English is solely used for such purposes.

4.4.2 Code-switching expressing emotionality in our corpus

In many studies, stress, tiredness, and swear words were the focus in the analysis of emotionality. In our corpus, other emotions were involved such as complaint, sympathy and objection. These emotions are interchangeable with expressing opinion as well. In other words, when expressing annoyance by means of a complaint or sympathy by means of an objection, the student is also expressing her attitude towards the topic being discussed. In the following example, the interviewer asked the students about Ramadan TV dramas using Kuwaiti Arabic.

(Ex. 4.6)

(1) I: *w šənu tābaʕ-t-aw bə-rmuẓān? šənu šəf-t-aw*?

(2) S1: *tilfizyōn?!*

(3) I: *tilfizyōn*

(4) S1: *āna mā a-tābiʕ tilfizyōn. ummi ambē mašallāh ʕlē-ha.. tʕarf-īn illi t-iṭbax dəgīga baʕdēn t-žābil ət-tilfizyōn baʕdēn t-iṭbax āna* I have no choice but to sit down and stop talking and watch with her.

(5) I: *ī*

(6) S1: I can't even change the channel I try to watch movies

Translation (Ex. 4.6)

(1) I: *and what did you watch in Ramadan? What did you see*?

(2) S1: *television?!*

(3) I: *television*

(4) S1: *I do not watch television. my mum, oh my God.. you know she cooks in minutes then watches television then cook (again) I* I have no choice but to sit down and stop talking and watch with her.

(5) I: *yeah*

(6) S1: I can't even change the channel. I try to watch movies.

   As mentioned earlier, during Ramadan TV dramas, religious, and cooking programmes are very popular during Ramadan; hence, it provided a good opportunity to ask the students about what they had watched. The interviewer asked both students about what they watched and S1 asked for clarification whether it's watching television or cinema. I confirmed that television was meant and S1 replied that she did not watch television and then explained that her mother used to watch television, cook a little bit, go back to watching

television, and then return to cooking again. This narration is a justification of why she did not watch television. I expressed understanding of the situation and S1 continued explaining why she did not watch television, which was due to her mother's behaviour which did not allow her to change the channel to watch movies or something else.

In segment (4), S1 explained in Kuwaiti Arabic, accommodating the language of the previous utterances, that unlike her mother, she does not watch television. She then switched to English to narrate what her mother does that is preventing her from watching television. This narration indicated a complaint, which resulted from her mother's behaviour. S1 chose a different language from the language of the narration to convey a complaint. This language change separated the activity of narration from the activity that followed which was a complaint. According to Chen, when the language of narration contrasts with the language of speech, "the speaker removes himself from the usual track of the ongoing conversation (here-and-now) to the footing of a narrator (the past), which projects a forthcoming story as well as ensures a long turn with no interruption" (2007:97). When code-switching contextualises narration or story-telling, the speaker "draws himself out of the role of being a narrator and then turns to evaluate his own performance... examines what he has said and what he intends to express from the prior narrative, as well as a directing process, by means of which C gives the hearers the expectation and the direction of what is going to be articulated" (Chen 2007:99).

Supporting this analysis, S1 justified her complaint in (6) by showing annoyance about her mother's behaviour using English, the language of her previous complaint, and did not switch back to Kuwaiti Arabic. Therefore, the code-switch here contextualises a change in speech activity from narration to complaint. S1 did not switch to English to narrate but switched to English after the narration to show her annoyance. S1 used code-switching to signal an indirect speech act, a complaint in particular. The indirect expressive speech act of

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S1's English utterance 'I have no choice but to sit down and stop talking and watch with her' is the locutionary act and therefore, the actual saying of the utterance. The illocutionary act is informing and justifying (to the interviewer) as to why she cannot watch television and the perlocution or the effect is a complaint. Here, the speech act was produced in another language to contrast with a previously mentioned narration. Code-switching has an expressive function in this excerpt as S1 is trying to explain her feelings towards her mother's behaviour. Her use of English after the narration as a language of complaint is to distance herself from the negativity of the complaint. In Kuwaiti culture, it is considered very rude to badmouth your family or express anger or annoyance towards them. Thus, the use of English lessens the burden and decreases the guilt caused by those utterances as they are not uttered in her native tongue (Chen 1996; Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b). It is similar to the example in (4.4) in which the student shows her indifference by switching to English. Thus, code-switching was utilised here for two different functions, first to indicate the end of the narration, and second to express one's feelings and to distance oneself from their negativity.

The topic being discussed in this example concerns a law in Saudi Arabia, a neighbouring country, which prohibits women from driving.

(Ex.4.7)

(1) I: *ī w ha-s-suwālif*. OK what about driving? *yaʕni maθalan b-əssuʕūdiyya ʕində-hum il-mara mā t-sūg fa* do you think *inna ha-ššaġla b-il-ʕaks* luxury *inna t-ḥaṭ laha sāyig willa aḥḥad i-wadī-ha w i-yīb-ha*

(2) S1: *la'* that's not fair. *alḥīn il-ḥarīm xalāṣ yimkin ṣār-aw akθar min ər-riyāyīl yaʕni manṣib w wāyid ašyā'*

(3) I: *yaʕni xal n-fakkir fīha b-ṭarīqa mu inna mamnūʕ* because [she's] a woman. *la' mamnūʕ ʕšān rāḥat'ha.*

(4) S1:*[ī]. lā b-il-ʕaks*

(5) I: *ī*

(6) S1: *aḥis ḥəlu inna l- mara t-sūg mā fīha šai mū ġalaṭ yaʕni*

Translation (Ex. 4.7)

(1) I: *yeah and those things*. OK what about driving? *I mean for example in Saudi Arabia women do not drive so* do you think *that this thing is* luxury *that she has a driver or that someone picks her and drops her off*

(2) S1*: no* that's not fair. *no women became more than men I mean when it comes to positions and many other things.*

(3) I*: I mean let's think of it in a positive way not that it is banned* because [she's] a woman. *no, it is banned for her own [comfort.*

(4) S1:*[yeah]. no it's the opposite*

(5) I: *yeah*

(6) S1*: I feel (that) it's nice that the woman drives I mean there's nothing wrong with it.*

In this example, the students and the interviewer were discussing taboo topics concerning things that are forbidden in Kuwait, and they continued with the same topic but this time to the topic of women driving which is forbidden in Saudi Arabia but allowed in Kuwait. I asked both students about their opinion on women not driving being a good thing because it is a luxury for women to have drivers instead of having to drive themselves. S1

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disagrees with this idea by saying that it is not fair. She added that nowadays women even hold higher positions than men. I then reformulated the question by suggesting that she considers this law as supporting women and not against them because it is for their comfort. S1 reiterated her disagreement by saying that women driving is not something wrong to be prohibited.

In (2), the student started her answer in Kuwaiti Arabic with *la* as a sign of disagreement. This language choice contrasted with the language of the question "do you think...", which indicated disagreement and dispreference of the content of the question. Then she switched to English, which was unexpected, by stating that 'it's not fair', and continued the rest of the turn in Kuwaiti Arabic. Here, it is not the case that for this speaker English is the expressive language, while Kuwaiti Arabic is the dominant language. English in this particular situation was used as an expressive language to convey negative feelings. To support that, in (6) S1 used Kuwaiti Arabic to convey her feelings and thoughts. In (2) S1 used English to express her objection to the law in Saudi Arabia as well as sympathy towards Saudi women. Her use of English instead of Kuwaiti Arabic is caused by the fact that Saudi Arabia is a highly respected country in the Arab and Muslim world, which would make it rude to speak negatively about it. This is similar to our previous example where the student used English to distance herself from the guilt caused by complaining about her mother. If a Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent was used, it would be considered inappropriate. Therefore, code-switching was used to avoid the negative connotations. This interpretation is based on Chen's (1996) and Pavlenko's (2002b) studies, mentioned earlier, where the second language is used to produce swearwords and taboo words in order to distance the speaker from their connotations since it would be considered rude to utter them in this situation. As mentioned previously, it is not the case that one language is associated with certain activities but code-

switching contextualises these activities. Swearwords and taboo words are the only exception to this conclusion, as English is considered as the language with the less negative effect.

4.5. Conclusion

Despite the lack of studies on the expressive functions of code-switching, it is concluded from the analysis of our data that code-switching may contextualise expressive functions. In other words, code-switching can be used as a strategy to highlight, emphasise and support one's opinion, evaluation, attitude and emotions. Since Kuwaiti Arabic is the mother tongue of all the participants in this study, it might be assumed that it reclaims the status of being more expressive than English. However, in our study we attempted to prove that changing the language of conversation to express an opinion or an emotion is not caused by the association of each language with certain feelings or activities but caused by the switch functioning as an indicator of a change in the activity; thus, expressive code-switching is a bi-directional process.

The only exception we encountered was the use of English swearwords and negative expressions in Arabic speech. Speakers tend to avoid producing rude or unaccepted utterance especially in the presence of strangers; hence; they produce such expressions in English to sound less inappropriate and distance themselves from the negative effect these words or utterances carry.

In this chapter, it was illustrated how one code-switch could have multiple functions. In the case of expressive code-switching, whether it contextualises an opinion, attitude or an emotion, can also be considered as a contrastive code-switch if the propositional content of the code-switch opposes the propositional content of the previous utterance. For example, if the expressive switch is a disagreement, dislike or complaint then this code-switch is a discourse-related expressive and contrastive code-switch.

CHAPTER FIVE: FLOOR HOLDING AND FILLING LINGUISTIC GAPS

Code-switching is a strategy used by bilinguals to signal a number of functions. Two of those functions are floor holding and filling linguistic gaps. In the literature, turn allocation mechanisms which are used to hold the floor include reiteration of lexical items, the insertion of discourse markers such as 'I mean' and 'you know', and the use of speech particles like 'uh', and 'oh', 'mm' and other short floor holding devices (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). In bilingual speech, code-switching itself can act as a floor holding device. It can be manifested in the form of a single word insertion, a repeated word or a discourse marker. In other words, a speaker may insert a foreign word, repeat a word in a different language or insert a sentence-filler from a different language in an attempt to maintain the turn, i.e. self-selection. Filling a linguistic gap is one of the earliest discussed functions of code-switching in the literature, as code-switching was viewed as resulting from a lack of competence (Gumperz 1982). Filling a linguistic gap will be dealt with here because it is a strategy used by bilinguals not only to replace a missing word but also in order to hold the floor. In the case of a momentary lack of memory, a bilingual speaker may use a discourse marker or fill in the gap with an equivalent from a different language instead of silence to hold the floor and keep a smooth flow of the talk (Li Wei 2007).

5.1. Floor holding

Code-switching being employed as a floor holding mechanism is widely demonstrated in the insertion of certain switched fillers and discourse markers. Those fillers and discourse markers function differently from their monolingual equivalents. For example, the function of an Arabic discourse marker in an Arabic utterance differs from the function of the same Arabic discourse marker being inserted into an English utterance. This contrast between

languages creates and strengthens cohesion and coherence since it adds, cancels or changes the intended interpetation (De Rooji 2000).

5.1.1 Defining discourse markers

Deborah Schiffrin's (1987) book on discourse markers is one of the most influential works on the subject of discourse analysis and monolingual discourse markers. Discourse markers are words or phrases that are syntactically independent and do not carry meaning but rather a function (Schiffrin 1987). Their existence in an utterance does not necessarily add lexical meaning but connection between the utterances. This connection is meaningful and contributes to the overall interpretation of the whole turn, or to the relationship between the speakers. Discourse markers do not all belong to the same linguistic class; they can be nouns, verbs, adverbs, particles, connectives or a clause.

Prior to Schiffrin's work, Brown and Yule (1983:1) had emphasised the importance of analysing speech according to a discourse analytical approach as it must not be restricted to the analysis of the linguistic form without analysing the functions these discourse markers perform. In addition, Stubbs (1983:1) argued that discourse analysis:

> "consists of attempts to study the organisation of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written text. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers".

Thus, language has four different functions: referential to convey information about the world; social to control the relationship between the participants; expressive to express the speakers' feelings, attitude and status; and performative to perform an action (Schiffrin1987:7). Discourse markers, therefore, must be analysed similarly by the function they serve and not only by their linguistic forms. Schiffrin defined discourse markers as

"sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (1987:31). However, this definition does not clarify their interactional function.

Maschler's definition, on the other hand, emphasises their pragmatic function: "discourse markers are defined as utterances, metalingual at the level of discourse, occurring at conversational action boundaries" (1997:284). She adds "discourse markers refer to the text itself, to the interaction among speakers, or to the cognitive processes taking place in their minds during verbalisation" (2009:1). De Rooji (2000) also defined discourse markers as both verbal and non-verbal contextualisation cues upon which speakers depend for coherence and inference. They act as contextualisation cues because "they are employed in order to create and reflect frame shifts" (Maschler 2009:5). Discourse markers have both ideational and interactional functions (Jakobson 1995).

Discourse markers have distinctive properties: they provide connectivity and coherence to the two verbal actions engaged. They are syntactically optional (except for textual ones) and carry little semantic meaning (Kurdi 2008). When discourse markers are inserted into a different language, they 'metalanguage' the conversational boundaries, that is, they create a switch in verbal activity (Maschler 1994b). Matras (2000), on the other hand, argues that when a bilingual speaker inserts a discourse marker from a language that contrasts with the language of discourse, then this fusion might be partly-conscious as it is "triggered by cognitive factors as a nonseparation of the systems of discourse marking in the two languages in contact" (2000:506). Occurrences of a switched discourse marker in monolingual conversations support this claim. These occurrences indicate the un-intentionality of such insertions, since the switch takes place in a monolingual domain. In addition, Kurdi claims that in an intentional situation "bilinguals try to reduce the mental load of monitoring and directing their hearers by not separating the two linguistic systems they have access to, choosing discourse markers from the 'pragmatically' dominant language the

language that the speakers direct maximum mental effort at a given point during conversation" (2008:51).

According to Maschler (2009:17), for an utterance to be considered as a discourse marker, it must fulfil a semantic requirement. This means that:

> "the utterance must have a metalingual interpretation in the context in which it occurs. In other words, rather than referring to the extralingual world, it must refer metalingually to the realm of the texts (in which case we are concerned with a 'textual discourse marker'), to the interaction among participants (including relations between speaker and his/her utterance- 'interpersonal discourse marker'), or to their cognitive processes ('cognitive discourse marker')".

The motivation behind using a switched discourse marker is to create contrast that notifies the participant of an additional activity taking place and thus guides the participants to the understanding and interpretation of the intended meaning of the utterance as well as aiding them in understanding the state of the speaker in the conversation. The internal motivations behind the use of such strategy are to "highlight the contrast between text and its metalingual frame of discourse markers and highlight the contrast between discourse markers and conjunctions" (1997a:282). On the other hand, the external motivation behind this strategy is to "highlight pragmatic contrast between contrasting conversational actions... to highlight semantic contrast between contrasting propositions... (and) to highlight contrast segments of discourse" (Maschler 1997a:282).

5.1.2 Categorising discourse markers

Yael Maschler, who also worked on discourse markers in bilingual speech (Hebrew-English), argued that discourse markers signal boundaries of a conversational interaction (1994b). She introduced the concept of 'metalanguaging' which was inspired by Becker (1991) who coined the word 'languaging' to accentuate the fact that language is a continuously progressing process rather than a completed one. Maschler, therefore, states that

languaging occurs at two levels, a lingual and a metalingual in which the metalingual interpretation bounds two verbal activities. For instance, the occurrence of switched discourse markers delineates two verbal activities which suggest their perception as "distinct and unified" units (1994b:357). The use of a discourse marker in a contrasting language mirrors the contrast between structure and metalanguage. It acts as a signal for the other participants that such discourse marker is to be interpreted pragmatically rather than literally. She also categorised discourse markers into realms according to her database. This classification is fundamental in analysing discourse markers as it is replicable of other languages (1994:350); 1997b:193; 2000a:539). Maschler states that the categorisation of discourse markers is not always clear-cut, as some discourse markers can function in more than one realm and share one main function of negotiating conversational action boundary (2009:5). A bilingual speaker has the ability to separate two verbal activities by inserting a switched discourse marker in order "to comment on, or manage, interactions taking place mostly in one language, whose metalingual frame of discourse markers takes place generally in the other" (Maschler 2009:5).

5.1.2.1 The interpersonal realm

Interpersonal discourse markers display the relationship between participants, "usually negotiating the closeness versus distance between them" (Maschler 2000a:537). These discourse markers indicate the speaker's perception and opinion towards the interlocutors' previous utterances. A discourse marker can have multiple functions, that is, it can be both interpersonal/textual or cognitive. It depends on the organisation of discourse in the analysis.

(A) Perception verbs

As mentioned earlier, discourse markers are not restricted to one linguistic category. Verbs and phrases, including 'look', 'listen', 'you know', 'you see', 'believe me', and 'in my opinion' among others, can function as discourse markers. They often show a new contrasting verbal activity.

(B) Verbs of saying

Verbs of saying include 'let me tell you something', 'tell me', 'let me put it this way', 'I'm saying' and 'I don't know what to tell you'. They either point out the opposing opinion of the speaker or pre-sequence new information.

(C) Agreement

Discourse markers indicating agreement are 'yeah', 'alright', 'exactly', 'yes', 'true', 'OK', etc. They signal the speaker's agreement with the other participants.

(D) Disagreement

As opposed to agreement, these discourse markers signal the speaker's disagreement with the other interlocutors such as 'no', 'well', 'not true', etc.

(E) Displaying enthusiasm

These are discourse markers that show enthusiasm and passion like 'wow', and 'yeah!'

(F) Urging speaker to continue

Such discourse markers encourage the other speakers to continue their speech and elaborate more. They also show interest in the subject or story being tackled. 'go on', 'yeah?', 'and?' are some examples.

(G) Displaying discontent

Displaying discontent or dislike can be manifested in the use of short-syllable consonant prefaced markers such as 'tsk'.

5.1.1.2: The textual realm

Textual discourse markers are "those regulating the way the text 'hangs together,' or the way conversational actions are built into a coherent whole" (Maschler 2000:537). It organises the structure of the verbal activities in an utterance for coherence purposes.

(A) Referential

Referential discourse markers often reflect their semantic meaning by linking two relationships/verbal actions together. Thus, they mainly consist of conjunctions of cause, consequence, contrast, coordination, disjunction, concession, purpose, and condition (Maschler 2000).

I. Causal

'Since' and 'because' are some of the referential discourse markers that connect two phrases with a causal relationship.

II. Consequential

'So' is one of the most common consequential discourse markers that signal the outcome of an activity.

III. Contrastive

Contrastive discourse markers show an oppositional relationship between what precedes and what follows, such as 'but', 'in contrast', and 'on the contrary'.

IV. Coordinative

The textual discourse markers 'and' and 'also' are referential coordinative conjunctions that function differently in different situations. They conjoin verbal activities.

V. Concessive

'Alright' was the only concessive discourse marker found in Maschler's database.

VI. Purposive

'In order that' links an action with its purpose.

VII. Deictic

'Now', 'here' and 'then' are deictic markers, referring to a place or time.

VIII. Disjunctive

As opposed to coordinating conjunction, 'or' is a disjunction that presents an alternative answer.

IX. Conditional

'If' is a subordinate conjunction indicating the conditionality of the occurrence of two consecutive utterances.

(B) Structural

Structural discourse markers provide information concerning the way conversational actions are related to one another in terms of order and hierarchy. They include markers organizing the order of conversational actions as well as providing information on upcoming verbal actions. They are labelled as structural for they are structurally constrained (Maschler 1994b).

I. Organising order of action

Markers like 'first', 'first of all', 'wait a sec', 'just a sec' and 'wait' refer to unrelated successive actions and separate them from the main verbal activity. Thus, they organise the order of verbal activity.

II.   Introducing an example

Expressions presenting an example such as 'for example', 'for instance' and 'like'.

III.   Introducing an action

Discourse markers presenting a statement, e.g. 'like this'.

IV.   Ending action

Discourse markers finalising an action such as 'that's it', 'up to here'.

V.   Repeating an action

Markers such as 'again'.

VI.   Introducing a side-action

'By the way' is a discourse marker presenting a correlated idea.

5.1.1.3 Cognitive (a.k.a realm of medium)

According to Maschler, the cognitive category of discourse markers "includes markers providing information about cognitive processes occurring at frame shifts, which are often revealed in the medium of spoken discourse" (2000a:537). These markers are often not interpreted by their semantic meaning but by functionality. They consist of fillers that serve to hold the floor and offer more time for the speaker to process or recall information; and thereby, find a suitable reply by adding new information or rephrasing an old one.

(A) Processing information

'Uh' is one of the most famous floor holding devices, signaling the processing of information, avoiding silence, and self-selection of the next turn. It may also mark hesitation. Maschler claims that the motivation behind using a short filler such as 'uh' in bilingual speech "is the fact that too much effort is required in order to constantly switch the position of the mouth from a pre-speaking English position to a pre-speaking Hebrew position, and vice versa" (1994b:348).

(B) Realising new information

'Oh' is a discourse marker that marks a change in the cognitive state of the speaker due to realisation of new information. The recognition of new information is accompanied by an element of surprise.

(C) Realising the need to rephrase

'Like', 'I mean', and 'meaning', among others, indicate the speaker's cognitive state of the need to modify his/her thoughts for clarification and qualification.

5.1.3. Switched discourse markers in Kuwait

In this section, we are concerned with the cognitive and interactional functions of discourse markers rather than semantic and syntactic ones. Most of the discourse markers in our data consist of Kuwaiti Arabic ones. This is also the case in several bilingual communities wherein discourse markers are more varied in one language than in another such as Maschler's (Hebrew-English), De Rooji's (Swahili-French) and Auer's (German-Italian) community. In the Kuwaiti bilingual (English-KMA) community, it is triggered by the status of Kuwaiti Arabic as the more pragmatically dominant language (see chapter 3). These discourse markers metalanguage the preceding and the successive verbal actions, as their pragmatic force contributes to the actual comprehension of the discourse. Maschler (1997a)

claimed that the insertion of discourse markers from a less pragmatically dominant language does not create a contrast between the discourse and the metalanguage frame as the more varied markers do. Thus, they act only as conjunctions, not as discourse markers. De Rooji (2000), as well, stated that the less salient markers are "weaker and less effective in performing their role of signalling relations between consecutive clauses, or larger speech units such as conversational turns" (2000:462). For example, in our corpus the discourse marker *yaʕni* was inserted into an English dominant conversation around 225 times, while both its English equivalents 'I mean' and 'like' in Kuwaiti Arabic dominant utterances only occurred once each. However, there were two 'like' occurrences where the pragmatically dominant language was difficult to be decided. Furthermore, there were four instances of 'like' in an English dominant discourse that triggered switching to Kuwaiti Arabic.

Many switched discourse markers were found in our data, both Arabic and English. In this section, only the most recurrent discourse makers will be analysed according to Maschler's (1997a, 2000) classification of realms as well as their interactional function.

5.1.3.1 Cognitive discourse markers in our study

In monolingual speech, the presence of *yaʕni* 'I mean' and *ʕaraft* 'you know' is manifested in two contexts: the first in their literal meaning marking the modification of meaning, and the second in their pragmatic meaning marking several functions. According to Rieschild (2011), *yaʕni* can be translated into English as 'well', 'I mean', 'that it', 'you see', 'like', 'so', 'sorta'; however, these translations are not all applicable to conversational discourse. Moreover, Owen and Rockwood (2008) claim that *yaʕni* functions as a connective discourse marker in certain dialects of Arabic but not in MSA.

In bilingual speech, Maschler (1997a) reckons that the insertion of 'I mean' in a different language is a realisation of the need to rephrase what preceded it. In the data

collected, the occurrences of *yaʕni* 'I mean' and *ʕaraft* 'you know' in an English utterance are often restricted to their pragmatic meaning and less directed towards the literal meaning. *ʕaraft* indicates shared information between the participants. Unlike *yaʕni* which indicates the speaker's orientation, *ʕaraft* indicates the participants' involvement (Schiffrin 1987). In cases where the idea is not shared information nor general knowledge, *ʕaraft?/darēt?* 'you knew?/you heard?' is used as an attention drawer in the form of an adjacency pair with *šənu?* 'what?' or *šlōn?* 'how' as the second part of the pair. It is also used as a self-selection strategy by the speaker to hold the floor in order to process and recall an idea or self-repair.

yaʕni is a cognitively motivated discourse marker indicating the speaker's need to modify previous talk (Maschler 1994b). It is not connecting between two utterances but between the speaker and the message s/he needs to convey to the hearers. In its literal meaning, *yaʕni* can serve as an equivalent to *qaṣdi* 'I intend' (to say) that marks the speaker's intentions. It also repairs, sums up and rephrases information for a better understanding as well as commits the speaker to a prior claim (Schiffrin 1987).

Furthermore, *yaʕni* is used as a "floor holding device or as an indication that the speaker is searching for a word, thus it has an interactional effect as it contributes to the development of the conversation" (Kurdi 2008:96). However, its occurrence in the utterance's final position marks a turn transition point which leaves the floor open for the other participants to take. In both cases, *yaʕni* can be omitted as it does not contribute to the meaning of discourse. Owen and Rockwood specified the meanings of Gulf Arabic *yaʕni* (mainly Emirati Arabic) according to their corpus-study. According to them, *yaʕni* can carry the meaning of 'because', 'then', 'in fact', 'in summary', 'as a result', and act as a question marker (2008:86).

From observations of its Kuwaiti usage, the production of *yaʕni* with an ascending pitch in the form of a question marker carries the meaning of 'really?', which is a device used

for requesting a confirmation of information. But when it is joined to the coordinator *w yaʕni?* it would carry the meaning of 'so what?' (see Ex.5.1); also, when it is used as a single word answer, it carries the meaning of 'so-so' (see Ex.5.2).

(Ex 5.1)

(1) A: Choose C in all answers and you won't fail.

(2) B: *yaʕni?* 'really?'

(Ex 5.2)

(1) A: Did you do well in the exam?

(2) B: *yaʕni* 'so-so'

This leads to the conclusion that *yaʕni* occurs at different levels, all of which motivated by the interpretive meaning and function needed to be conveyed. Owen and Rockwood, thus, categorised the functions of Gulf Arabic *yaʕni* according to the interpretive perspective (2008:103). See the following table:

Speech Act Level	Discourse Level	Turn Management Level	Rhetorical Level	Propositional Truth Level
Elaborate, define, explain, clarify/specify	**Conclude**, recapitulate = so	**Turn holding, repair, word search, turn uptake.**	parallelism/ narrative suspense	Hedging

Table 5.1 the functions of Gulf Arabic *yaʕni* according to Owen & Rockwood

However, not all of these functions are found in our corpus, only the ones in bold did occur. Here are some examples from our database:

In this example, the topic being discussed concerned the students' hobbies. S1 expressed her love of music. All three speakers used English, Kuwaiti Arabic, and code-switching between the two in their discourse. In the following extract, English was the language of speech until a change in (6) took place.

(Ex 5.3)

(1) I: What do you listen to? Arabic music? Western?

(2) S1: No! Western music. I like rock music it's really weird it drives my parents crazy.

(3) I: Rock! So not Lady Gaga and..

(4) S1: No, no way

(5) I: OK Rock

(6) S1: Rock *yaʕni.. ʕaraft-ai ana asmaʕ ashyā'* in 1990s and 70s *činna ʕāyša b-hal žīl ʕaraft-ai*

(7) I: *la la* cool, this is cool

Translation (Ex.5.3)

(1) I: What do you listen to? Arabic music? Western?

(2) S1: No! western music. I like rock music it's really weird it drives my parents crazy.

(3) I: Rock! So not Lady Gaga and..

(4) S1: No, no way

(5) I: OK Rock

(6) S1: Rock *I mean.. you know I listen to things* in (from) 1990s and 70s *as if I'm living this age you know.*

(7) I: *no no* cool, this is cool

In this extract, I asked the students about the type of music they like to listen to. S1 answered that she likes western music especially rock, then she commented that listening to rock music drives her parents crazy. I was then surprised, because most girls of her age love pop and dance music like those of Lady Gaga. S1 replied that there is no way she will listen to Lady Gaga. Then she stated that the type of rock music she enjoys is the one from the seventies and nineties, and she feels as if she belongs to that generation.

This example was analysed in chapter 5 according to the contrastive expressive function of code-switching but the analysis did not account for the effect of *yaʕni* and *ʕaraft-ai* on the interpretation of the discourse in details. Here, the switched discourse markers *yaʕni* and *ʕaraft-ai* will be analysed as contextualisation cues as proposed by De Rooji and Maschler in order to understand their interactional and cognitive function. Treating a code-switch as a contextualisation cue is one of the principles used in conversational analysis. Conversational analysis emphasises the importance of sequentiality in analysing the function of a code-switch. In other words, to interpret a switch correctly, what precedes and what follows the switch must be put in consideration. First, the switch from English to Arabic created a contrast in language highlighting the activity taking place and notifying the speaker to interpret such utterance by its function rather than only by its meaning. Second, the use of *yaʕni* followed by a pause indicates the cognitive state of the speaker as she is searching for the correct and suitable utterance. Therefore, the cognitive function of *yaʕni* here is to provide more time for the speaker signalling to the other participants that the speaker is

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experiencing a momentary loss of memory and is thinking of the appropriate utterance to produce (Maschhler, 2000a, Li Wei 2007). The interactional function, on the other hand, is that *yaʕni* helped the speaker to hold the floor preventing any attempts by the other participants to take it.

After that, the speaker fails to retrieve the needed information and thus produces another discourse marker *ʕaraft-ai,* which in its literal meaning, indicates shared information among participants. However, in this utterance not all information is shared as the speaker is trying to clarify the type of rock music which the other participants do not know. Therefore, *ʕaraft-ai* here was used also as a cognitive discourse marker providing more time for the speaker to think and utter the needed information as well as to hold the floor so turn taking does not take place. Hence, both *yaʕni* and *ʕaraft-ai* had a similar cognitive and interactional function. They created a boundary between the content of the utterance and the cognitive state of the speaker. These discourse markers organise the turn taking as they prevent interruptions and incomplete turns. The discourse markers and the pause were contextualisation cues highlighting the cognitive state of the speaker. After the production of the discourse markers, S1 continued the turn in Kuwaiti Arabic rather than switching back to English, the language of conversation, which is a further indication that to the speaker's inability to remember the information in the language of conversation but finally managed to provide it in the pragmatically dominant language.

The second example was also used in chapter 4 to illustrate participant-related contrastive code-switching where S3 did not accept any kind of language negotiation and insisted on her language choice. Although she chose English as the language of conversation, instances of Kuwaiti Arabic insertions appeared in her speech as in (8) and (10).

(Ex 5.4)

(1) I: *w* speaking of age *əḥna ʕindəna b-il kwēt* if you want to drive you have to be eighteen *amma maθalan fi duwal θānya la ʕādi* sixteen is fine

(2) S1: *la'*

(3) I: *[fa]*

(4) S1: *[t-kūn-īn* eighteen *ʕindi aḥsan] li'nna t-igdər-īn t-itḥakkum-ēn b-nafs-ič yaʕni* sixteen *yimkin t-ṣīr ḥawadiθ akθar inna y-ṣīr y-sawwi ḥawadiθ ġēr lamma t-kūn-īn kbīra*

(5) I: *kbīra*

(6) S1: *šwai t-itḥakkum-ēn b-nafs-ič*

(7) I: *ənzein ha-ššaġla mā ttaʕʕib il-ahal maθalan waḥda bi-t-rūḥ il- žāmʕa maθalan ʕindəh-um* two kids *b-il žāmʕa y-wadd-ūn hāða willa y-wadd-ūn hāða w i--ssāyig y-waddi hāða willa hāða fa* isn't it like better to drive at sixteen?

(8) S3: it's better *bas yaʕni* there are disadvantages *yaʕni ḥarām* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *yaʕni* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *yaʕni* what if something happens in the road?

(9) I: *ṣaḥ*

(10) S3: and you never know. *fa* eighteen is like a really good age

(11) I: yeah

(12) S3: it's better than twenty 'cause no one would wait (I laughs) to that age so I find eighteen [appropriate]

(13) I: [eighteen is appropriate]. *zēn t-šūf-ūn b-issəʕūdiyya ʕində-hum il-mara* she doesn't drive do you think it's a luxury *inna y-ḥəṭṭ-ūn sāyig wāḥid y-wadī-ha w waḥid iyyīb-ha*

Translation (Ex.5.4)

(1) I: *and* speaking of age *in Kuwait* if you want to drive you have to be eighteen *but for example in some other countries no it's OK to be* sixteen is fine

(2) S1: *no*

(3) I: *[so]*

(4) S1: [*being* eighteen *for me is better] because you can control yourself, I mean* sixteen *maybe more accidents will happen that you cause accidents. It's different from being older.*

(5) I: *older*

(6) S1: *you can control yourself a little bit better*

(7) I: *OK this thing wouldn't it affect the parents? for example one wants to drive to college, and they have* two kids *in different colleges they drive this one or that? and the driver drives this one or that? So* isn't it like better to drive at sixteen?

(8) S3: it's better *but I mean* there are disadvantages *I mean poor* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *I mean* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *I mean* what if something happens in the road?

(9) I: *true*

(10) S3: and you never know. *So* eighteen is like a really good age

(11) I: yeah

(12) S3: it's better than twenty 'cause no one would wait (I laughs) to that age so I find eighteen [appropriate]

(13) I: [eighteen is appropriate]. *OK you see in Saudi Arabia women* she doesn't drive do you think it's a luxury *that she has a driver to take her around*

In this excerpt, the interviewer asked the students whether they prefer driving at the age of eighteen or sixteen, the latter being the case in other countries but not in Kuwait. S1 mentioned that she prefers driving at the age of eighteen because at sixteen the person would still be too young and unable to control the vehicle perfectly which could lead to accidents. Then, I clarified that driving at the age of sixteen will be more convenient for the parents, otherwise they would be obliged to drive their children to school and to college as well. S1 then agrees with I that it is better that way but there are disadvantages to it. She then clarified her answer by sympathising with sixteen year olds who are only kids, not yet responsible enough to be on the road and cannot be depended on if something happens on the road.

Note in (8), the insertion of *yaʕni* four times by the same speaker in her English utterance, is similar to the previous example, *yaʕni* was inserted as a contextualisation cue to organise the management of the turn. Due to S3's long answer, she used *yaʕni* as a floor holding device. *yaʕni* did not contribute the literal meaning of the word *yaʕni* in any of the occurrences supports such analysis. The insertion of *yaʕni* here contextualises the cognitive state of the speaker. In other words, it indicates that the speaker is not able, at the moment, to retrieve the required information and needs time to remember it (Maschler 2000a, Li Wei 2007). It signals to the other participants that the speaker has not finished her turn, as she is searching for information and self-selecting herself for the next turn because she is willing to express, rephrase, specify or clarify information.

The third example is similar to the second in the excessive use of *yaʕni* to hold the floor. But the difference here is in the speaker's language choices.

(Ex 5.5)

(1) S2: In Kuwait more restaurants are opening day by day [like that]

(2) I: [It's like] two a day

(laugh)

(3) S2: So I think that's the problem. Try eating healthy and most restaurants are like fast food that's bad.

(4) I: *bas yimkin il*-government *lāzim ṭhiṭ* rules *maθalan kil maṭʕam b-y-iftaḥ t-rāqba yaʕni* don't sell this, don't sell that *yaʕni nawʕiyyāt il*-food

(5) S1: *li'nna fi nawʕiyyāt* food *yaʕni* it makes you like really really obese of it *yaʕni* especially Mcdonalds *yaʕni maḥḥad y-əstaġna ʕanna [fa šəsma] yaʕni āna min nāḥyət-i yaʕni* they have to make *yaʕni* one day and especially day *inna* all healthy food *yaʕni il*-restaurants all have healthy food *w či yaʕni* twice a week *šai čəði yaʕni ʕašān [ən-nās]*.

(6) S2: [everyone] likes McDonalds. [Sorry] *bas inna b-il* UK they have I think *aw* health week or something. We have it in school but it only applies for young kids in school that should be in Kuwait for [everyone] that would be good.

(7) I: [everyone]

Translation (Ex.5.5)

(1) S2: In Kuwait more restaurants are opening day by day [like that]

(2) I: [It's like] two a day

(laugh)

(3) S2: So I think that's the problem. Try eating healthy and most restaurants are like fast food that's bad.

(4) I: *but maybe the-*government *must put* rules *for example it censors every restaurant opening (soon) like* don't sell this, don't sell that *like the types of the-*food

(5) S1: *Because there are types of* food *I mean* it makes you like really really obese of it *I mean* especially McDonalds *I mean nobody can live without it [so what do we call it] I mean from my own perspective I mean* they have to make *like* one day and especially day *that (is)* all healthy food *I mean the-*restaurants all have healthy food *and like that I mean* twice a week *something like that I mean for (the sake of the) [the people]*.

(6) S2: [everyone] likes McDonalds. [Sorry] *but in the* UK they have I think *or* health week or something. We have it in school but it only applies for young kids in school that should be in Kuwait for [everyone] that would be good.

(7) I: [everyone]

In this example, the researcher is discussing the topic of obesity with the students, and S2 stated that the number of restaurants in Kuwait is increasing quite rapidly. I commented on S2's statement by saying that it seems as if two new restaurants are opening every day. The students laughed at I's comment, then S2 mentioned that new restaurants opening every now and then are the problem, and suggested eating healthy foods and avoiding fast food. Then I proposed that the government must do something about it like monitoring what is being served to customers. S1 then took the floor, agreed with I's proposal and added that everyone is addicted to fast food outlets like McDonalds and cannot live without it, therefore, the government should force those restaurants to provide healthy food at least once a week.

S2 then added that in the UK they have 'health week' but in Kuwait it is only applied in primary schools, even though it should be for everyone.

It is apparent from this example in (6) that S1 does not have a preferred language choice as her code-switching behaviour is the default choice. This is an indication of her competence in both languages; however, she seems to be struggling to provide an answer. This is indicated by her excessive use of the Kuwaiti Arabic floor-holding device *yaʕni*. First, she accommodates the language choice of the previous participant for coherence purposes and uses the same terminologies as well, *nawʕiyyāt* food. Then, she inserts the discourse marker *yaʕni* followed by a switch to English to state facts and then another use of *yaʕni* is followed by another switch but this time to Kuwaiti Arabic which is used to state a comment or a remark. All these alternation instances between English and KMA and vice versa are preceded by *yaʕni* which emphasises that this use is not only a floor-holding device signalling the search for words but also a device used to separate subjectivity from objectivity (see chapter 4).

All instances of *yaʕni* in the previous example illustrated its cognitive and interactional function. They created a boundary between the text and the mind state of the speaker, they contextualised the cognitive state of the speaker as well as acted as a floor-holding device. The motivation behind their occurrence is to keep a smooth flow of the talk preventing any interruptions by the other participants.

This final example clarifies the function of *yaʕni* when used in Kuwaiti Arabic dominant conversation. The topic being discussed concerns a new law that allows women to join the police and the army.

(Ex 5.6)

(1) I: OK what do you think *ənna fi banāt alḥīn dxal-aw il-žēš*. Is it a nice thing?

(2) S2: *wāyid mbala*

(3) S1: *la'.. la* it's not

(4) I: *lēš*?

(5) S1: *mādri aḥis il-bnayyah ḥalāta t-kūn bnayyah <u>yaʕni</u> mu inna t-əštəġə.l*

(6) S2: *bil ʕaks inna ʕādi <u>yaʕni</u> fi wāyid nās* sport <u>*yaʕni*</u> *či y-ḥəbbūn ha-s-suwālif*

(7) I: *zēn t-ḥəssūn ʕādi y-ḥəṭṭūn-ha b-'y mukān? ənna t-sūg dabbāba ʕādiʔ*

(8) S1: *la'*

Translation (Ex.5.6)

(1) I: OK what do you think *that there are girls now admitted in the army*. Is it a nice thing?

(2) S2: *Totally yes*

(3) S1: *No.. no* it's not

(4) I: *Why*?

(5) S1: *I don't know I feel it is nicer (for a girl) to be girly <u>I mean</u> that she does not work (in jobs like that).*

(6) S2: *On the contrary it's OK. <u>I mean</u> there are a lot of people (who are)* sport <u>*I mean*</u>*, like, they love these things.*

(7) I: *OK do you feel that it is OK they assign her any job? like driving a tank is OK?*

(8) S1: *No*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about the new law in Kuwait which allows women to join the army, and S2 agreed with it, while S1 disagreed. I then asked S1 why she disagrees with women joining the army and she justified her answer by saying that it is better for girls to be girls and not work in manly jobs. S1, on the other hand, disagreed with S2 and clarified her answer by saying that many girls are suitable for this job. Then I took the floor and asked S1 if her answer implies that women in the army should be restricted to certain jobs or that some women would even be suitable to drive a tank, but S1 negated the latter.

By using Auer's (1984) notion of sequentiality, the intended interpretation of an utterance can be inferred. What followed *yaʕni* in this example guided the hearer to its conversational function. In (5), the insertion of *yaʕni* conveyed its literal meaning 'I mean', as it signalled the occurrence of a definition in the consecutive utterance. S1 defined what she meant by *girly* after the insertion of *yaʕni 'that she doesn't work'.* The second occurrence of *yaʕni* in (6) is similar, as it is followed by an attempt to define 'sport'. The first occurrence of *yaʕni* in (6) is equivalent to 'I intend to say' which explains what was meant by 'on the contrary it's OK', thereby specifying the general statement on how it is 'OK'. Therefore, the occurrences of *yaʕni* here do not fulfil the semantic requirement of a discourse marker mentioned earlier and therefore does not qualify as a discourse marker.

5.1.3.2. Textual discourse markers in our study

(A) Referential discourse markers

I.   *fa* 'so' and *li'nna* 'because'

fa 'so' and *li'nna* 'because' are causative referential discourse markers. According to Schiffrin, 'so' and 'because' can be categorised together because "they are complements both

structurally and semantically" and both "are grammatical signals of main and subordinate clauses" which are reflected in their use in discourse (1987:191). Schiffrin also explained the functionality of 'because' as a subordinate in the semantic level that provides a reason, as well as an interactional inferential marker in the pragmatic level that presents a challenge. She also differentiates between the two as follows (1987:207):

'So' is a potential turn transition device which marks a speaker's readiness to take a turn. It also marks the turn transition at the completion of an adjacency pair and marks the speaker's continuation as it is the case with 'and'. On the other hand, 'because' links a known knowledge with an unknown one, such as request and account, compliance and justification, and claim and grounds. Thus, 'because' prefaces the motive behind an activity; whereas 'so' prefaces an action that has just been justified.

The Kuwaiti Arabic equivalents of 'so' and 'because' are *fa* and *li'nna* respectively. However, *fa* can also have the meaning of 'and' as Arabic offers two additive coordinating conjunctions (Matras 1997). Matras differentiates between *fa* and *w(a)* as "*fa* admits that a previous category has been concluded successfully, and is re-opened merely to make an established point of departure more explicit. It therefore tends to lack a counterpart in English and, which stresses recurrent treatment of the same category before its conclusion, much more like Arabic *wa*" (Matras 1997:182). *fa* implies sequence, conclusion, explanation, result, cause, transition or summary (Saeed & Fareh 2006; Kurdi 2008). The function of *fa* differs according to its position in a sentence/utterance. According to Sarig (1995), when *fa* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it clarifies or confirms a previous idea. In KMA, *fa* shares some of these functions but not all of them. From observations, *fa* is not the only sequential marker in KMA. The KMA discourse marker *čān* 'so' is also a common discourse marker used for sequential purposes. Unlike *fa, čān* is a dialectal discourse marker used in the Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Jordanian dialects of Arabic. In bilingual speech, the insertion of *fa*

functions differently according to the context and its position in the utterance. For instance, it is used as a floor holding device when pronounced *fā* with a long /a/ as the speaker is searching for a word and does not want to pause since pauses may indicate end of turn. In this situation, *fa* is an additive as it implies the addition of more information.

In our corpus, *fa/čān* were often inserted in utterances where code-switching between English and KMA occurred continuously, which thus burdened the identification of the dominant language. They were either preceded or followed by an utterance of a contrasting language. In the next example, the interviewer starts the conversation by asking the students about how they are doing with their final exams and about their future plans after graduating from high school as this is their final year.

(Ex 5.7)

(1) I: OK *awwal šai šlōn-kum maʕa əd-dirāsa*?

(2) S1: *zēnīn il-ḥimdillāh.* Actually year eleven is a bit harder a lot of pressure we're in. Actually next week we have mocks. *w inna ma yamdi n-adris wāyid*. We're taking tuitions *fa ma yamdi*.

(3) I: *ma yamdi. Inshallah ʕəgub ma t-xalṣ-ūn il-*highschool *šənu m-fakr-īn t-saww-ūn? ən-kum t-adrəs-ūn barra willa bi t-ḍəll-ūn b-il-kwēt?*

(4) S2: *āna* for me *yaʕni āna inna adris barra ummi w ubūy y-šaʕūn-i adris barra li'nna šisma aḥis inna abi y-ṣīr fi* confidence *b-nafs-i yaʕni adabbir nafsi.*

Translation (Ex.5.7)

(1) I: OK *first thing how are you doing with your studies*?

(2) S1: (*We're) good thank God.* Actually year eleven is a bit harder a lot of pressure we're in. Actually next week we have mocks. *And (in) that (case) we have no time to study.* We're taking tuitions *so* no time.

(3) I*: No time. After you finish the-*high school *what are you thinking of doing? Study abroad or stay in Kuwait?*

(4) S2: *I* for me, *I mean I, that I study abroad, my mum and dad encourage me because, what do we call it, I feel I want to have* confidence *in myself I mean take care of myself.*

The contrastive functions of code-switching in this extract have been discussed in chapter 3. In this section, the functions of the discourse markers will be discussed. The researcher is asking the student about their studies and S1 replied that they are under pressure because it is their final year. Then the researcher asked about their future plan and S2 replied that her intention is to study abroad and that her parents encourage her to do so.

The conversation started with an adjacency pair *šlōn-kum* which was replied to by S1 with the second part of the pair in the same language *zēnīn il-ḥimdillāh.* Afterwards, the student switched to English which seems to be the student's preferred language, as it was used right after producing the second of the adjacency pair in KMA due to the automaticity of adjacency pairs. Surprisingly, another switch to Arabic took place in (2), starting with the discourse marker *w inna* which literally means 'and that' but functions as 'as a result'. The use of KMA here is regarded as a contrast strategy used by the speaker to set a boundary between two activities one of them is a cause while the other one is a result. This boundary is triggered by the use of the resultative discourse marker *w inna*. The same speech behaviour is repeated afterwards, but this time starting with the resultative discourse marker *fa. fa* in this utterance links between a cause and result where the cause was uttered in English while the result was uttered in KMA. The fact that the students are taking tuitions accounts for not having enough

time to study. Both discourse markers were contextualisation cues highlighting the result of the previous cause stated. The speaker is commenting on the statements previously uttered in a different language to signal to the other participants that a new verbal action has taken place. In this case both *w inna* and *fa* enhance the resultative relationship as well as keep a smooth flow of the talk preventing any interruptions.

In the second example, all switching occurrences were preceded by a discourse marker. The researcher in (1) was commenting on S1's previous utterance which was unrelated to the next topic, and then I asked the students about their hobbies.

(Ex 5.8)

(1) I: (laugh) you have no idea why they say that. OK what about your hobbies what do you like to do?

(2) S1: I love to play tennis *yaʕni arūḥ* like twice a week *arūḥ alʕab tənis*. *yaʕni* I used to *yaʕni* go swimming *bas māku wakt w čəði dirāsa fa* I have to go like at weekend *aw inna* afternoons

Translation (Ex.5.8)

(1) I: (laugh) you have no idea why they say that. OK what about your hobbies what do you like to do?

(2) S1: I love to play tennis *I mean I go* like twice a week *I go play tennis*. *I mean* I used to *like* go swimming *but I have no time, and like that, studying, so* I have to go like at weekend *or in the* afternoons.

In this extract, the interviewer asked about the students' hobbies, and S1 mentioned that she loves to play tennis and that she practises twice a week. She also added that she used

to go swimming but now she does not have enough time because of her studies, so she only practises during the weekend. This example supports the assumption stated earlier that discourse markers cognitively facilitate the switch between two language systems as they are non-separated in the brain. It paves the way for the speaker to switch between the two languages as it provides more time for the speaker to arrange his/her ideas. The discourse markers employed did not consist only of Kuwaiti Arabic discourse markers. The English discourse marker 'like' was also inserted, triggering a switch to English and thus implying a side-remark. Similar to the earlier example, the use of English was objective; whereas, the switch to Kuwaiti Arabic was subjective. According to De Rooji, "A switch before, after, or before and after a marker ensures that the marker contrasts with its linguistic environment and, in this way, attracts more attention" (2000:453).

In addition to that, the production of *yaʕni* four times had a cognitive and interactional function. As mentioned in the previous section, when *yaʕni* is not used to express its literal meaning 'I mean', it qualifies as a discourse marker. In this example it was used as a floor holding device separating the text from the mental state of the speaker. The speaker here is experiencing difficulties in retrieving the required information; therefore, she is using *yaʕni* to provide herself with extra time to think as well as self-select herself instead of being silent to prevent overlaps. On the other hand, *fa* was used as a trigger to a switch to contextualise the resultative relationship between what preceded it and what followed it. As mentioned in the previous example, a switch before or after a discourse marker sets boundaries between two verbal activities to attract the participants attention (Maschler 1997, De Rooji 2000). As mentioned previously, referential discourse markers occur before or after a code-switch. Unlike interpersonal and cognitive markers, they retain part or all of their semantic meaning. As opposed to *fa, li'nna* in our data was only employed for a cause/result function, which contributed towards its semantic meaning.

As for *li'nna* 'because'*,* it can be classified into three types (Schiffrin 1987):

A. Fact-based: a subordinate linking the causal relation with the result.

B. Knowledge-based: when it implies a warrant for inference (De Rooji 2000).

C. Action-based: when it implies the motive behind a performed action.

In the first example, the interviewer was asking the students about their opinion of girls getting married while they are still studying in college. In Kuwait, women often get married after they finish college but lately, it is getting more common for them to get married during college.

(Ex 5.9)

(1) I: OK what do you think about studying and getting married at the same time?

(2) S1: No I think it's not fair *[li'nna]*

(3) I: *[uhwa]* OK *mu* high school *[xal n-fakkir] fīha ənna baʕd il*-high school.

(4) S1: *[ī]. la'* it's not fair. *li'nna ʕindič mas'ūlītēn fa mā y-ṣīr. lāzim* you *yaʕni t-ṭālʕīn mas'ūliyya waḥda illi əhya* of course studying *li'nna* it's important more than getting married. You can get married after you finish.

Translation (Ex.5.9)

(1) I: OK what do you think about studying and getting married at the same time?

(2) S1: No I think it's not fair *[because]*

(3) I: *[it's]* OK *not* (in) high school [*let's think*] *of it as after the*-highschool.

(4) S1: *[yeah]. no* it' not fair. <u>*Because*</u> *you have two responsibilities so it's wrong. (you) have to* you *I mean you look after one responsibility that is* of course studying <u>because</u> it's important more than getting married. You can get married after you finish.

In this excerpt, I asked the students about their opinion regarding being married and being a student at the same time. S1's opinion was that it is not fair. Afterwards, I clarified the question that what was meant was being married while being a college student, not a high school one. S1 then indicated that she understood what was meant and explained that if you're married while being a student, then you have two responsibilities, and studying to her is a to priority.

In (2), S1 replied in English as she accommodated the language of the previous utterance for it constituted the second part of an adjacency pair. The interviewer asked the student about her opinion in English and S1 expressed her opinion in the same language. The justification of the opinion, however, was about to be produced in another language. In (2), after S1 expressed her opinion, she uttered a discourse marker in Kuwaiti Arabic as a signal that her turn is not completed yet. She used *li'nna* as an indication that her justification of the previous statement will follow as well as self-select herself. In spite of that, the sequential discourse marker *li'nna* failed to hold the floor as I overlapped in order to clear the ambiguity in (1). The overlap was necessary as the researcher felt the need to clarify her question as she was asking about their opinion on getting married while still studying at college, not while studying in high school.

In (4), S1 confirmed her understanding by *ī* in Kuwaiti Arabic, and then inserted the actual answer *la'* and switched to English for negation and repeating her utterance 'it's not fair'. The motivation behind contrasting *ī* with the actual answer *la'* and codeswitching directly afterwards lies in the necessity of setting boundaries by separating the verbal

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activities which are agreement of the understanding of the question, disagreement and justification of the answer of the question which is an opinion. Setting theses boundaries enables the listeners to understand the reason behind the code-switch i.e new information or interpretation in intended rather than code-switching for divergence reasons neglecting the expectations of the listeners. The Kuwaiti Arabic *ī* is a confirmation of (3) expressing comprehension; while 'no' is an answer to (1), the second part of an adjacency pair that expresses an opinion. After S1 expressed her opinion, she switched to Kuwaiti Arabic using *li'nna* as she did in (2), and continued her justification in Kuwaiti Arabic. Although S1 is more proficient in English than in Kuwaiti Arabic which was observed in her literal translation of *ṭālʕīn mas'ūliyya*, she preferred justifying herself in Kuwaiti Arabic. She even self-repaired her utterance when she uttered 'you' and repaired it with *yaʕni* followed by an utterance in Kuwaiti Arabic. This insistence on Kuwaiti Arabic is attributed to the fact that among bilinguals, Kuwaiti Arabic is recognised as the pragmatically dominant language. It is used in explanation, clarification, justification, expressing opinions and emotions (see chapters 4). The second use of *li'nna* separated the two verbal actions of opinion and justification. The switched discourse marker was a contextualisation cue highlighting the causal relationship and retaining part of its meaning. It linked a causal relation with the result and implied the motive behind a performed action (Schiffrin 1987).

II.   *bas* 'but'

bas 'but' is a coordinating contrastive referential discourse marker that presents a new contrasting point or idea. It also carries the meaning of 'only' when used initially or at the utterance final position. The pragmatic effect it imposes on English discourse is that it strengthens the point that has been misunderstood, interrupted or challenged (Schiffrin 1987).

In the following excerpt, the topic being discussed concerned the eating habits in the Kuwaiti society and whether it is the reason behind obesity.

(Ex 5.10)

(1) S1: *ī yaʕni šəsma əhya mu il*-habit. *əḥna akilna ʕādi mu wāyid* over over <u>*bas muškilat-na ənna mā n-əṭḥarrak*</u>

(2) I: *mā nəṭḥarrak*

(3) S2: and if, sorry to [interrupt]

(4) I:[*la ʕādi*]

(5) S2: <u>*bas*</u> if you like reduce the amount of calories and all that, it will reduce the pollution in Kuwait and it would be an advantage for humans as well as they'll be more active.

Translation (Ex.5.10)

(1) S1: *Yes, I mean, what do we call it, it is not the*-habit. *Our food is not that* over over <u>*only* our problem is that we don't move.</u>

(2) I: *we don't move.*

(3) S2: and if, sorry to [interrupt]

(4) I: *[la ʕādi]*

(5) S2: <u>*but*</u> if you like reduce the amount of calories and all that, it will reduce the pollution in Kuwait and it would be an advantage for humans as well as they'll be more active.

S1 disagrees with I in that it is not the eating habits that lead to obesity but the activity level, but S2 disagrees with S1 and supports I in that healthier eating habits lead to

being more active and therefore less obesity. Then S2 added that if there is another advantage of calorie control it leads to less waste and less pollution.

The first occurrence of *bas* in (1) is in a Kuwaiti Arabic dominant utterance where the speaker first negated the researcher's statement. Here *bas* implies the meaning of 'only'. After *bas* the speaker challenged the statement by providing a new justification for the problem being discussed. In (5), S2 disagreed with S1's justification by using *bas,* then switched to English for her own justification. Contrastive code-switching here is a discourse-related switch where S1's utterance is dispreferred by S2. Not only did S2 use the discourse marker *bas* to show her dispreference, she also code-switched to English to mark her dislike, disagreement and state her own justification. This type of contrastive code-switching is dependent on the discourse marker to highlight the contrasting relationship between the two utterances, which is different from the cases of contrastive code-switching discussed in chapter 3. The switched discourse marker was used as an interactional strategy managing turns. Uttering *bas* at the beginning of a turn manifests self-selection. In other words, it signals to the other participant that floor has been taken attracting their attention and preventing overlaps. In addition to that, using *bas* in particular strengthened the point that has been misunderstood, interrupted or challenged (Schiffrin 1978). The contrast in languages created a contrast in verbal activities i.e. disagreement.

In the next example, *bas* was used to connect two English dominant phrases.

(Ex 5.11)

(1) I: *w š-rāy-kum alḥīn b libs lə-kwētiyy-āt? yaʕni* is it too much? Are they like *[wāyid* dressed up]?

(2) S2: [I find it really]. *la'* I find it really nice um like in the gulf I find Kuwait [like]

(3) S1: [yeah] they're the most stylish ones _bas_ it differs *ənna fi* people who don't know how to dress *[w fi]*

(4) S2: *[ī fi]*

Translation (Ex.5.11)

(1) I: *What do you think of how Kuwaiti women dress now? I mean* is it too much? Are they like *[too* dressed up]?

(2) S2: [I find it really]. *No* I find it really nice um like in the gulf I find Kuwait [like]

(3) S1: [yeah] they're the most stylish ones _but_ it differs *that there* people who don't know how to dress (stylishly) *[and there are (people who know)]*

(4) S2: *[yeah there are]*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about their opinion of Kuwaiti women's dress and whether their style is beautiful or exaggerated. S2 mentioned the way they dress, then S1 interrupted S2's turn and continued S2's utterance by saying that in the Gulf area, Kuwaiti women are the most stylish, but there are also those who do not know how to dress stylishly.

In (3), S2 partially agreed with S1's statement that the way Kuwaiti women dress is nice. She inserted the switched discourse marker *bas* to strengthen the successive utterance that should not be misunderstood. In other words, by inserting *bas,* S1 is reaffirming the fact stated by S2 that Kuwaiti women are the most stylish in the Gulf; however, it should not be interpreted to mean that 'all Kuwaiti women are stylish' for 'some Kuwaiti women' do not know how to dress stylishly. Therefore, *bas* was used to specify a general idea in order for it not to be misunderstood. The switch between English and Arabic highlighted the contrast in

meaning to attract the participants' attention to the intended meaning. The code-switch contextualised the opposing relationship between what precedes it and what follows. *bas* linked a general idea with a specific one. Also, producing a switched discourse marker in the middle of a turn notifies the other participants of self-selection as the turn has not been completed yet and more information is about to be introduced.

(B) Structural discourse markers

I.   *čəði/či* 'and so'

   (w) čəði and (w) či are topic closure markers used at the end of a phrase or turn to conclude the talk thereby indicating a turn transition point, which opens the floor to the rest of the participants. It also marks shared knowledge between participants as it is employed when there is no more information to be added, as the rest is known knowledge. *čəði and (w) či* literally mean '(and) like this' but are also equivalents of the English 'and so'. *či* is the short form of *čəði* used in exactly the same manner, and functions in the same way. From observations, short forms are more common among Kuwaiti youths than adults. For example, *ṭāliʕ hāða* 'look at what he's saying/doing' (literally meaning 'look at him') can be shortened to *ṭa hāða* to become simply *ṭa.* In our corpus, *čəði and či* were found in both Kuwaiti Arabic and English dominant utterances. The following excerpt also contains the use of *čəði* as an action ender.

(Ex 5.12)

(1) I: OK, talking about shopping, do you think we have enough shops in Kuwait, enough malls *wəlla ənna baʕad* they have to do more? [Like in Dubai they have lots of malls].

(2) S1: [they have to do more]. *li'nna* more people are coming in *fa* we need like bigger malls *w čəði. yaʕni* more shops *ənna maθalan maḥal hni ma t-ilg-ēn-a hnāk willa mā t-ilg-ēn-a hni*

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fa lāzim y-saww-ūn b-il other mall *il-maḥal nafsa willa maθalan y-kabr-ūn il-* mall *nafsa fa wāyid* people *w čəði zaḥma yaʕni māku wakt t-dišš-īn il-*mall you go shopping *w čəði.*

Translation (Ex.5.12)

(1) I: OK, talking about shopping, do you think we have enough shops in Kuwait, enough malls *or that still* they have to do more? [Like in Dubai they have lots of malls].

(2) S1: [they have to do more]. *Because* more people are coming in *so* we need like bigger malls *and so on. I mean* more shops *for example a shop here that you don't find there or you don't find it here so they should open it in the* other mall. *The same shop or for example they enlarge the-*mall *itself because (there are) a lot* people *and so on (it's) crowded I mean you don't have time to enter in the-*mall you go shopping *and so on.*

In this example, the researcher is asking about the students' opinion regarding shopping malls in Kuwait and whether more malls should be built as is the case in Dubai. S1 replied that bigger and more malls are needed that include all shops because some shops are open in certain malls but not in others. She also suggested that they should enlarge the malls because they are getting very crowded, and thus not allowing people to shop comfortably.

The first occurrence of *w čəði* in (2) came at the end of the utterance as a topic closure marker, thereby indicating a turn transition point. It was followed by *yaʕni,* a floor holding device, as the student realised the need to rephrase and clarify. Thus, it indicated an end to the utterance but not the turn. On the other hand, the second *w čəði* concluded the turn as well as marked known information. The use of the switched discourse marker here contextualises the state of the turn and the state of the information. In other words, *w čəði* has an interactional function as well as a cognitive one. Its interactional function is manifested in signalling an end of a turn and thus a turn transitional point. On the other hand, its cognitive function is

manifested in notifying the participants that no more information is needed at this point as the information is shared knowledge.

An example of *či* is illustrated below which also marks the end of the turn and leaves the floor open for other participants' self-selection:

(Ex 5.12)

(1) I: OK, what do you think of like making a uniform for college?

(2) S1: No. *yaʕni aḥsan t-albəs-īn illi əntai tabīn-a*

(3) I*: yaʕni marāḥ y-ṣīr ka'anna tanāfus bēn il-banāt? ənna āna abi albis akšax min hāði? āna abi albis aḥsan min hāði?*

(4) S2: *la fi wāyid* advantages *w* disadvantages *w či.*

Translation (Ex.5.12)

(1) I: OK, what do you think of like making a uniform for college?

(2) S1: No. *It would be better to wear what you want.*

(3) I*: I mean wouldn't a challenge happen between girls? That I want to look more stylish than this (one)? I want to be dressed better than this (one)?*

(4) S2: *no there are lots of* advantages *and* disadvantages *and so on.*

In this example, the interviewer was asking about the students' opinion regarding college uniform. S1 showed her disagreement with the uniform policy by the use of negation and language contrast. S2 showed partial agreement with the concept as there are both advantages and disadvantages but there was no specification of these advantages and disadvantages as S2 finalises her turn with *w či*. By uttering *w či,* signalled to the other

participants that her turn is over, she is not willing to add more information, and that the floor is open. Being a participant in the conversation, gave the researcher the advantage of analysing the utterance from a participant point of view rather than from an analyst point of view. Uttering *w či* in (4) did not mark shared knowledge which led to the impression that the speaker is not willing to provide more information and thus not interested in being engaged in that topic. S2 mentioned in (4) that there are a lot of advantages and disadvantages without clarifying or explaining them. The switched discourse marker changed the speaker roles in the conversational interaction. It cancelled the speaker role from S2 and left the floor open. It contextualised a turn transition point and did not refer to its semantic meaning.

5.2. Filling linguistic gaps

Most of the code-switching functions in this study have been analysed in accordance with their cognitive and socio-pragmatic discourse-related functions. They were treated as an interactionally meaningful juxtaposition, enhancing the interaction between the speakers. Code-switching was analysed as a purposeful contextualisation cue that highlights the functions of the utterance or changes the intended meaning. However, in this section, code-switching is psycholinguistic and participant-related.

Code-switching as a way to fill linguistic gaps is a participant-related type of code-switching, produced to solve speaker-related psycholinguistic issues. The reason behind the switched insertion is due to the psycholinguistic state of the speaker, not encouraged or triggered either by the discourse or the content of the utterance (Bullock & Toribio 2010). In this case, a speaker would insert a word in a language that is different from the language of conversation to fill missing words or phrases from his/her memory. This unavailability of words or phrases is due to the unavailability of a synonym in the language of conversation, temporary memory loss of the correct equivalent, or the lack of knowledge of the correct

equivalent in the language of conversation. This type of code-switching maintains the semantic meaning of the utterance (Altarriba & Basnight-Brown 2009). According to Appel and Muysken (1987), this type of referential code-switching is the most conscious type of code-switching, because if the speaker was asked about the reason s/he switched, s/he would be able to provide an answer, such as not knowing the equivalent of the inserted word in the language of conversation.

In our database, single word code-switches to fill a linguistic gap were used for three main reasons:

5.2.1 The unavailability of a synonym

According to Backus (1996), the motivations behind insertional code-switching are specificity and awareness, i.e. foreign insertions are either specific unique proper nouns or phrases that lost their authentic meaning when translated to the other language. The unavailability of an equivalent for a lexical item in the language of speech leads to the insertion of single code-switches for authenticity. Carol Myers-Scotton stated that code-switching fills both pragmatic and lexical gaps and the latter refers to a concept or object that does not exist in the community of the other language (2006:143). There is universal agreement that difficulties do arise when translating cultural-related and religion-related terminologies. A literally translated equivalent will not convey the intended meaning, leading to false interpretation, and thus failure in communication. Therefore, bilinguals may insert these terminologies into their original language. In the case where the language of insertion is incomprehensible to the other speakers, a translation or a definition of the terminology may follow the insertion. The following example includes a religion-related terminology in Kuwaiti Arabic which is used metaphorically; thus, a literal translation would lead to the wrong interpretation.

(Ex 5.14)

 (1) S3: it's better *bas yaʕni* there are disadvantages *yaʕni ḥarām* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *yaʕni* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *yaʕni* what if something happens in the road?

(2) I: *ṣaḥ*

Translation (Ex.5.14)

(1) S3: it's better *but I mean* there are disadvantages *I mean I sympathise with them* they're too young and it's true there will be more accidents like there's no focus and *I mean* the boys (I laughs) they are sixteen and what they do and there are still like younger kids that do drive and their parents don't know *I mean* what if something happens in the road?

(2) I: *True*

 In this example (which was discussed previously in this chapter), the occurrences of discourse markers can be justified for their floor-holding functions but the occurrence of *ḥarām* is due to its cultural nature. Unlike MSA, in which *ḥarām* is translated as 'forbidden by God', in Kuwaiti Arabic *ḥarām* has two different meanings: one being its literal translation 'forbidden by God' like its use in MSA, and the other implies sympathy or dislike or both. In non-religious contexts, when a speaker describes a situation or an action as *ḥarām,* then s/he is metaphorically describing it as 'forbidden by God' to gain sympathy and/or show dislike of an action that should not be committed or allowed. If the action is being performed by a participant in the conversation, then using *ḥarām* acts as a request to stop the action.

 Here the code-switch was not inserted for turn management or as a contextualisation cue highlighting a conversational action. It was inserted because of the unavailability of an

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exact equivalent of the pragmatic meaning of *ḥarām.* Even the translation 'I sympathise with them', does not account for the dislike the word *ḥarām* expresses. Thus, *ḥarām* in the previous example is a Kuwaiti Arabic insertion inserted because of the lack of an appropriate synonym or a translation; in order for the intended message to be comprehended correctly.

5.2.2 Failure in retrieving the appropriate lexical item

According to Li Wei (2007), one of the factors behind code-switching is momentary loss of words in the language of conversation. In order to keep a smooth flow of the conversation, a switched insertion might be used instead of a pause to retrieve the appropriate lexical item from memory. Self-repair may take place immediately after the code-switch, indicating a late information retrieval. According to Altarriba and Basnight-Brown, "the speaker may indeed know the correct word in the base language, but simply is unable to retrieve it due to issues of frequency or competition within the lexicon, factors which are most likely to time pressure" (2009:4).

In our corpus, an indication of a lack of memory is manifested by the floor-holding discourse marker *šəsma* 'what is it called?' preceding the switch. It indicates a search for the suitable lexical item or phrase. Here, code-switching contextualises not only a momentary lack of information but also the need for time to retrieve the information and, hence, signal to the other participant that the turn has not been completed and therefore the floor is not yet open for self-selection (Maschler 2000a, Li Wei 2007). The next example concerned the use of genuine exotic skins and fur for fashion purposes. S2 rejects the idea as she emphasised the significance of animals to humans and to the environment.

(Ex 5.15)

(1) S2: In the sea *ḥatta* their lungs filter *šǝsma il-wǝsax* dirty stuff I think *yaʕni* every animal has a function *yaʕni ḥarām* to kill them just for their fur. They need to.. they have a life *lēš* you seal their life *ḥarām*.

Translation (Ex 5.15):

(1) S2: In the sea *even* their lungs filter *what is it called the dirt* dirty stuff, I think, *I mean* every animal has a function *I mean I sympathise with them,* to kill them just for their fur. They need to.. they have a life *why* you seal their life *it shouldn't be allowed*.

In this excerpt, the researcher discussed the use of animal fur and skins for fashion purposes. S2 explained that humans benefit from all the animals in the planet. She gave the example of sea creatures that clean the dirt in the sea. She added that all animals have a function, so she sympathises with them, and is against them being killed just for fur. She described the situation as stealing the animals' lives and thus should not be allowed.

The previous example manifested difficulty in lexical item retrieval by the occurrence of a pause and the insertion of the floor holding switched discourse marker *yaʕni* which functioned as filler. In addition to that S2 inserted the discourse marker *šǝsma* before she code-switched to hold the floor and allow time for word retrieval. However, the speaker failed to remember the lexical item and inserted a Kuwaiti Arabic code-switch, which was followed by a self-repair, that is, the appropriate word in English. Accordin to Altariba and Basnight-Brown (2009), the speaker remembers the equivalent of the word intended in her first language but finding difficulties searching for it in the language of speech. This is regarded to issues of frequency or competition within the lexicon, or time pressure leading to code-switching. As an attempt of self-repair, S2 repeated the word *il-wǝṣax* in English 'the dirt', the language of conversation. According to Maschler (2000a) and Li Wei (2007), if the speaker is experiencing a momentarily lack of memory and is unable to search for the

suitable word or utterance in the language of conversation then s/he may insert the word in a different language then repeat it in the language of conversation as soon as s/he retrieved it. The rest of the Kuwaiti Arabic insertions in this example were discourse markers already discussed in detail in section 5.1.1 of this chapter.

5.2.3 Language deficiency

The dominant view of code-switching among prescriptivists and language puritans was that it is a form of language interference caused by problems in the speaker's performance, such as the inability to continue the utterance in the language of conversation or express themselves in one language or both languages due to memory limitations (Carol Myers-Scotton 1993; Bhatia & Ritchie 2004). This view of code-switching was dismissed by Weinreich in 1953, which led to the studies of situational and metaphorical code-switching. Although instances of code-switching must be interpreted according to their pragmatic and sociolinguistic interactional functions, proficiency-related psycholinguistic code-switches must not be neglected. The level of language proficiency is one of the psycholinguistic factors that influence code-switching (Muysken 2000).

Language deficiency is the "speaker's inability to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other code" (Gumprez 1982:65). According to Grosjean (1983), it is the lack of knowledge of the needed words in the language of conversation. This is when the speaker is not proficient enough in the language of conversation, leading to switched insertions instead of silence which might then be inferred by other speakers as a turn transition point and therefore an opportunity to take the floor.

Language deficiency was manifested in our study, where one of the students is more proficient in English than Arabic, and yet preferred to use Kuwaiti Arabic, leading to English words being inserted when the Kuwaiti Arabic lexical items needed are not available in her

repertoire. In the example below, the speaker used Kuwaiti Arabic in which she is less proficient even though free language choice was emphasised at the beginning of each conversation.

(Ex 5.16)

(1) S2: *āna* for me *yaʕni āna inna adris barra ummi w ubūy y-šaʕūn-i adris barra li'nna šisma aḥis inna abi y-ṣīr fi* <u>confidence</u> *b-nafs-i yaʕni adabbir nafsi.*

<u>Translation (Ex.5.16)</u>

(1) S2: *I* for me, *I mean I, that I study abroad, my mum and dad encourage me to study abroad because, what is it called, I feel that I want to have* <u>confidence</u> *in myself I mean take care of myself.*

S2 used Kuwaiti Arabic as the language of discourse to express her opinion regarding the topic being discussed. What proves her deficiency in Kuwaiti Arabic is the use of incorrect word choices and expressions, and incorrect sentence structure, which were literal translations of English phrases into Kuwaiti Arabic. Two of those expressions are *y-ṣīr fi* 'to have confidence' and *adabbir nafsi* 'take care of myself' which were literally translated to Kuwaiti Arabic, as they do not exist in Kuwaiti Arabic. In addition, *inna adris barra ummi w ubūy y-šaʕūn-i* is not a Kuwaiti Arabic sentence structure but a literal translation of 'that I study abroad, my mum and dad encourage me'. The insertion of 'confidence' signalled failure in translating it to Kuwaiti Arabic. S2 inserted a code-switch because she realised that she does not know its equivalent in Kuwaiti Arabic, the language of conversation. So, instead of pausing and trying to remember the necessary word, she code-switched to English in order to keep a smooth flow of talk and prevent any attempts of turn taking. According to Maschler (2000a) and Li Wei (2007), by inserting 'confidence' in the Kuwaiti Arabic dominant

utterance, the student filled in a linguistic gap, self-selected herself as the speaker, signalled to the participants that the turn has not completed yet and more information is to be added, and maintained the flow of the smooth talk. This language choice is motivated by S2's wish to accommodate the language of the previous utterance, irrespective of the fact that she is less proficient in Kuwaiti Arabic.

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, switched discourse markers and single word code-switches convey various conversational functions. Floor holding devices such as discourse markers facilitate the understanding of such switches as they not only contribute towards the meaning but link between two verbal boundaries (language and metalanguage). Both cognitive and textual switched discourse markers were found in our corpus. Cognitive discourse markers are not interpreted in their semantic meaning but by their function. They are used to fill in silence caused by momentary lack of memory as they give the speaker more time to retrieve information and self-select herself as the speaker at the same time. (Li Wei 2007, Maschler 2000a). In our study a distinctive use of the cognitive discourse marker *yaʕni* 'I mean' was noticed. It was used in English dominant utterances excessively but simultaneously in order to hold the floor and provide the speaker with more time to answer.

Textual discourse markers differ from cognitive discourse markers as they retain part of their meaning. They link the following utterance with what preceded it as they create a boundary between two verbal activities. Textual discourse markers in our study were either referential or structural. Referential discourse markers in our data reflected the relationships of cause and consequence among others. Whereas, the structural switched discourse markers organise the interaction as they end an action, and notify the participants that the turn has

ended and the floor is now open for others to take. Both textual and cognitive switched discourse markers contributed to the organisation and management of turns.

On the other hand, code-switching itself might be used to fill linguistic gaps, which is also a strategy for holding the floor and keeping a smooth flow of the conversation instead of silence. A code-switch might be necessary in contexts as there is an unavailability of a synonym of the intended word in the language of conversation. A translation of the synonym might not account for the exact meaning of the word and therefore, might not express the intended meaning. Furthermore, a speaker may fail to retrieve the intended word momentarily due to frequency within the lexicon or time pressure, thus code-switching solves the problem of silence which threatens the floor to be taken. In addition to that, a person may code-switch due to language deficiency. A speaker might not be proficient enough in the language of conversation and thus s/he finds it necessary to code-switch in order to fill in the linguistic gap and guide the participants towards the intended meaning as well as preventing silence which, as mentioned earlier, may lead to floor taking leaving the speaker with an uncompleted turn.

CHAPTER SIX: ACCOMMODATION AND REPAIR

In this chapter, accommodation and repair will be discussed as functions behind code-switching. In section 2, a short literature review of the Accommodation Theory will be presented, followed by an overview of code-switching for accommodation purposes in section 3. In section 4, repair will be defined and explained. In section 5, the relationship between reiteration, repair and accommodation will be discussed. Finally, in section 6, examples of both accommodation and repair from our corpus will be analysed in addition to analysing instances of repair for other purposes.

6.1 Accommodation theory

According to Giles and Smith (1979), Beebe and Giles (1984), and Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991), those who first introduced the concept of Speech/Communication Accommodation Theory (SAT or CAT), speakers adjust their verbal and non-verbal communications during conversation. This adjustment in speech is determined by the situation, content and participants. Therefore, not only do the immediate situation and participant orientations influence the language behaviour, but also the socio-historic context (Itesh & Giles 2004). According to CAT, the language behaviour of the participants indicates the participants' attitudes towards each other.

Gallois, Ogay, and Giles (2005) stated that variation in speech styles indicates the speaker's social identity which either distances or strengthens the relationship between him/her and the other speakers. Adapting to the speech style or behaviour of the other interlocutors signals convergence with such a social group. In other words, when the speaker is seeking social approval by adhering to the participants' rights and obligations, "they tend

to adapt to each other's speech in order to narrow the social distance between them. The adaptation is achieved by modifying a wide range of linguistic features, and CS may be considered an aspect of this modification" (Ramat 1995:49). On the other hand, emphasising the differences in speech leads to divergence from that group of interlocutors. This is similar to Gumperz's (1982) notions of 'we-code' and 'they-code', in which speakers vary their verbal and non-verbal communication according to their relationship with the other speakers. Hence, the Communication Accommodation Theory aims to identify the social and psychological motivations behind the variation in speech styles.

6.1.1 Social identity, convergence and divergence

According to the Communicative Accommodation Theory, verbal and non-verbal activities depend on the positive social identity an interlocutor intends to maintain. Thus, strategies leading to convergence and divergence are used to decide the membership of any social group by strengthening or weakening one's position. Giles and Smith (1979) assume that before uttering any utterance, a speaker thinks of the costs behind it. By accommodating the other speakers' behaviour, the speaker is indicating his preference and attraction to that group, and his intention to be recognised as a member of that group.

The Communicative Accommodation Theory (Giles & Ogay 2005) assumes that the speaker's identity, attitudes, experiences and beliefs all contribute to their conversational behaviour and affect the degree of accommodation. The more experiences and beliefs they share, the more they would accommodate. In addition, the interpretation of these attitudes, experiences and beliefs by the participants will determine their degree of accommodation. For instance, one speaker's positive attitude might be perceived as a negative one by another speaker.

As mentioned earlier, accommodation is the adjustment of one's speech behaviour to match the speech behaviour of the other participants. According to Giles and Smith (1979:46), accommodation is not only concerned with the interlocutor's language and speech style but also with "pronunciation, pause and utterance lengths, vocal intensities, non-verbal behaviours, and intimacy of self-disclosures". Convergence enhances the conversation which leads to social approval. However, in a single conversation, a speaker may use both convergence and divergence depending on the content of his/her message. In some cases, known as overaccommodation, convergence leads to distancing the speaker from the group. For instance, in a diglossic community where a high variety is used in some situations and a low variety in another, using the low variety in order to converge might be interpreted as inappropriate according to the society's norms. Similarly, using the vernacular version of a language to address an older person or seeking a higher position in order to be a member of that group might be considered rude. Therefore, diverging from the behaviour of the other interlocutors will strengthen the relationship by indicating distinctiveness. Divergence does not necessarily indicate power over the participants, but it can indicate, in a positive manner, the need to emphasise the differences between the participants (Giles, Coupland & Coupland 1991). Hence, convergence and divergence can both have a positive and negative interpretation.

Later in our study, we will argue that accommodation can be used not only to converge and diverge from social groups but also to repair the content of the previous utterance. In other words, Giles' Communicative Theory concentrates on the participant-related motivations behind speech behaviour; while in our study, we discuss both the participant-related and discourse-related functions.

6.2 Code-switching for accommodation purposes

In a bilingual discourse, language accommodation is used for coherence and cohesion purposes. In any conversation, the participants cooperate in order for the message to be meaningful. Thus, the language choices of the speakers are not random. Indeed, such language choices are determined by the content of the discourse as well as the rights and obligations of the participants. If participant A starts the conversation in language AA, then it is expected that the rest of the participants will accommodate and continue the conversation in that language. If the following speaker B chooses to code-switch, whether for a discourse-related or participant-related reason, then speaker A is left with two options. S/he may continue speaking in language AA, with which she started the conversation, or code-switch and accommodate the new language chosen by speaker B.

According to Gardner-Chloros (2009), code-switching is one of the ways of accommodating the interlocutor's language preferences. She states that "it can serve as a compromise between two varieties, where these carry different connotations or social meanings for speakers and interlocutors. It may also, of course, be the only possibility open to a speaker where there is mismatch between their level of competence in the relevant languages and that of their interlocutor" (2009:78).

6.3. Repair

According to Alfontezzi (1998), repair is a strategy used by speakers to signal a solution for a mistake uttered by the speaker, e.g. lack of memory or incorrect turn allocation. Repair enhances the communication as it strengthens collaboration and cooperation; whereas a lack of repair leads to undesirable interpretations (Li Wei & Milroy 1995). Also, repairs imply that new information will be presented, which is important for the overall intended meaning (Gumperz 1982). Several studies have reported repair techniques in both

monolingual and bilingual speech. In the monolingual situation, techniques such as "coughing, gesture, body movement, self-interruption, vowel lengthening, hesitation pauses, (and) repetition" are incorporated (Chen 2007:158). In bilingual discourse, all these techniques are used with the addition of code-switching. Switching to another language can act as a signal for correcting a previous mistake uttered by the speaker that might have resulted from a slip of the tongue, confusion, ambiguity, or lack of memory.

Repair can be exercised in two ways: a repair of the previous speaker's utterance or self-repair. Among monolinguals, self-repair is manifested in the forms of self-interruption, vowel lengthening, hesitation pauses, and repetition (Alfontezzi 1998). In a bilingual situation, code-switching functioning as repair can be categorised into two different types (Li Wei & Milroy 1995:293): first, as a repair initiator, whether produced by the same speaker or by another participant; second, as reiterated repair by producing the equivalent in a different language, thereby drawing the participants' attention that a repair has taken place.

In a self-repair situation, a bilingual speaker may use code-switching as a strategy to correct him/herself. Here, code-switching is used to cancel what has been said, especially if it was unintended. For example, a question might be addressed to the wrong addressee, thus code-switching signals the correction of turn-allocation.

In Li Wei and Milroy's study (1995), code-switching was used as a repair initiator to contextualise repair itself. In other words, the contrast between the two languages signals to the speaker that the statement s/he uttered should be confirmed or reformulated. Here, the code-switch is not a repair but a request for repair by a participant, because s/he has identified a problem in the previous utterance. In addition, code-switching may contextualise self-repair. In other words, when the speaker recognises the mistake made, s/he may use code-

switching as a self-repair initiator, indicating the realisation that a mistake was made, and then code-switching again to the language of conversation to repair the mistake.

Furthermore, a speaker may code-switch to contextualise language repair rather than content repair. In other words, a speaker may code-switch to another language, because s/he recognised that s/he has been using the wrong language choice and thus code-switch to the suitable language choice for repair. Alfontezzi argued that this type of repair, which she calls 'reformulations', "highlights a conflict between norms of situational appropriateness and spontaneity of linguistic usage" (1998:185). She also stated that reformulation is identified by three elements: self-interruption, correction, and translation (ibid.). This is manifested in the cases of language accommodation where a speaker switches to the language of the previous utterance for accommodation purposes (see sections 5).

6.4. Reiteration for accommodation and repair

Reiteration or repetition is one of the conversational strategies used for emphasis and drawing attention being two among other functions. In a bilingual conversation, reiteration can also function as a repair for accommodation purposes. In other words, repeating a word, a phrase, or a whole utterance in a different language can be used to correct the language choice of the speaker because it does not accommodate the previous speaker's utterance and thus is unexpectedly violating the rights and obligations of the participants.

6.5. Accommodation, repair, and reiteration in our study

In our corpus, different types of code-switching for accommodation purposes occurred like code-switching to accommodate the interviewer, code-switching to accommodate the previous utterance, and code-switching to accommodate the speaker's own language choice. In the case of repair, two different types were observed: code-switching to change the current language and accommodate the language of the previous utterance; the

second is code-switching to repair the content of the previous utterance. Reiteration is used as a strategy of repair, i.e. an utterance or a word is repeated to correct the previous utterance uttered by the same speaker or the previous one. In addition, reiteration is also used to carry out other functions such as emphasis and clarification, among others. Below is a demonstration of the different types of code-switches in our data that function as accommodation and repair.

In this chapter, code-switching will be analysed using conversational analysis which focuses on sequentiality, because CAT alone will lead to an analyst-oriented analysis rather than a participant-oriented analysis. An analyst-oriented interpretation leads to incorrect conclusions regarding the functions behind code-switching. Li Wei and Milroy (1995) emphasised the importance of conversational analysis in analysing these instances of code-switching. They stated that "although to non-participants what needs repair may not be immediately transparent. Only through a sequential analysis which focuses on each move of the conversationalists themselves can we, as analysts, detect any repairable spot and infer the social meaning of code-switching" (1995:292). What precedes a code-switch and what follows it can assist the analyst in identifying the intended purpose behind the code-switch.

6.5.1 Code-switching for accommodation purposes in our corpus

In our corpus, accommodation was manifested in two different ways: language accommodation and lexical accommodation. As mentioned earlier, language accommodation is the use of the same language as in the previous utterance. On the other hand, lexical accommodation is the reiteration of a single word or a short phrase which was used by the previous speaker in the same language in which s/he uttered it, which is normally different from the language of the current conversation. In this case, the speaker does not switch completely to another language but chooses a single word or short phrase from the previous utterance and repeats it in its original language.

In the following example, the researcher is asking two bilingual students about how they are dealing with going back to school after the long holidays.

(Ex. 6.1)

(1) I: *fa šlōn-kum maʕa əd-dawām ʕugb rmuẓān? yaʕni gabəl kān sahar w čəði willa mā kint-aw t-ishər-ūn?*

(2) S1: *la mbala n-ishar*

(3) S2: *bas ʕaddal-na ər-*routine *baʕad hāða*

(4) I: *ma ḥasēt-aw inna maθalan taʕabt-aw ʕla mā t-'aqlam-t-aw čəði*

(5) S1: *šwai awwal əsbūʕ madrəsa ṣaʕb*

(6) I: *ī*

(7) S1: *il-gaʕda ṣaʕba əṣ-ṣibḥ*

(8) I: *w kint-aw le mita t-ishər-ūn b-ər-rmuẓān willa mu wāyid?*

(9) S2: *(laugh) nom mbaččər*

(10) S1: *kinna n-wāṣil*

(11) S2: *le əṣ- ṣibḥ*

(12) I: oh *min hə-nnōʕ yaʕni*

(13) S2: (laugh)

(14) I: *ʕšān mā t-ḥəss-ūn b-il -ṣyām ha?*

(15) S2: *ī bə ̣ ̣abṭ*

Translation (Ex.6.1)

(1) I: *How's school after Ramadan? I mean you used to stay up late at night or not*?

(2) S1: *yes we used to stay up late.*

(3) S2*: but we changed the* routine *after that (Ramadan)*

(4) I: *Did you feel that it was difficult to cope and like that?*

(5) S1: *First week of school is a little tiring*

(6) I: *Yeah*

(7) S1: *Getting up (early) is difficult*

(8) I: *and until when did you stay up or not much?*

(9) S2: *(laugh) sleep early*

(10) S1: *no sleep*

(11) S2: *until the morning*

(12) I: oh *you're that type*

(13) S2: (laugh)

(14) I: *so you won't feel hungry right?*

(15) S2: *yeah exactly*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about how they spent Ramadan which was a month earlier, and whether they stayed up late at night as most young people do during Ramadan. S1 replied that they used to stay up late at night and then S2 mentioned that

now they have changed their sleeping routine because of school. Then the researcher asked the students whether it was difficult to change their sleeping routine, and S1 answered that it was only difficult during the first week of school when they had to wake up early in the morning. Then I asked about how late did they stay up during Ramadan, and S2 joked that they used to sleep early which is actually the opposite of the truth. Both then mentioned that they used to stay up until the morning and I joked about it by interpreting their behaviour as trying to escape feeling hungry, and S2 confirmed it.

Although the researcher has informed the participants that they have the freedom to choose whatever language they prefer prior to the interview, they chose to accommodate the language choice of the interviewer which happens to be Kuwaiti Arabic. The interviewer expected that the students would code-switch, at least insert single English words into their speech, because it is not only the strategy they use among their peers but also, from observations, the default language of choice among bilingual school students in Kuwait. They both assert their strong engagement in the conversation by conversing in the chosen language of the interviewer. Their language behaviour is an indication of their relationship with the interviewer as being an in-group member. The only English insertion found in this excerpt is 'routine' which happens to be an established loanword as it does not have an Arabic equivalent in addition to its high frequency among Kuwaiti Arabic and Arabic users alike.

The absence of code-switching in this conversation, even though it took place in other conversations among peers indicates convergence. According to the accommodation theory explained in section 6.1, the students are accommodating with the researcher as they are adjusting their speech behaviour, language in our case, with the speech behaviour of the interviewer. This indicates that the students are trying to converge and consider the researcher as part of their in-group and not trying to distance her by accepting her language choice. In this case Kuwaiti Arabic was the 'we-code' (Gumperz 1982).

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A similar behaviour was also observed in another pair of students. In the following example, the researcher asked the two bilingual students about their daily activities in Ramadan.

(Ex. 6.2)

(1) I: *w šənu t-ḥib t-ṭāliʕ ihi ṭabx w čəði? willa?*

(2) S1: Yes! she is crazy about cooking *yaʕni   killa* cooking books *yaʕni*   she pushes me inside the kitchen.. I like.. haha

(3) I: I like cooking *fa* I support her

(4) S1: I used to hate cooking before but now I don't know I just.. started to become like her now I like it

(5) I: *la* it's fun

(6) S1: I even started cooking for myself and *yaʕni aṭbāq a-saww-i* it's good

(7) I: *ḥilu* that's cool

(8) I to S2: *ī w əntai tābaʕtai šai musalsal-āt?*

(9) S2: *ī 'furṣa θānya'*

(10) I: *ənzēn mā ḥaṣṣēt-ai inna l-musalsalāt činna šwai* too much *inna mu ḥag rmuẓān?*

(11) S2: *'bu karīm' ī ī wāyid wayid y-zaʕil mādri šlōn*

(12) I: *ī šlōn?*

(13) S2: *ī yaʕni y-sibb-ūn w šwai maṣṣəxō-ha*

(14) I: *baʕdēn ḥag il-ʕīd š-sawwēt-aw?*

(15) S1: *aah il-ʕīd? lōya kanat il-ʕīd aah gim-t*

(16) I: *sāfart-aw willa b-il kwēt?*

(17) S1: *la' əḥna mitʕawd-īn kil sina n-sāfir ḥag il-ʕīd bas ha-ssina mā sāfar-na ubūy y-wazziʕ ʕayādi*

(18) I: *ī aḥla šai*

(19) S1: *aḥla šai ḥagna əḥna bas ʕaraft-ai "hākum əs-sina il-yāyyah maku ʕayādi ḥag il-yahhāl". um gimna mbaččər mā nimna mitwāṣl-īn lēla kāmla*

(20) I: *ī li'nna sahrān-īn*

Translation (Ex. 6.2)

(1) I: *And what does she like watching cooking (programmes)? or?*

(2) S1: Yes! She is crazy about cooking *I mean always* cooking books *I mean* she pushes me inside the kitchen.. I like.. haha

(3) I: I like cooking *so* I support her

(4) S1: I used to hate cooking before but now I don't know I just.. started to become like her now I like it

(5) I: *No* it's fun

(6) S1: I even started cooking for myself and *like I apply (and) do (what I learned)* it's good

(7) I: *nice* that's cool

(8) I to S2: a*nd you (to S2) did you watch any TV series*?

(9) S2: *yes 'Fursa Thanya'*

(10) I*: OK didn't you feel that the TV series were a little bit* too much *that they're not suitable for Ramadan?*

(11) S2: *'Bu Karīm', yes it was too upsetting*

(12) I: *yeah. How?*

(13) S2: *yeah like they swear and a little bit extreme*

(14) I: *After that, for Eid, what did you do*?

(15) S1: *Aa Eid? Aa it was busy aah I woke up..*

(16) I: *Did you travel or you stayed in Kuwait*?

(17) S1: *No we are used to traveling every year at Eid (holiday) but this year we didn't. My dad had to give Ayadi (Eid money gifts).*

(18) I: *yeah best part*

(19) S1: *best part for us but you know "take these next year no Ayadi for children". um we woke up early we couldn't sleep (we were) awake the whole night.*

(20) I: *yes it's because you stayed up late.*

In this example, the researcher asked S1 about whether her mother watched cooking programmes when she was not letting her watch television. S1 answered that her mother is crazy about cooking, and encourages her to join her in the kitchen. I then mentioned her support to what S1's mother is doing. Afterwards, S1 stated that she used to hate cooking but is now starting to become just like her mother. I commented that cooking is fun and S1 said that she is starting to cook for herself and apply what she has learned from her mother. I then addressed the same question to S2 who has been fairly quiet during the previous discussion.

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S2 answered that she watched the television drama *'furṣa θānya'*. I then asked whether the students found these television dramas appropriate for the holy month of Ramadan. S2 answered that the television drama *'bu karīm'* was too saddening and I asked her to clarify what she said. She mentioned that they swore a lot in the TV drama which is inappropriate during the holy month. I then changed the subject and asked about what the students did during the Eid holiday, which follows Ramadan. S1 took the floor and tried to answer the question by saying that it was a big mess, but after her silence I took the floor and asked whether they travelled or celebrated Eid in Kuwait. S1 took the floor again and mentioned that each year they travel during the Eid holiday but this year they did not which somehow forced her father to give them *ʕayādi*, i.e. money gifts given to family members celebrating Eid. I commented that receiving *ʕayādi* is the best thing about Eid. After that, S1 explained that it is fun for the children but not for the parents and then quoted her father saying that next year he is not going to give them any *ʕayādi*.

In this excerpt, both S1 and the interviewer used English and Kuwaiti Arabic in their speech until (8) where the interviewer used Kuwaiti Arabic only to change addressee. In (9), S2 replied in Kuwaiti Arabic and the conversation between the two continued in Kuwaiti Arabic. Then in (15), S1 used Kuwaiti Arabic only in order to accommodate the language of the previous utterances, although her preferred speech style, as noted in her earlier utterances, is to code-switch between the two languages. In (14), the interviewer changed the subject by asking a different question and the floor was open to whoever wanted to take the turn. S1 chose to take the floor as well as accommodate the language of the question and continued to do so. Therefore, S1 changed her speech behaviour from her preferred speech style of code-switching to accommodating the language choice of the previous speaker, even when there was a change in the topic and addressee in (14). S1 wanted to be considered as a participant in the conversation, so she changed her speech style accordingly by adjusting the language to

match the language used in the previous utterances by S2 and the interviewer. According to Gallois, Ogay, and Giles (2005), she used accommodation as a strategy to signal her involvement, in order not to seem distant from the other participants. Conversational analysis was vital in analysing the functions behind code-switching in this excerpt. Analysing each code-switch separately would not have enabled the analyst to identify the changing language behaviour and therefore may fail to recognise it as a case of accommodation. Sequentiality guided the analyst to the change that happened and how it affected the relationship between the speakers. In other words, what preceded the change in language and what followed it contributed to the interpretation of such change and clarified the type of relationship between the participants and degree of engagement in the topic being discussed (Li Wei & Milroy 1995, Li Wei 1998, Auer 2007).

In the following excerpt, which was taken from the same conversation as in the previous one, the interviewer asked S2 about her hobbies but this time addressing her in English.

(Ex. 6.3)

(1) I: OK what about you what are your hobbies?

(2) S2: I like to watch TV a lot and read

(3) I: what do you like to watch?

(4) S2: horror movies

(5) I: wow *kān fi* movie 'Paranormal Activity' *šay čəði*

(6) S1: paranormal?

(7) S2: no

(8) I: *ʕayal šənu t-ḥibb-īn*

(9) S2: *mādri ay šay a-ṭāliʕ a-šūf*

(10) I: *yaʕni t-ḥibb-īn ašbāḥ willa təðəbbiḥ?*

(11) S2: *šabaḥ čəði*

(12) I: *ašbāḥ ʕšān hāði illi t-xarriʕ* ghosts *w yanānwa*

(13) S2: *məθil* 'Grudge' *w čəði*

Translation (Ex.6.3)

(1) I: OK what about you (to S2) what are your hobbies?

(2) S2: I like to watch TV a lot and read

(3) I: what do you like to watch?

(4) S2: horror movies

(5) I: wow *there was a* movie 'Paranormal Activity' *something like that*

(6) S1: paranormal?

(7) S2: no

(8) I: *'then what do you like?*

(9) S2: *I don't know I watch anything I see*

(10) I: *I mean do you like ghosts or murders?*

(11) S2: *ghost, something like that*

(12) I: *ghosts because they are the scary ones* ghosts *and spirits*

(13) S2: *like* 'Grudge' *and like that.*

In this excerpt, the interviewer asked the students about their hobbies and S2 answered that she loves watching television and reading. I then asked her to specify the genre of movies she enjoys watching and she replied that she likes horror movies. I then mentioned that there was a popular horror movie showing in the cinema and tried to pronounce its name and then S1 corrected it. S2 then stated that she does not like this movie and I asked her to clarify the type of horror movies she likes. S1 then replied that she watches anything, which indicated to the researcher that S1 is not interested in answering this question. Afterwards, I tried to simplify the question by asking whether she likes horror movies with ghost stories or murder cases, and S1 answered that she likes the ones with a ghost story. I then commented that horror movies with ghost stories are the scariest, and then S1 finally provides an answer that she likes 'The Grudge' and finds it scary.

Here, the researcher switched to English to change addressee and the new speaker S2 switched as well to English, accommodating the language of the question. In (8), the researcher switched back to Kuwaiti Arabic when she noticed that S2 is not cooperating or uninterested in the topic being discussed. S2 again accommodated this new language choice; and then, they both continued in Kuwaiti Arabic. S2 changed her verbal behaviour to adjust to the participants language choices in this conversation. In other words, whenever the researcher changed her language choice, S2 would change it as well accommodating the language choice of the researcher. The adaptation of the speech style led to convergence with the social group of the speaker. This type of accommodation is accommodating the speaker who posed the question. It is an alternational code-switch that took place after the alternational code-switch uttered by the interviewer. It is worth noting that this code-switching behaviour was not stable throughout the conversation as there were few instances where the student did not adapt to the language of the interviewer for other conversational

functions. What preceded the language change and what followed it indicated the participant's orientation towards the researcher. According to Giles and Smith (1979), Beebe and Giles (1984), and Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991), language accommodation manifested the relationship between the participants and attitudes towards each other.

In the following excerpt, two bilingual students were asked about how they spent Ramadan. Two different types of accommodation were manifested, as shown below:

(Ex. 6.4)

(1) I: What did you do in Ramadan? Where did you go?

(2) S2: home

(3) S1: *sūg nžahhiz ḥag ʕīd w čəði*

(4) S2: *āna ḥatta ma žahhazt*

(5) I: did you watch TV in Ramadan?

(6) S2: yeah

(7) I: What did you watch?

(8) S2: I didn't watch anything but I watched with my parents

(9) S1: *yaʕni mū mutābaʕa kāmla bs shifna či wakt il-farāġ kinna nṭāliʕ.*

Translation (Ex.6.4)

(1) I: What did you do in Ramadan? Where did you go?

(2) S2: home

(3) S1: *malls, preparing for Eid and like that*

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(4) S2: *I didn't even prepare (for Eid)*

(5) I: did you watch TV in Ramadan?

(6) S2: yeah

(7) I: What did you watch?

(8) S2: I didn't watch anything but I watched with my parents

(9) S1: *I mean not watch episode by episode but we used to watch like in our spare time.*

In this extract, the researcher asked the students about what they did and where they went in Ramadan. S2 mentioned that she did not go anywhere while S1 mentioned that she went shopping to prepare for Eid holiday. S2 commented that she did not even prepare for Eid. I then changed the question and asked if they watched Ramadan television dramas. S2 answered with a yes but did not specify which ones, so l asked her to specify what she watched. She stated that she did not watch anything in particular but watched with her parents. S1 then explained that they only watched television in their spare time.

In this example, the interviewer chose English as the language of the question, in (2) S2 accommodated the language of the interviewer and chose English as well; however, in (3) S1 switched to Kuwaiti Arabic, thereby not accommodating any of the previous utterances. Then S2 in (4) accommodated again the language choice of the previous speaker but this time it happens to be S1, not the interviewer. The interviewer posed another question in English to change the topic. In (6), S2 switched back to English accommodating the language of the previous utterance to answer the interviewer's question. S2's interesting language behaviour is different from the instances of accommodation in the previous examples because S2 accommodated the language choice of the previous utterance regardless of whether it was uttered by the interviewer or by her peers. She was trying to cope with the speech styles of

the interviewer and those of the other participants, showing convergence with both. On the other hand, S1 neither accommodated the language choice of the interviewer nor that of her peers. Kuwaiti Arabic was her preferred language choice in this excerpt, thereby diverging from both the researcher and S2. Through this language behaviour, S1 is stating that she does not share membership in the group as with the other participants and is thus distancing herself from them. According to accommodation theory, S1's language behaviour indicated her attitude towards the other participants, which is diverging from their group.

In all of the previous examples, accommodation was in the form of alternational code-switching as the switch consisted of a whole utterance. In the following example, the speakers are only accommodating by repeating a single insertion used by the previous speaker and not completely switching to the language of the previous utterance. The interviewer is asking the students about their opinion on how Kuwaiti women dress themselves.

(Ex.6.5)

(1) I*: tawwa t-kallam-na ʕan il*-fashion *w hāða.* Still *xallīna b-nafs il-maẉḍūʕ š-rāy-kum b-libs il-banāt lə-kwētiyāt* is it too much is it?

(2) S2: *ī yaʕni y-ʕrf-ūn lə-kwētiyya min libsha ṣiž* sometimes it becomes too much *w marrāt yaʕni ma y-ʕrfūn inha kwētiyya illa iða kānat lābsa* like this

(3) I: *zēn ma t-ḥəss-ūn inna lēš mā y-albəs-ūn* simple *yaʕni y-albəs-ūn məθl il-ažānib* or *willa* we need to have our own identity this is Kuwaiti *məθəl mā gilt-ai* they can spot her.

(4) S2: *uhwa mu wāyid ḥəlu inna* they spot her, it was *yaʕni šakl il*-fashion *ykūn* simple it's better *aḥəssa*

..

(5) S1: *mādri āna agūl aḥsan ykūn* simple *yaʕni il-ažānib ma y-itqayyəd-ōn b malābis muʕayyana* fashion *w muʕayyan yaʕni kil wāḥid kēfa ʕla rāḥta*

(6) I: *w ham nafs əš-šai il-*makeup what do you think *yaʕni il-xalīži* makeup.

(7) S2: too much

(8) S1: *ḥēl* too much

(9) S2: it's over *yaʕni y-ḥəṭṭ-ūn wāyid mu ḥəlu aḥis yabi* simple

(10) I: *bas əḥna šwai nafrig ʕanhum inna əḥna šwai əḥna* for example *maθalan rāyḥīn* mall *əḥna ʕində-na il-*mall *məθill rāyḥīn* hanging out *lāzim n-ikšax bēn rəfījātna uhma y-rūḥūn il-*malls *y-əštərūn y-əṭləʕ-ūn*. What do you think *lāzim* still *n-rūḥ il-*mall *n-ikšax willa?*

(11) S2: *ī n-ikšax bas mu n-ikšax n-ikšax rāyḥ-īn* party *rāyḥ-īn* mall *yaʕni n-albis yaʕni maθalan..*

(12) S1: *yimkin b-il-ʕīd ī n-ikšax bas ayyām ʕādiyya mā n-ikšax ʕādi*

Translation (Ex.6.5)

(1) I: *We've just spoken about fashion and those things*. Still *let us talk about the same topic. What do you think about how Kuwaiti women dress*? Is it too much is it?

(2) S2: *yeah you know the Kuwaiti woman from the way she dresses. 'It's true that* sometimes it becomes too much *and sometimes they wouldn't know she's Kuwaiti unless she's dressed like this.*

(3) I: *OK don't you ever wonder why they don't dress* simple *I mean they dress like foreigners* or *or* we need to have our own identity this is Kuwaiti *as you said* they can spot her.

(4) S2: *It is not that pretty that* they spot her it was *I mean the look of* fashion *has to be* simple *I feel* it's better

..

(5) S1: *I don't know I say it is better* simple *I mean the foreigners do not constrain their wardrobe with certain items (or) a certain* fashion *each one as she likes*.

(6) I: *And the same for the* makeup what do you think *I mean the Gulf* makeup.

(7) S2: too much

(8) S1: *too much* too much

(9) S2: it's over *I mean they wear a lot (of it) it's not nice. It has to be* simple.

(10) I: *but we are different from them, we are a little* for example *for example going to a* mall*, to us (going to) the* mall *is like going to a* hanging out (place) *we have to dress up among our friends (because) they go to the* mall *to shop (and) hang out.* What do you think *we have to* still *go to the* mall *and dress up or*?

(11) S2: *Yes we dress up but not as if we are going to a* party *we're going to a* mall *I mean* we wear like..

(12) S1: *maybe on Eid we dress up but not on regular day we don't (we wear) regular (clothes)*

In this example, the researcher asked the students about their opinion on how Kuwaiti women dress themselves and whether their style is exaggerated. S2 replied that Kuwaiti women can be recognised by their style and that it sometimes becomes too much. I then asked the students whether it is better to dress simpler or that being recognised as a Kuwaiti woman from her style is better, but S2 disagrees that being recognised from the exaggerated

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style is good and agrees with being simpler. After that, no one takes the floor, leading to silence and then S1 self-selected and explained that simpler is better, just like in the West where women dress according to what makes them comfortable, not according to fashion. After that, I asked the students about the makeup which may also seem exaggerated among Kuwaiti women. S2 stated that it is exaggerated and that a simpler makeup is more beautiful. I then explained that in Kuwait, the case is a little bit different because the places of hanging out are different from those in the West, and that unlike Western women, Kuwaiti women dress up when they go to the mall because in Kuwait it is the place for hanging out. S2 agreed with I that women dress up when going to the mall but they should not dress up as if they are going to a party, and S1 mentioned that dressing up for going to the malls is only excusable during the Eid holiday.

In the preceding excerpt, the speech styles of the participants were quite similar to each other's. For instance, the students' speech styles all had Kuwaiti Arabic as the dominant language with the insertion of English lexical items as well as English phrases. In (1), the interviewer inserted the English phrase 'too much' which is then used by both students in (2), (7) and (8). Since I inserted it in (1), S2 accommodated the same expression in (2) and again in (7), then S1 borrowed the same expression to reinforce it with the addition of *ḥēl* preceding it, meaning also 'too much'. 'Too much' is an expression used among Kuwaiti female teenagers and young adults to mean 'exaggerated'. It is often used in the context of fashion and beauty to refer to how people dress and how they wear makeup.

Another insertion that has been accommodated is 'mall' which was used twice by the interviewer in (10) and once by S2 in (11). Although S2's utterance in (11) is Kuwaiti Arabic dominant, she inserted 'mall' instead of *mužammaʕāt* or 'mall-at', which are also used by the Kuwaiti community. *mužammaʕāt* is the Arabic equivalent of 'mall'; whereas, 'mall-at' is a morphologically integrated code-switch into Kuwaiti Arabic. This language choice proved

that accommodation is not restricted to adapting to the language of the participant(s) but also to the content of the insertions. The conversational analytic approach enabled the analyst to identify the reasons behind the students' insertions of code-switches through sequentiality (Li Wei & Milroy 1995, Li Wei 1998, Auer 2007). The code-switch was an adaptation of the lexical item used by the previous speaker in the previous utterance.

The next example is the counterpart of the previous one as the interviewer used one terminology for an entity, while S1 used another to refer to the same entity, and S2 chose yet a different one. The topic being discussed was the policy at Kuwait University, penalizing students who are not dressed appropriately.

(Ex 6.6)

(1) I: *ənzēn t-ḥəss-ūn inna ha-l-qānūn lāzim baʕad y-ṭabq-ūn-a ʕla l- mužammaʕāt?*

(2) S2: *ī*

(3) I: *inna məθl əs-səʕūdiyya y-ḥəṭṭ-ūn hay'a y-čayk-ūn mənu lābis ʕadil mənu mu lābis*

(4) S2: *b-il-mōlāt*

(5) S1: *la' ana aḥis la'*

(6) S2: *b-il-mōlāt.. la li'nna fi nās iyy-ūn y-zūr-ūn le-kwēt fa māla dāʕi.* He came for a few days *či*

(7) S1: *bas ham fī* limits

(8) S2: *w uhma ġēr*

(9) S1: *fī* limits *yaʕn.i yaʕni t-albis-lič le fōg fōg [la']*

(10) I: [micro skirt]

(11) S1: *killish la'. āna b-ən-nisba li inna fi ḥurriyya b-il-*malls *li'nna āna mu bas rāyḥa ḥag il-*mall *rāyḥa asawwi ašyā' fa* it's it's more free i*nna āna albis məθil-mā āna abi*

Translation (Ex.6.6)

(1) I: *so do you feel that this policy should also be applied in malls?*

 (2) S2: *yes*

(3) I: *Just like in Saudi Arabia they'd be a committee checking who is dressed appropriately and who's not*

(4) S2: *in the malls?*

(5) S1: *no I feel no*

(6) S2: *in the mall.. no because there are people visiting Kuwait so it's not necessaryi.* he came for a few days *like that*

(7) S1: *but there has to be* limits

(8) S2: *and they're different*

(9) S1: *there should be* limits *I mean. Like she wears (something) very short [no]*

(10) I: [micro skirt]

(11) S1: *totally no'. to me there should be freedom in the-*malls *because I'm not only going to the-*mall *I'm going to do (other) things so* it's it's more free that I wear whatever I want.

The interviewer asked the students about their opinion regarding a law that supervises how people dress in malls just like the policy applied at Kuwait University which penalises anyone who is not dressed appropriately. S2 asked for clarification whether I meant in the malls or at the university. S1 answered that she disagrees with it and S2 also disagreed with it

and clarified her answer by stating that there are visitors to the country who do not know what is appropriate and what is not, and thus should not be penalised. S1 added that she disagrees with monitoring what people wear but people should know there are limits. S2 stated that visitors should be treated differently but S1 repeated that people should know their limits, like not wearing very short outfits. I then gave an example of micro skirts and S1 mentioned that she is against monitoring how people dress in malls because unlike at the university, she is going to the mall to do chores so she needs to dress comfortably.

Contrasting with the earlier excerpt, each participant chooses a different terminology for the word 'mall'. In (1), the interviewer chooses the Arabic equivalent *mužammaʕāt*, S2 chooses 'mall-*āt*' in (4) and (6), while S1 uses the English 'mall' twice in (11), preceded by the Kuwaiti Arabic definite article *əl-*. This variety of choices is attributed to preference (see chapter 3). In this particular conversation, I preferred the Kuwaiti Arabic term and dispreferred inserting or switching to English since Kuwaiti Arabic is the dominant language of the conversation. S2 preferred the use of the morphologically integrated version of the lexical item because, from observations, *mužammaʕāt* is the least common choice among teenagers. On the other hand, S1 preferred using the English term 'mall' and syntactically integrates it by adding the definite article *əl-*. Here, each speaker has her own preferred terminology.

6.5.2 Repair for accommodation purposes in our corpus

As mentioned earlier, repair can be defined as correcting mistakes committed by the speaker him/herself or by the other participants. In a monolingual conversation, repair is accomplished by the use of verbal or non-verbal activities. On the other hand, in a bilingual setting the speaker has two choices when it comes to verbal activities, i.e s/he either corrects the mistake in the language in which it was uttered or code-switches to another language, thus

signalling the process of repair. Code-switching as a repair strategy comes in two types: language repair and content repair. In the former, the speaker is code-switching and thus changing his/her current language of speech in order to accommodate the language of the previous speech. The latter is manifested when the code-switch contextualises a correction to the content of the previous utterance by the same speaker or another.

In a bilingual setting, when a speaker quotes, s/he either quotes in the original language of the quotation or translates it to the dominant language of conversation. However, translating a quote to the language of conversation is no simple task since translations are not always accurate enough, especially when it comes to cultural and religious terminologies that are difficult to translate (see chapter 5). Thus, translations might not convey the desired meaning.

In the following excerpt, code-switching was used as a strategy to repair the language of quotation. The topic being discussed concerned the disadvantages of the family tradition that Kuwaitis do not leave the family house until they get married.

(Ex. 6.7)

(1) I: *xalāṣ y-rūḥ y-ʕīš brūḥ-a y-itkaffal b-nafsa mālah šəġil b-ahala*

(2) S1: *ī ī hāða uhwa y-saw-ūn*

(3) I: *ənt-aw ʕində-kum ʕādi?*

(4) S1: *la mā šənu ṣilat raḥim w uhma y-dizz-ūn-i barra*

(5) I: OK *talifōn hāði ṣilat raḥim*

(6) S1: *lā lā*

(7) I: BBM *w hal xarābīṭ*

(8) S1 (laugh) *lā mā yṣīr aḥsan. uhwa wāna rāyḥa amrīka ʕšān šisma.. ižāza āna w ubūy kinna gāʕd-īn gāʕda yamma kān fi wāḥid yamna amrīki gāl āna ḥabbēt lǝ-kwēt li'nna mā fīha* alcohol *māfīha ha-lxarābīṭ hāði li'nna āna yāy hni yāy bas ʕšān axdim ǝd-dawla amrīka fa yāy ʕšān žēš.* What I liked about Kuwait as well is that driving at the age of 18 and when they are 18 they don't leave the house they still stay with their families and communities *y-gūl* I go back where I come from I don't even know where my family is so it's a good thing *inna* they stay home

(9) I: *zēn mā t-ḥiss-īn inna hāða y-xalli ǝš-šabāb wāyid miʕtamd-īn ʕla ahālī-hum inna ǝs-sayyāra ʕlē-hum w-il-maṣrūf ʕlē-hum wil-bēt ʕlē-hum mā y-'ažr- ūn šaqqa lā yištaġlōn lā šai*

Translation (Ex.6.7)

(1) I: *That's it, he lives alone (and) takes care of himself (and) has nothing to do with his family.*

(2) S1: *yeah yeah that's what they do*

(3) I: *To you, is it OK?*

(4) S1: *No if they kick me out there won't be family ties*

(5) I: OK *(contacting them by) telephone, that's also (a way of) keeping the family ties.*

(6) S1: *no no*

(7) I: BBM *and those things*

(8) S1 (laugh) *no it wouldn't work. When I went to America for, what you call it.. the holiday, me and my father were sitting and next to us was an American. He said I loved Kuwait because there is no* alcohol, *no junk, I only came here to here to serve my country America, I came for the army.* What I liked about Kuwait as well is that driving at the age of 18 and

when they are 18 they don't leave the house they still stay with their families and communities. *He says* I go back where I come from I don't even know where my family is so it's a good thing *that* they stay home.

(9) I: *OK but don't you feel that is making the youth dependent on their parents that they buy the car, they give pocket money, (and) provide a home. They don't rent (and) they don't work.*

In this extract, the researcher asked the students if living alone and being independent from parents would be a better option after finishing high school. S1 disagreed with it and justified it by saying that Islam focuses on family bonds and thus the parents should not kick their children out. I then mentioned that they can still connect with their parents by calling them on the phone but not necessarily living with them. S1 still rejected the idea and I told her then that now they can even connect with their families using mobile chats like BBM. But S1 still rejected the idea, and then started narrating an incident that happened to her when she travelled to USA with her father for a holiday. She mentioned that on the plane, an American soldier was sitting next to them who told them that he loved Kuwait because there is no alcohol, people drive at the age of eighteen, and that family ties are really strong which is opposite to where he comes from because he does not even know where his family members are.

In this excerpt, Kuwaiti Arabic was the dominant language of both the researcher and students until segment (8) where the student switched to English in the middle of her turn. First, she started the turn in Kuwaiti Arabic by giving her opinion about the topic being discussed. Then, she narrated in Kuwaiti Arabic an incident that took place during a flight which was a conversation between her, her father and an American soldier. Since the American soldier does not speak Arabic, the original language of conversation between the student and the soldier was English. When quoting the American soldier in (8), S1 translated

his utterances to Kuwaiti Arabic, but later switched to English for the original language of the quotation. This can be due to the fact that all participants are fluent in English; therefore, there is no need to translate as translation requires effort which may lead to neglecting certain information. In addition, quoting an utterance in the original language of speech adds authenticity. Quoting in the language of the original utterance provides the speaker with the advantage of quoting not only the words but also their pitch and intonation which contribute to the meaning. By code-switching from Kuwaiti Arabic to English, S1 repaired the language of the quotation. She corrected the language of the quotation to accommodate the original language for the sake of clarity and authenticity.

6.5.3 Repair for other purposes

As mentioned earlier, code-switching for repair is not limited to correcting the choice of the language in order to accommodate the language choice of the participants. It can also function as repairing the content of the utterance. If a participant mistakenly utters a word or a phrase, then s/he might code-switch to indicate correction of that mistake. Mistakes may be attributed to slips of the tongue, time pressure, incompetence or momentary lack of memory. In other cases, it is attributed to avoiding ambiguity as in the following example. In (Ex. 6.8), the interviewer is asking the students about their opinion regarding the decreasing interest among the youth in wearing traditional clothes. The dominant language in this excerpt is Kuwaiti Arabic with few English insertions such as 'tradition' and 'designers', except for S2 who code-switched continuously.

(Ex. 6.8)

(1) I: *zēn mā t-ḥis-ūn inna ən-nās alḥīn mā gām-aw y-ihtamm-ōn b-il-*Kuwaiti traditions *min nāḥyat il-libs yaʕni ay waḥda lābsa šwai ʕla kwēti maθalan y-ḍəḥk-ūn ʕlēha amma maθalan lamma t-šūf-ūn b-il-yābān lābs-īn* kimonos *y-gūl-ūn šakil-hūm ḥəlu w mrattab ḥatta t-albis*

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kimono *t-rūḥ əs-sūg ay mukān ʕādi fa əḥna lēš b-il-kwēt lamma n-šūf šai* traditional *n-gūl mu ḥəlu*

(2) S2:.. *mādri yaʕni kil wāḥid* their opinions are different *mā adri bas* not everyone says *inna či mu ḥəlu* it's our traditional clothes *yaʕni* we have to *lāzim n-əqtəniʕ fīh-um*

(3) I: *yaʕni ḥatta əl-dišdāša ḥatta wāyid šabāb ʕindəh-um albis-li* designers *w šai ġāli aḥla min dišdāša*

(4) S1: *la ḥarām čəði y-ẓayʕ-ūn il-*tradition *əlli b-il-žazīra l-ʕarabiyya maʕrūf inna ər-rayyāl y-albis dišdāša w čəði w-il-mara t-albis ʕabāya*

(5) S2: *yaʕni lāzim* traditional [way *ʕšān y-šūfūn* the difference]

(6) S1: *[ḥarām y-ðayʕ-ūn-a] mu nafs alḥīn amrīka* the Americans in USA *mā ʕindəh-um* tradition *muʕayyan y-albis-ūn*

Translation (Ex.6.8)

(1) I: *OK don't you feel that now people do not care about the* Kuwaiti traditions *regarding the clothes. I mean any girl who dresses in a little bit Kuwaiti (traditional style) they'd laugh at her. For example when you see in Japan (girls) wearing kimonos they'd say they look nice and tidy. She'll even wear it to go shopping or to an place (it's) OK, so why in Kuwait when we see something* traditional *we say it is not nice?*

(2) S2:.. *I don't know, I mean everyone* their opinions are different *I don't know but* not everyone says *that like this is not nice.* It's our traditional clothes *I mean* we have to *we have to be convinced with them.*

(3) I: *I mean even the Dishdasha. To a lot of guys wearing* designers *and something expensive looks better than Dishdasha*

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(4) S1: *No that's a shame we'll lose our* tradition. *Those in the Arabian Peninsula are known for the man wearing Dishdasha and the woman wearing Abaya.*

(5) S2: *I mean is it a must (to dress in a)* traditional [way *in order to see the* difference]

(6) S1: *[it's a shame we lose it] just like now America* the Americans in USA *do not have a certain* tradition (al clothes) *to wear.*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about their opinion regarding Kuwaiti youths who do not wear traditional clothes as much as they used to. S2 mentioned that it depends on how they see traditional clothes; some of them still like them while others do not, but in the end they must recognise their importance. I then mentioned that nowadays young males consider luxury designer outfits more fashionable than the traditional dress, Dishadasha. S1 argued that if young people continue ignoring traditional clothes like the Dishdasha for men and Abaya for women, then this traditional dress common to all Gulf countries will soon be forgotten. S2 agreed with her and stated that we are identifiable from the rest of the residents by this traditional dress. Afterwards, S1 gave an example of Americans as a people who forgot their traditions, stating that she does not wish to end up like them.

In the previous example, the language choice of S1 was very interesting. She chose Kuwaiti Arabic as the language of speech to accommodate the language choice of the interviewer. She only inserted the word 'tradition' which has also been used by the interviewer as she tried to accommodate the word choice of the interviewer. However, in (6), she inserted the phrase 'the Americans in USA'. This can be regarded as her attempt to clarify what was meant by *amrīka,* so she code-switched to English in order to correct the previous utterance. In other words, by saying 'America', this would include both nationals and residents. After realising that 'America' is an ambiguous term to be used as it is much too

general, she specified it by switching to English to signal repair. She was referring to Americans in USA who, in her viewpoint, do not wear traditional clothes anymore. This repair indicated the speaker's collaboration and cooperation with the other participants in order for her desired message to be conveyed correctly and without any ambiguity. Therefore, code-switching in this example contextualised repair for disambiguation and specification purposes.

6.5.4 Reiteration as a repair strategy

Self-repair can be manifested in the form of reiterating the same word or utterance produced by the same speaker in a different language to accommodate the language of the previous utterance or to clarify any ambiguity which the current language might have caused. In the following example, S1 was explaining how different she is from her mother who happens to be a fashion designer:

(Ex. 6.9)

(1) I: OK *t-gū-līn inna ummič* fashion designer?

(2) S1: yeah

(3) I: *fa akīd t-ḥibb-īn lə-hdūm w čəði*

(4) S1: actually no

(4) I: *wī*

(5) S1: *ʕaks'ha āna* I mean I can draw *arsim nafs-ha*. I'm a good drawer. I don't mean to brag but I'm a good drawer

Translation (Ex.6.9)

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(1) I: OK *you say your mother is a* fashion designer?

(2) S1: yeah

(3) I: *So for sure you like clothes and so?*

(4) S1: actually no

(4) I: *Oops*

(5) S1: *I'm the opposite* I mean I can draw *draw like her*. I'm a good drawer. I don't mean to brag but I'm a good drawer.

In this excerpt, the researcher asked S1 if she likes fashion since her mother is a fashion designer, but she replied with a surprising answer that unlike her mother she does not like fashion, but she draws well. In this example, both the interviewer and S1 were varying their conversational style from the use of Kuwaiti Arabic and English utterances to code-switching between the two. In (5), when S1 mentioned that she can draw, she then repeats the word 'draw' but in Kuwaiti Arabic *arsim* followed by *nafsha*. The student here is correcting the misunderstanding that might have occurred among the other participants as she states that it is not just any type of drawing, but it is like the one her mother does. Since her mother is a fashion designer, S1 is referring to drawing fashion sketches and not drawing in general. By code-switching to Kuwaiti Arabic, she is specifying that drawing here belongs to a certain genre within the general category of drawing. Code-switching contextualised repair i.e repeating the word in a different language signalled an additional verbal activity, disambiguation in this example, which guides the participants to the intended meaning.

The next example is a similar case of repair as the previous one. The researcher asked the students about what they like to shop for. The language of conversation in this excerpt is Kuwaiti Arabic with few English insertions like 'makeup', 'eyeliner', 'computer', 'technology'

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and 'accessories', which are all common nouns of common loans among both monolinguals and bilinguals. Those English terminologies are more common among bilingual teenagers than their Kuwaiti Arabic equivalents: *mikyāž, kumbyūtar, tiknəlōžya, and əksiswārāt.* As for 'eyeliner' and 'professional', they kept their original English pronunciation.

(6.10)

(1) I: *šənu t-ḥibb-ūn t-ištər-ūn maθalan, hdūm*? Electronics*? willa riyāẓa, hdūm riyāẓa? ši-t-ḥibb-ūn?*

(2) S1: Makeup *akθar šai*

(3) I: makeup! Cool

(4) S2: *ā̄na..*

(5) I: *w t-ʕarf-īn t-ḥiṭ-ṭīn willa la'?*

(6) S1: *ī*

(7) S2: *ī māšallāh* she's a professional

(8) I: *ī* wow

(9) S2: *w-il-*eyeliner *il-kəḥil əs-sā'il taḥt il-ʕēn mašallāh ʕlēha*

(10) I: *māšallāh*

(11) S2: (laugh*) la ā̄na b-il-*clothes *bala bas il-*accessories *mū wāyid, taʕal šūf* technology *il-*computers *ī bas il-*PSP *w* Wii, Wii *yimkin*, PSP *la mā-ʕarif*

(12) S1: *mu ḥag-na ḥag illi aṣġar minna*

Translation (Ex.6.10)

(1) I: *what do you like to buy for example, clothes*? Electronics*? or sport, sportswear? What do you like?*

(2) S1: makeup *mostly*

(3) I: makeup! Cool

(4) S2: *I..*

(5) I: *and do you know how to put it?*

(6) S1: *yes*

(7) S2: *yes mashallah* she's a professional

(8) I: *yes* wow

(9) S2: *and the* eyeliner *the liquid eyeliner under the eye mashallah*

(10) I: *mashallah*

(11) S2: (laugh*) to me clothes yes but* accessories *not much. When it comes to* technology computers *yes but* PSP *and* Wii, Wii *maybe*, PSP *no I don't know (how to play).*

(12) S1: *it's not for us, for younger ones.*

In this extract, the interviewer asked the students about the products they enjoy buying when they go shopping. S1 answered that she loves to buy makeup more than anything else. S2 then took the floor but did not answer the question because she was still thinking of the answer which led to I taking over the floor and asking S1 about how well she can apply makeup. S1 replied with a yes, and then S2 commented that S1 is a professional who can apply the eyeliner perfectly. S2 then took the floor to answer the question, and she explained that she loves fashion accessories and video games.

The instance of reiteration took place in (9), where S2 is explaining how professional S1 can be in putting on makeup. She inserted 'eyeliner' which in English refers to both the 'liquid eyeliner' and the 'eye pencil'. However, in Kuwaiti Arabic, among the youth, it only refers to the 'liquid eyeliner'. In order to clear any ambiguity, S2 translated the word 'eyeliner' so as not to be confused with the 'eye pencil' which is one of its English equivalents. Since all participants are fluent in Kuwaiti Arabic and English, the conversational style of the participants varied from using English as the dominant language, Kuwaiti Arabic as the dominant language, to code-switching between the two. Thus, when S2 inserted 'eyeliner', she felt it necessary that the other participants do not understand it as a code-switch but as the loanword since they are both pronounced in the same way. Hence, she translated 'eyeliner' to *kəḥil* followed by *sā'il* 'liquid' for clarification. Code-switching here contextualised clarification and specification, which thus enhanced the intended meaning and prevented any incorrect interpretations. Code-switching in this example was a strategy to repair a mistake in the content of the utterance. Repair manifests the speaker's attitude towards the other participants i.e. cooperation and closeness.

In the following example, the researcher discussed the dress code policy at Kuwait University. The language behaviour of S2 was determined by her attempt to accommodate the language choices of the other participants. For instance, the interviewer asked a question in Kuwaiti Arabic, with only one English insertion 'dress code', and S2 struggled with her reply. Pauses, incorrect usage of Kuwaiti Arabic lexical items, and switching to English all indicate that she is less proficient in conversing in Kuwaiti Arabic than in English, and yet she chooses Kuwaiti Arabic as her language of choice.

In the following excerpt, the interviewer asked the students about stores and shopping malls in Kuwait, and whether they are becoming too many. The language of conversation in this excerpt is Kuwaiti Arabic.

(Ex.6.11)

(1) I: *šlō-kum maʕa l-*shopping *w hāða? t-ḥəss-ūn inna l-maḥal-lāt illi b-lə-kwēt kāfya willa baʕad lāzim n-iftaḥ* malls *zyāda w fi ašyā' nāgṣa w čəði?*

(2) S1: *min nāḥyat il-maḥal-lāt ʕindəna maḥal-lāt bas min nāḥyat il-*malls [*ī we should build more*]

(3) S2: [*la' il-maḥal-lāt māku*] *la' laḥẓa yaʕni fi ġash tijāri b-lə-kwēt ġēr ṭabīʕi ṣiž ṣiž ġēr ṭabīʕi. yaʕni lamma t-rūḥ-īn il-imārāt yaʕni nafs alḥīn* Aldo *rəḥ-na l-imārāt xo* Aldo *mawžūd b-il-imārāt w b-lə-kwēt šift hnāk fi* sale *xaðēt əš-*shoes *min minnāk raddēt lə-kwēt sa'ali-tī hāða b-čam y-gūl-lič hāða tawwa* arrival *tawwa wāṣil w t-lāgīna dabal. naʕam šha-l-ġaš*?!

(4) I: *ī lēš?*

(5) S2: *hnāk b* sale *yaʕni nāzil min zəmān w hāða tawwa nāzil w dabal əs-səʕir lēš y-kūn* over. *ənna wāyid ġaš tižāri mū šwayyah.*

Translation (Ex.6.11)

(1) I: *How are you with* shopping *and those (things)? Do you feel that the stores in Kuwait are enough? Or we should open more* malls *because there are stores missing?*

(2) S1: *when it comes to stores we have stores but when it comes to* malls [*yeah we should build more*]

(3) S2: [*no there are no stores*] *no just a moment, I mean there is a huge commercial fraud in Kuwait, truly huge. I mean when you go to the UAE, I mean like* Aldo, *we went to the UAE (and)* Aldo *has branches in UAE and Kuwait. I found that they have* sale *there so I bought* shoes *from there. When I got back to Kuwait I asked how much it is and he (salesperson) told me it has just* arrival *just arrived and you find it double (the price) what a fraud!*

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(4) I: *yeah why?*

(5) S2: *there it is on that means it is not new arrival and here new arrival and (is) double the price. It is* over (too much). *It is a huge fraud not a small one.*

Here, the researcher asked the students about the shopping malls in Kuwait and whether more are still needed or not. S1 replied that many shopping brands are already available in Kuwait but there are not enough malls. S2 disagreed and mentioned that even for the brands there are not enough, then she talked about commercial fraud in Kuwait and gave the example of her experience in UAE and compared it to the one in Kuwait, wherein the goods in UAE were on sale while in Kuwait they were considered as 'new arrivals'.

In this example, few English insertions took place like 'shopping', 'malls', 'sale' and 'shoes'. From observations, all of these insertions are common among Kuwaiti youths, especially girls, both monolinguals and bilinguals. They use them more often than their fellow compatriots. However, the English insertion in (3) 'arrival' is not a common one. Due to a momentary lack of memory, S2 inserted 'arrival' instead of *wāṣil*. Then she corrected it and uttered the Kuwaiti equivalent *tawwa wāṣil*. *tawwa* 'arrival' is grammatically incorrect since *tawwa* must be followed by an adjective, therefore it needed repair. She merged the English expression 'new arrival' with the Kuwaiti *tawwa wāṣil* which conveys the same meaning but is not grammatically correct.

In (3), the English insertion of 'arrival' was used as a strategy to fill the linguistic gaps due to the lack of memory (see chapter 5), because it failed grammatically; in addition to being an uncommon insertion among bilinguals. Thus, S2 repaired it by repeating it in Kuwaiti Arabic. Switching back to Kuwaiti Arabic not only corrected the previous ungrammatical expression, but also accommodated the dominant language of the conversation. Although the student is fluent in both English and Kuwaiti Arabic, she chose to

repair with the Kuwaiti Arabic *tawwa wāṣil* instead of the English 'new arrival'. Language accommodation by choosing the dominant language for reiteration contributed to the cohesion and coherence of the whole turn. According to Giles and Smith (1979), Beebe and Giles (1984), and Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991) S2 cooperated with the rest of the participants in order to convey the intended message.

(Ex.6.12)

(1) I: *fi šaġla inna min fatra ḥaṭ-ṭaw il-*dress code *b-il-žāmʕa maθalan il-bint mā t-igdar t-albis tannūra fōg ər-rəkab. lə-ṣbayyān mā y-igdər-ūn y-albəs-ūn šōrtāt wala ḥafər.*

(2) S2: *ī čəði aḥsan baʕdēn i-y-ūn y-albəs-ūn* short *w ḥafar či mu ḥəlu baʕdēn ḥatta ḥag lə-ṣbayyān baʕdēn..* they think of things *māʕarif* (laugh)

(3) S1: *aḥsan li'nna əḥna yīna hnāk n-adris mu n-albis*

(4) S2: *mu* to show off

(5) I: *yaʕni maθalan lamma trūḥīn žāmʕāt barra il-kil y-albis ʕla kēfa illi y-albis gṣīr, illi mā y-albis. fa lēš mā y-xall-ūn čəði li'nna ḥatta žāmʕat lə-kwēt fīh ažānib illi y-āxð-ūn biʕθāt min barra? šlōn gāʕd-īn y-qaydūn-hum willa la'?*

(6) S2: *la' māʕarf bas či ʕindi āna aḥsan ḥatta intai* you're there for studying not for how you wear, how you look, fashion *či la'. t-albəs-īn ay šai w xalāṣ.* Not *yaʕni ay šai* it has to be.. it suits the place.. *ḥag il-mukān‿yaʕni*

Translation (Ex.6.12)

(1) I: *There's something that a while ago they have put, a* dress code (policy) *in the university that for example a girl cannot wear a skirt above the knees (and) the guys cannot wear shorts or tanktops*

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(2) S2: *yeah it is better like this. Coming (to the university) wearing shorts and tanktops is not nice. Then even for the guys (themselves) then..* they think of things *I don't know* (laugh)

(3) S1: *it's better because we went there to study not to dress up*

(4) S2: *not* to show off

(5) I: *I mean for example when you go to universities abroad, everyone wears whatever s/he wants. Some wear short (clothes) others don't wear any. So why don't they let them be like that because even Kuwait University has foreign students and have been awarded scholarships? Aren't they restricting them or?*

(6) S2: *no I don't know but like this to me is better even you* you're there for studying not for how you wear, how you look, fashion *like that no. you wear anything and that's it*. Not *like anything* it has to be.. it suits the place.. *for the place I mean*

In this extract, the interviewer discussed college dress code with the students and both S2 and S1 agreed with the dress code policy as it prevents students from wearing shorts, short skirts and sleeveless tops. Both students justified their agreement with the argument that the reason behind going to college is to study, not to show off. I then explained her disagreement with the policy, pointing out that most universities around the world do not monitor what students are wearing especially as there will be foreign students from other countries who are not familiar with Kuwait's customs. S2 continued to agree with the policy and stated again that college is a place for studying, not for dressing up, and that what a student wears must be suitable for the place where she finds herself.

As mentioned earlier, prior to each interview, the researcher informed the students of their free language choice; however, it is noticeable in the example above that S2 chose to accommodate the language choices of the other participants even if she is less competent in

that language. She is trying to converse with the speakers and show her involvement in order to be recognised as a member of the group (Gallois, Ogay, and Giles 2005). In (2), she used *baʕdēn* three times in order to hold the floor so that other participants do not take the floor as her turn has not yet been completed. This repetition is followed by a pause used as a strategy to recall the appropriate utterance. Another signal of S2's difficulty in conversing in Kuwaiti Arabic is her literal translation of English words into Kuwaiti Arabic which leads to the incorrect usage of Kuwaiti Arabic lexical items. For instance, the English phrase 'I don't know' can be translated as *mādri* or *māʕarf*. The difference between them is that the latter is a transitive verb that requires an object. Therefore, S2 should be using *mādri* and not *māʕarf* in her utterances, as she is using it as a discourse marker to signal the end of her turn. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that she uses it incorrectly again in (6). This led to the conclusion that it was not a slip of the tongue.

In (4), S2 started with Kuwaiti Arabic negation *mu,* then continued the utterance by code-switching to English. It exposed her inability to accurately translate the expression 'show off' into Kuwaiti Arabic. In (6), she attempted again to accommodate the language of conversation but failed as she switched to English by repeating the previous word 'you' to signal the code-switching transitional point. Then she switched back to Kuwaiti Arabic and again to English to repair the previous utterance 'it has to be.. it suits the place', then repeated it again in Kuwaiti Arabic *ḥag il-mukān.* This behaviour indicated that although S2 was finding difficulty expressing her thoughts in Kuwaiti Arabic, adapting to the language choices of the other participants seemed a priority in order to be recognised as belonging to the in-group. Code-switching when necessary was a strategy used by S2 only when she felt that she will not convey the meaning accurately or face a temporary lack of memory. This language behaviour enabled the student to be less distant from the other participants as

accommodation leads to convergence and strengthening of the relationship between the participants.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, code-switching can be used as a strategy contextualising accommodation and repair. Conversationalists adjust their language choices and/or speech behaviour to match the other participants in order to be considered members of the same group and to strengthen their relationship within the group by adhering to their conversational expectations, rights and obligations. In our corpus, speakers manifested accommodation in two different ways: either by code-switching to accommodate the language of the previous utterance or code-switching to accommodate a single word used by the previous speaker in order to adhere to the rights and obligations of the interlocutors. Accommodation implies convergence, cooperation and solidarity with the other participants as opposed to divergence and distance. By using the conversational analytic principle of sequentiality (Li Wei & Milroy 1995, Li Wei 1998, Auer 2007), we were able to identify why the speaker code-switched. In other words, what preceded the code-switch, whether a previous utterance by a different speaker or a single word within the current speaker's turn, and what followed it, such as elaboration, contributed to the interpretation of the code-switch and its function.

Repair, which is correcting a verbal mistake uttered by the speaker due to momentarily lack of memory or time pressure. Repair is practiced in two different ways participant-related and discourse-related. Participant-related repair is repairing the wrong language choice by code-switching; and therefore, accommodating the language of the previous utterance. In this case, repair is used to enhance the relationship between the interlocutors and strengthen it. On the other hand, discourse-related repair is code-switching to correct, clarify or specify the content of the previous word or phrase. In the latter, code-

switching contextualises a new verbal activity signalling correction of the previous information. Repair indicates collaboration and cooperation guiding the participants to the intended meaning without any ambiguity.

Moreover, reiteration in our corpus was used as a strategy for both accommodation and repair leading to clarification, specification and cohesion. Reiteration was manifested in the repetition of the previous word uttered by the same speaker in a different language for self-repair. In other words, the student would not only code-switch to a different language to highlight the correction of the content of the previous word, but also reiterate the word that needs correction or clarification in a different language to create a boundary between the two verbal activities i.e. between the mistake and its repair. Reiteration notifies and draws the participants' attention to the additional information that must be interpreted along with the original message.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CODE-SWITCHING AMONG BILINGUALS ATTENDING MONOLINGUAL SCHOOLS

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned previously, English is considered as a foreign language in Kuwait; however, code-switching between Kuwaiti Arabic and English is very common, especially among Kuwaiti youths. Whether they are studying in a monolingual or bilingual/multilingual school, many Kuwaitis are fluent in English. Kuwaiti youth's English proficiency ranges from fair to mother-tongue level where their proficiency in English surpasses that in Kuwaiti Arabic. From the data analysis in the previous chapters, it can be concluded that bilingual school students' English proficiency is either fluent or mother-tongue level. On the other hand, none of the bilingual students in the monolingual school in our study showed any higher proficiency or preference level in English than in Kuwaiti Arabic.

From observations, the code-switching behaviour of bilinguals in monolingual schools differs from that of bilingual school students. To prove this point, an ethnographic study was conducted, in which bilingual students from both monolingual and bilingual/multilingual schools were interviewed. In this chapter, the code-switching behaviour of bilinguals in the monolingual school is analysed briefly using the same analytical approach that was used to analyse the code-switching behaviour of bilingual/multilingual school students. In the following paragraphs, a brief discussion of the data analysis is presented, followed by the types of code-switching that occurred among bilinguals in the monolingual school under study.

7.2 Data analysis

The same methodology for choosing the most suitable sample of bilingual school students was also used to choose the most suitable bilingual students from the monolingual school. Questionnaires were distributed, seeking students of Kuwaiti parents whose choice of English is not affected by factors such as living or studying in an English speaking country or previously attending a bilingual/multilingual school.

All students had the freedom to choose the language of conversation, whether English, Arabic or switching between the two. Bilingual students attending the monolingual school all preferred conversing in Kuwaiti Arabic. In the bilingual/multilingual schools, some students chose Kuwaiti Arabic as the language of conversation, others chose English, and some code-switched between the two languages continuously. The instances of code-switching among bilingual/multilingual school students ranged from English insertions into Kuwaiti Arabic speech and Kuwaiti Arabic insertions into English speech to alternating between the two languages. In addition to the different code-switching styles, different motivations behind code-switching were recognised. In this study, code-switching among bilinguals in monolingual schools occurred for two main reasons: accommodation and filling lexical gaps.

7.2.1 Accommodation

One of the reasons an English insertion may be used by bilinguals attending monolingual school is to accommodate the language choice of the previous speaker. In chapter 6, we discussed the types of accommodation: language accommodation and lexical accommodation. In the case of bilingual school students, accommodation occurred in both languages (English and Arabic) and in both forms; language accommodation and lexical accommodation.

Language accommodation is, as stated above, choosing the same language as the previous utterance, while lexical accommodation can be defined as quoting or repeating a single word or a phrase used previously by another speaker in the same conversation. In the case of bilinguals attending monolingual schools, accommodation occurred in English only but in both forms and at different degrees or levels. Lexical accommodation among bilinguals studying in monolingual schools is very frequent; whereas, language accommodation occurred only once. This resulted from the monolingual school students' preference of Kuwaiti Arabic over English. Below are examples of both language accommodation and lexical accommodation.

7.2.1.1 Language accommodation

In the following example, the researcher is discussing with students the fact that dance/night clubs are not allowed in Kuwait, and whether gender segregation would solve the problem. This is the only example among our bilingual students attending the monolingual school's corpus where language accommodation occurs as one whole sentence/utterance.

(Ex.7.1)

(1) I: OK what about dance clubs? Do you agree like in Kuwait they make like dance clubs for boys and dance clubs for girls? Will it work?

(Bell rings announcing end of break)

(2) S1: I think it'll work (laugh). *w šay zēn yaʕni ḥəlu ənna ḥag* girls *w bas ḥag* boys *ī* OK

(3) I: [OK] *ʕayal axallī-kum trūḥ-ūn*

Translation (Ex.7.1)

(1) I: OK what about dance clubs? Do you agree like in Kuwait they make like dance clubs for boys and dance clubs for girls? Will it work?

(Bell rings announcing end of break)

(2) S1: <u>I think it'll work</u> (laugh). *and a good thing I mean (it is) nice only for* <u>girls</u> *and only for* <u>boys</u> *yeah* OK

(3) I: [OK] *then I'll let you leave*

In (2), the student replied to the interviewer's question in English due to the automaticity of the adjacency pairs, thereby accommodating the language of the interviewer. In other words, if the first part of the adjacency pair was in English, it is expected that the second pair would be in English as well, adhering to the rights, obligations and expectations of the other participants (Gallois, Ogay, and Giles 2005). Then, S1 switched back to Kuwaiti Arabic, her preferred language of choice, to comment on the issue and justify her answer. In her comment, she inserted 'boys' and 'girls' in her Kuwaiti Arabic utterance which are quoted from the researcher's question. This switch can be considered as lexical accommodation which will be discussed next.

7.2.1.2 Lexical accommodation or reiteration

Lexical accommodation is repeating a single word or short phrase used by the previous speaker in the language of the previous utterance, which contrasts with the language of the current utterance. In this case, the current speaker does not accommodate the language of the previous utterance completely but only specific words or phrases.

In this example, the same topic in (8.1) is being discussed with a different group of students. The researcher introduced the topic in Kuwaiti Arabic, and then switched to English.

(Ex.7.2)

(1) I: *w fī ham šaġla θālθa əhya il-*dance clubs in Kuwait we don't have dance clubs what do you think shall we open dance clubs *willa*?

(2) S1: *ḥatta lo ftaḥ-aw b-il-kwēt mā atwaqqaʕ ənna fī banāt wāyid rāḥ y-rūḥūn nafs duwal amrīka w čəði*

(3) I: *la' mu agūl-lič fi dbai w-ilbaḥrēn ʕində-hum. yaʕni b-fanādiq-hum [maftūḥa]*

(4) S1: *[i bas ma] y-rūḥūn-ha yimkin illa əs-siyāḥ aw il-wāfid-īn bas mā atwaqqaʕ ahl id-dawla y-rūḥ-ūn*

(5) I: *nzēn* what do you think if they make dance clubs for girls and dance clubs for boys *ənna manʕ əxtilāṭ?*

(6) S1: *ī* OK (laugh)

(7) I: it will work *yaʕni*?

(8) S1+S2 (laugh)

(8) I: will it work *mārāḥ yṣīr mašakil willa* it will be fun?

(10) S2: *ī* <u>fun</u>

Translation (Ex.7.2)

(1) I: *and there's a third matter the-*dance clubs in Kuwait we don't have dance clubs what do you think shall we open dance clubs *or*?

(2) S1: *even if they open in Kuwait I don't think lots of girls will go like in America and like that*

(3) I: *no I'm telling you there are (dance clubs) in Dubai and in Bahrain. I mean in their hotels they are [open]*

(4) S1: *[yeah but they don't] go. Maybe the tourists or the residents but not the nationals*

(5) I*: OK* what do you think if they make dance clubs for girls and dance clubs for boys *that is gender segregated?*

(6) S1: *yeah* OK (laugh)

(7) I: it will work *yaʕni*?

(8) S1+S2 (laugh)

(9) I: will it work *won't there be any problems or* it will be fun?

(10) S2: *yeah* fun

In this excerpt, S1 did not show her disagreement with opening dance clubs in Kuwait but explained that even if they do open them, only a few will go like foreign residents but not Kuwaiti nationals. S1 and S2 showed their agreement later with the suggestion of opening gender-separated dance clubs, with the latter confirming that it would be fun. Both S1 and S2 chose Kuwaiti Arabic as the language of conversation but in (10) S2 first replied to the interviewer's question with the Kuwaiti Arabic *ī* showing agreement, and then inserted 'fun' which was uttered previously by the researcher in (9). Here, S2 reiterated what I said for accommodation purposes. S2 adjusted her language choice by repeating the same lexical item used by I in order to show cooperation, closeness and solidarity (Giles & Ogay 2005). According to Accommodation theory, this speech behaviour indicates the speaker's convergence with the other participants.

The next example is similar to this one. The interviewer started the talk in Kuwaiti Arabic, asking about Ramadan expos, and then switched between English and Kuwaiti Arabic.

(Ex.7.3)

(1) I: *nzēn b-ərmuḏān kān fī maθalan maʕāriḏ ḥag il-gərgēʕān w čəḏi. ḥaḏart-aw maʕāriḏ?*

(2) S1: *yaʕni maʕāriḏ ḥag il-malābis w-il-darārīʕ w [čəḏi] i turāθiyya w čəḏi akīd*

(3) I: *[ī ī]* what do you think is it good? Is *it yaʕni ha* (hand gesture)

(4) S1: *akīd* good *b-il-ʕaks yaʕni y-itðakkər-ōn ayyām turāθ-na gab-il- yaʕni wanāsa*

Translation (Ex.7.3)

(1) I: OK in Ramadan there were like expos for Gergei'an *and things like that. Did you go?*

(2) S1: *like expos for the traditional clothes and kaftans and [like that] yes and for sure*

 (3) I: *[yeah]* what do you think is it good? Is it *so so* (hand gesture)

(4) S1: *of course* good *on the contrary I mean it lets us remember the days of our old culture I mean it's fun*

The researcher asked the students if they have visited any expos during Ramadan and whether the products displayed were overpriced. S1 replied that she attended the expos, selling traditional clothes and that she liked them because they remind people of our history and culture. I code-switched between English and Kuwaiti Arabic throughout the conversation, while S1's language preference was Kuwaiti Arabic as all the other bilinguals were studying in the monolingual school. When I switched to English in (3), S1 replied in Kuwaiti Arabic with a single insertion of 'good' which was previously used by the

interviewer, thus accommodating a single word this time by simply repeating it. In all of these examples of lexical accommodation, the lexical insertion was a second pair of an adjacency pair. This means that the student produce the second pair or the answer to I's question in the same language that the question was uttered no matter what the language of conversation or language preference is, due to the automaticity of adjacency pairs which adhers to the expectations, rights and obligations of the participants leading to automatic accommodation. By using conversational analysis, it was possible to identify the reason behind this code-switch. Conversational analysis emphasises on the importance of sequentiality in analysing naturally occurring data. In other words, what precedes and what follows a code-switch contributes to the understanding of the intended interpretations of code-switching, as well as justifies the reason behind its occurrence (Li Wei & Milroy 1995, Li Wei 1998, Auer 2007). A very similar example is shown below.

(Ex.7.4)

(1) I: *w bəirməðān š-sawwēt-aw? rəḥt-aw maʕāriḍ illi y-sawūn-hum ḥag il-gərgēʕān*?

(2) S1: *ī riḥt maʕraḍ rəžənsi, bēt* Diva *la' kānat maʕāriḍ ḥilwa*

(3) I: *ī w* what do you think is it good?

(4) S1: *ī* it's good

(5) I: *yaʕni tiswa l-bəðāʕa illi uhma ḥāṭṭīn-ha willa marrāt asʕār-hum* too much?

(6) S1: *lā šūf-ai fī maʕāriḍ ʕala wala šai bas asʕār-hum ġālya ġālya yaʕni mā tiswa bas fi maʕāriḍ malōt rəžənsi w bēt* Diva *kān-aw ʕažīb*

Translation (Ex.7.4)

(1) I: *and in Ramadan what did you do? Did you go to the expos those they make for Gergei'an*?

(2) S1: *yeah I went to Regency's expo, Beit* Diva *they were pretty.*

(3) I*: yeah and* what do you think is it good?

(4) S1: *yeah* <u>it's good</u>

(5) I: *I mean are the products displayed worth it or are the prices* too much?

(6) S1: *No look there are expos that are very expensive for nothing I mean not worth but there are Regency expos and those by Beit* Diva *that were great.*

7.2.2 Filling lexical gaps vs. borrowing

Filling lexical gaps is one of the functions of code-switching, as discussed previously in chapter 5. A code-switch is inserted due to the unavailability of a synonym in the language of conversation, failure to retrieve the appropriate lexical item(s), or lack of knowledge in the language of conversation. In the case of bilingual/multilingual school students, deficiency in Kuwaiti Arabic was also one of the reasons to code-switch to English, thereby filling a linguistic gap. However, since all bilinguals attending the monolingual school were more proficient in Kuwaiti Arabic than English, such a reason behind code-switching did not occur in our monolingual school data.

Code-switching so as to fill lexical gaps is the most common reason behind code-switching in our monolingual school data. English words were inserted either because of their unavailability in Kuwaiti Arabic or for their easier accessibility or retrieval from memory. However, from observations, these insertions are also common among Kuwaiti youths and not peculiar to bilinguals in the monolingual school. They prefer to use them instead of their

Kuwaiti Arabic equivalents, which leads to the hypothesis that they are closer to borrowings than code-switching in the code-switching-borrowing continuum. A diachronic code-switching-borrowing continuum is "where some lexemes enjoy greater variability of distribution in different interaction settings compared to others... Such a continuum would thus be dynamic, rather than strictly linear: It represents not just the length of time during which a lexical item has been in use, but various constraints and preferences conditioning its employment in a variety of interaction contexts and settings" (Matras 2009:110-111).

Thus, the criteria of Poplack and Sankoff (1984) are not enough to determine the status of a single word insertion. Matras (2009) identified different dimensions of the continuum that can act as a guide towards the realisation of the status of these single word insertions. Those dimensions are summarised in the following figure (Matras 2009:111).

Code-switching ←——————————————→ Borrowing
Binguality   Bilingual speaker ←——————————————→ Monolingual speaker
Composition   Insertion, alternation ←——————————————→ Single word insertion
Functionality   Conversational effect ←——————————————→ No conversational effect
Regularity   Single occurrence ←——————————————→ Regular Occurrence

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                      Structural Integration                      │
│                                                                  │
│  Not integrated  ←─────────────────────────────→  Integrated     │
│                                                                  │
├─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┤
│                        Operationality                            │
│                                                                  │
│  Vocabulary  ←─────────────────────────────────→  Grammar        │
│                                                                  │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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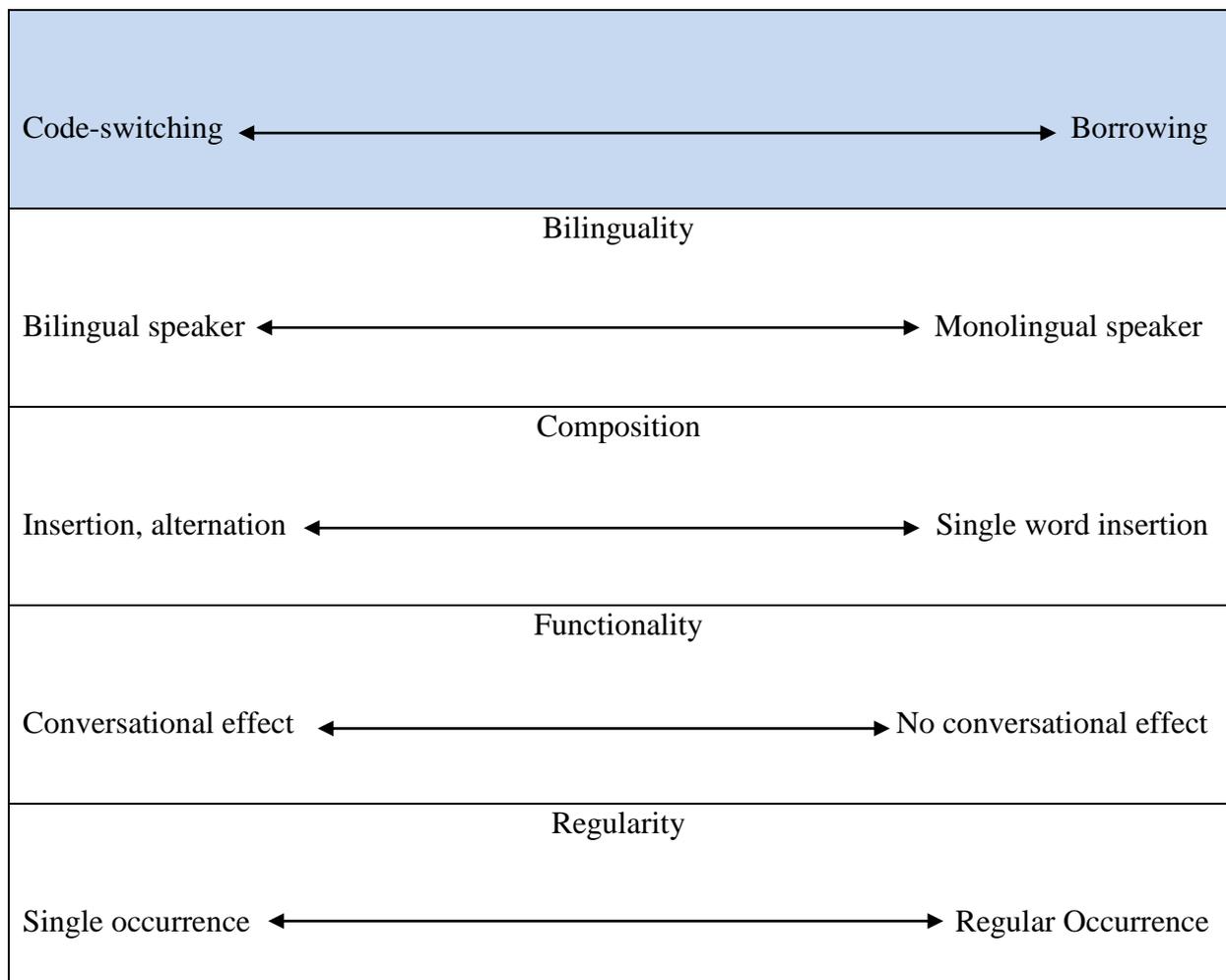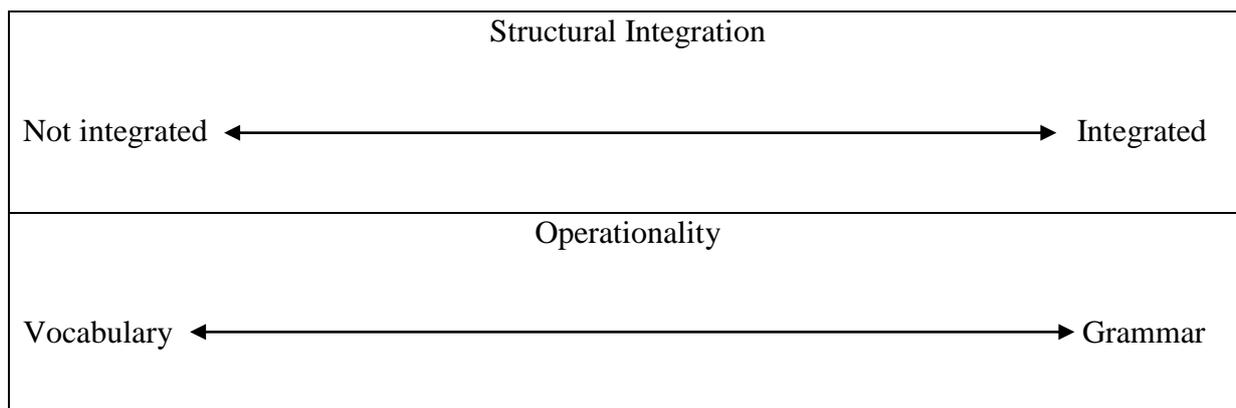
Figure 15: Dimensions of the code-switching - borrowing continuum adapted from Matras 2009

Therefore, words such as 'OK', which is the most common English insertion in our monolingual school corpus, will be recognised as a loan even though it violates Poplack and Sankoff's (1984) criterion of native language synonym displacement. 'OK' is frequently used, especially among the youth; it is also accepted by the Kuwaiti community even by monolinguals who do not have any English exposure, but it does not replace the Kuwaiti Arabic synonym *nzēn* or *zēn.* These single words will be illustrated in section 7.3.

7.2.3 Other functions

From the previous section, all English insertions in our monolingual data were second parts of adjacency pairs that functioned as lexical accommodation. The example below illustrates an instance of lexical insertions that are not second parts of adjacency pairs and do not function as accommodation. The topic being discussed is that of fashion and makeup.

(Ex. 7.5)

(1) I: *ʕla ṭāri il-mikyāž šraykum b-mikyāž lə-kwētiy-āt*?

(Pause)

(2) I: *yaʕni ʕala gōlat-hum alḥīn lamma il-wāḥid y-sāfir barra min y-šūf waḥda* they can spot her *kwētiy-ya. lēš ṣār [čəði]?*

(3) S2: *[uhwa] fī bas əlli aʕarfa lamma y-safr-ūn mā y-ḥəṭṭ-ūn mikyāž!*

(4) I: *la la* they do

(5) S2: *ṣiž baʕad?!*

(S1 laughs)

(6) S2: *mādri lamma n-sāfir māku mikyāž b-wayyih-na killiš*

(7) I: *la uhma [čənna] b-il-*avenues *bas dīra θānya*

(8) S2: *[rāyḥ-īn ʕādi] ma uhwa ġalaṭ lēš gāʕdīn y-albəs-ūn?*

(9) I: *ī nafs il-libs nafs il-*makeup

(10) S1: *uhwa əš-šai kil ma kān basīṭ kil ma kān aḥla*

(11) I: *ī mu ənna* this is Kuwaiti identity *y-bayyin ənna kwēti-ya šakil-ha ḥəlu?*

(12) S2: *uhwa ṣiž ənna šakli ḥəlu bas yaʕni šənu [y-faššil]*

(13) S1: *[y-faššil]* (laugh) *y-faššil*

(14) S1: *uhwa tara mu ʕašān mikyāž āna lamma kint bi-dbay lamma kənna rāyḥ-īn hai žumēra lamma kənna b-il-*boat *fa kān fi wāḥid hai hindi y-sūg. gāʕid y-gūl-li intai kwēti-yya? čān agūl-la i čān gilt-la š-darrāk čān y-gūl-li bas ənna min ṭarīqat il-*clothes *w-il-*face *ənna šlōn ṣāyir*

(15) I: *ī*

(16) S1: *čəði bas gilt-la* oh cool *wanāsa*

(17) I: *b-sirʕa y-ʕarfūn-na*

Translation (Ex.7.5)

(1) I: *speaking of makeup. What do you think of Kuwaiti women's makeup*?

(Pause)

(2) I: *I mean as they say now when they travel whenever they see one* they can spot her *a Kuwaiti woman. Why is it [so]?*

(3) S2: *[it is] there are some but to my knowledge is that they do not wear makeup when they travel!*

(4) I: *no no* they do

(5) S2: *really even there?!*

(S1 laughs)

(6) S2: *I don't know when we travel we no makeup on our faces at all*

(7) I: *no [as if] they are at the-*Avenues *but in another country*

(8) S2: *[we go casual] it is wrong why are they dressed up?*

(9) I: *yeah same clothes same* makeup

(10) S1: *whenever a thing is simpler it would be prettier*

(11) I: *but isn't it* this is Kuwaiti identity *it shows that you are a Kuwaiti woman looking beautiful*

(12) S2: *it is true that you'd look beautiful but it's [embarassing]*

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(13) S1: *[embarrassing]* (laugh) *embarrassing*

(14) S1: *by the way it's not the makeup, when I went to Dubai and when we were going to this Jumeirah and when we were on the-*<u>boat</u> *there was this Hindi driving. He was asking me "are you Kuwaiti"? I told him "yes". I told him "how did you know?" he said "it's just from your* <u>clothes</u> *and the-*<u>face</u> *and how it looks".*

(15) I: *yeah*

(16) S1*: and like that and I told him "*<u>oh cool</u>*" that's cool*

(17) I: *they recognise us fast*

In this extract, the researcher asked the students about their opinion regarding Kuwaiti women wearing exaggerated makeup, even when they travel. S2 replied with a sense of surprise that Kuwaiti women actually wear makeup when they travel, then stated that she herself does not wear makeup when she travels. I then mentioned that the way Kuwaiti women dress and wear makeup when they travel is the same as when they hang out in malls. Then S2 expressed her opinion by saying that simpler is prettier. S2 then explained that wearing makeup and dressing the way they do is beautiful but embarrassing because it is not quite suitable for travel and S1 agreed with her. Next, S1 narrated an incident that happened to her in Dubai to argue that it is not the amount of makeup or the exaggerated outfit that allows foreigners to identify us when we travel, but it is the way we look.

In (14), S1 code-switched to English three times by inserting 'boat', 'clothes', and 'face'. The reason behind this code-switch is that S1 is narrating a conversation that took place in English between her and the boat driver. This narration required instant translation from English to Kuwaiti Arabic, the student's language choice of conversation. According to Li Wei (2007) and Altarriba and Basnight-Brown (2009) momentary lack of memory

regarding a Kuwaiti Arabic synonym and the time pressure resulted in the English insertions that were originally used in the conversation. Here, code-switching was used as a floor-holding device, preventing pauses and turn-taking (see chapter 5). In (16), the same strategy was used, but with an Arabic translation later.

7.3. Receptive bilinguals

As mentioned in chapter 1, there is a section of the Kuwaiti community who are receptive bilinguals i.e. does not have equal competence of the four language skills (Edwards 2004). These bilinguals have been taught English as a foreign language in monolingual schools, but are not proficient in it. They understand beginner's English, but have difficulties producing English utterances. This, however, did not prevent them from inserting English single words in their speech. When analysing these instances of single English word insertions, it was observed that they comply with the loanword criteria of frequency, acceptability, integration, and native synonym replacement, but exclusively among the youth. Some of these loanwords are used exclusively in certain contexts. Below is a list of the loanwords that are solely used by the youth.

Loanword	Gloss	Exclusive context	Equivalent
fāšn	fashion	fashion & clothing	*mōḍa*
stāyl	style	-	*mudēl*
tū mač	too much	fashion & beauty	*mbālaġ fīh*
simpl/simbl	simple	fashion & clothing	*basīṭ*
kapkēk/kabkēk	cupcake	-	-
miny	mini	-	-
orrady	already	-	-

sayyiv	save	computer	*ḥəfð̣*
blok	block (n.)	Social media	-
falow/unfalow	follow/unfollow	Social media	-
ād	add (n.)	Social media	*iðāfa*
žōystik	joystick/controller	-	*yadda*
rāwtar	router	-	-
kībōrd	keyboard	computer	-
pakiž/bakiž	package	mail	*ṭard*
dizāyn	design	-	*taṣmīm*
kopy/koby	copy (n.)	office	*nisxa*
kopy/koby	copy (Adj.)/look a like	characteristics	*nisxa*
(y-sawwi) kopy/koby	copy (v.)	computer	*y-ansix*
tərban/tərbān	turban	-	*ʕmāma*
bokset	box set	movies & TV	-
frēm	frame	photos	*bərwāz*
rəsəlūšn	resolution	technology	-
kavar (talifõn)	(mobile phone) cover	-	-
šūz	shoes	-	*žūty*
neklas	necklace	-	*qalb/ʕaqd*
fāwndēšn	foundation	beauty & makeup	*krīm asās*
hāylāyt	highlight	beauty & makeup	-
spā/(ə)sbā	spa	-	-
kəntūr	contour	beauty & makeup	-
prāymar/brāymar	primer	beauty & makeup	-

brōnzar	bronzer	-	-
konsīlar	concealer	beauty & makeup	-
lōšin	lotion	-	*krīm*
ōyl	oil	beauty & makeup	*dəhin*
mūs	mousse	beauty & makeup	*raġwa*
bōdra kombākt	compact powder	beauty & makeup	*bōdra maḏġūṭa*
flāt	flat (shoes)	fashion & clothing	*saḥḥāki*
nāys	nice	-	*ḥəlu*
tān	tan	beauty & makeup	*bronzāž*
prōfāyl/brōfāyl	profile	social media	-
fāyl	file	computer	-
bōnəs/ bōnəṣ	bonus	work	*zyāda*
karaktər	character	cinema & TV	*šaxṣiyya*
lukēšn	(filming) location	cinema & TV	*mawqiʕ ət-taṣwīr*
mag	mug	-	*kūb*
ṣōṣ	sauce	-	*ṣalṣa*
siminār	seminar	-	*nadwa*
plīz/blīz	please	-	*ʕafya*
sōry	sorry	-	*āsif*
kullakšn	collection	-	*taškīla*
dīvīdī/blūrēy/disk	DVD/Bluray/Disc	-	*šərīṭ*
ofsāyd/ofṣāyd	offside	football	*tasallul*
homwōrk	homework	-	*wāžib*
prožakt/brožakt	project	-	*mašrūʕ*

biznis	business	-	*təžāra*
cūl	cool	style & behaviour	-
pāy/bāy	pie	-	-
poriž	porridge	-	-
mōltin	Molten cake	-	-
kīnwa	quinoa	-	-
mēkap/mēkab	makeup	-	*mikyāž*
ōkē	OK	-	*(n)zēn*
šoping/šobing	shopping	-	*təsəwwig*
ōvar	over	fashion & beauty	*mbālaġ fīh*
klās	class/classroom	-	*muḥāḍara/qāʕa*
modirn	modern	architecture & design	*amrīky*
brēk/gāp	break (n.)	work/college	*fačča*
of	day off	work/college	*ižāza*
klač	clutch	fashion & clothing	*žanṭat sahra*
twīt	tweet (v.)	social media	*y-ġarrid*
twīt-a	tweet (n.)	social media	*taġrīda*
ivant	event	expos & store events	-
blog	blog (n.)	social media	*mudawwina*
postat	posts	social media	*mawḍūʕ*
blogar	blogger	social media	*mudawwin*
akāwnt	account	social media	*ḥsāb*
zūm/y-zawwim	zoom (v.)	photography	-
lāyk	like (v.)	social media	-

fāšinīsta	fashionista	fashion & clothing	*ðuwwīqa*
aplikēšn	application	Computer & smartphones	*taṭbīq*
selfy	selfie (photo of self taken by a smartphone)	-	-
wīkand	weekend	-	*nihāyat lə-sbūʕə*
fāst fūd	fast food	-	*važbāt sarīʕa*
pristīž	prestigious	-	*razza*

Table 7.1 Popular loanwords among Kuwaiti youth

7.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, both bilinguals attending monolingual schools and bilinguals attending bilingual/multilingual schools share certain code-switching functions such as accommodation and filling linguistic gaps, among others. However, the type and degree of such switches vary. In the case of bilingual school students, language accommodation and reiteration or lexical accommodation were found in both English and Kuwaiti Arabic as single word insertions or a whole utterance. On the other hand, accommodation among bilinguals studying in monolingual schools occurred solely in English and often as second parts of the adjacency pair accommodating the language of the first part of the adjacency pair. These single and short phrase switches resulted from the automaticity of adjacency pairs indicating the speaker's attitude and relationship towards the other participants. Even though the speakers had their own language preferences which opposed the language of the previous turn, they adhered to the rights, obligations and expectations of the previous speaker to show closeness and solidarity as opposed to distance. The use of conversational analysis in

analysing these instances of code-switching answered the questions of how and why these code-switched took place.

Among bilinguals attending monolingual schools, English insertions were used to fill in linguistic gaps caused by momentary lack of memory and time pressure. These insertions prevented pauses as silence might be interpreted by the other participants as a turn transition point where the previous turn has been completed and the floor is open. Code-switching to English enabled the speaker to hold the floor and keep a smooth flow of the talk at the same time.

In addition to that, many single English insertions that were produced by bilinguals in the monolingual schools were closer to borrowing than code-switching in the code-switching-borrowing continuum. These single insertions were consistent, regular, acceptable, integrated, and common among both monolingual and bilingual young Kuwaitis. They were mostly nouns and adjectives, some phonologically integrated, some were exclusive to certain contexts and some did not have a Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent. They belonged to various contexts such as technology, fashion, food, and social media.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

The purpose behind this study is to provide an analysis of the code-switching behaviour of young Kuwaitis. Not only are there very few English publications on Kuwaiti Arabic, but there is also a clear neglect in current scholarship of the present state of Kuwaiti Arabic. Most publications emphasise the old Kuwaiti dialect and how it changed through time by focusing on word etymology. These researchers compare their Kuwaiti dialect with the dialect of the older generations (their grandparents). However, only a few seem to focus on changes that are now taking place with regard to the dialect of the new generations. Moreover, there is still a lack of publications on English-Arabic code-switching in Kuwait, especially among teenagers and adults.

Therefore, this study focuses on investigating the language contact phenomenon of English-Arabic code-switching among Kuwaiti youth. In Kuwait, the phenomenon of code-switching is distinctive and different from other studies in the literature; because the Kuwaiti speech community is neither an immigrant community in an English speaking country, nor was affected by colonisation of an English speaking country. Therefore, code-switching in Kuwait is motivated by other reasons such as prestige and globalisation. In other words, the code-switching behaviour of Kuwaitis is resulted from the people's interest in the language and the identity it carries led by the prosperity and economic strength of the country. In general, this is an attempt to address the questions of how similar and different is the code-switching style of Kuwaiti young bilinguals from the code-switching styles of other bilinguals in different cultural and sociolinguistic settings. In particular, this is an attempt to discover how and why bilingual school students in Kuwait code-switch in the way they do, which seems different from the code-switching behaviour of Kuwaiti bilinguals attending

monolingual schools. It also attempts to prove that conversational code-switching is meaningful and functional. The reason behind code-switching is not only competence-related but also interactionally functional as well. Here, the main focus is on analysis of those instances of code-switching that are not only triggered by situational factors, but also by a pragmatic function contributing to the intended interpetation. Moreover, the importance of code-switching towards achieving a successful and meaningful communication is also highlighted. Code-switching is not a faulty or gap in communication; on the contrary, it is a strategy used by bilinguals to enhance communication. And as such, code-switching is a strategy that monolinguals are not able to use, but helps bilinguals to express their thoughts and feelings as accurately as possible.

This chapter summarises this entire study by collating the key points of each chapter. It sums up each chapter's literature review, questions or issues addressed, and the main outcome or findings. Then, recommendations for further studies are also made. These recommendations would benefit future studies in both code-switching and Kuwaiti Arabic, not to mention the relation between the two.

8.1. Summary

In this section, an overview of each chapter will be presented. Chapter one starts with the aim of the study. As mentioned earlier, it has been observed that the use of Kuwaiti dialect is changing among the youth in general and among bilingual school students in particular. Bilingual school students code-switch in different ways and more frequently than bilinguals attending monolingual schools. This has conjured up the question of how and why they code-switch. Answering this question may offer a visualisation of the future state of the Kuwaiti Arabic dialect. Due to gloabalisation, the use of English has become very common among young Kuwaitis. This has led to a change in the status of English from being a foreign

language to becoming Kuwait's second language. On the other hand, English has become the native language of many bilinguals who are using English at home, at school and in public..

The second section of chapter one describes the geography and demographics of Kuwait in terms of the population, religion, language and literacy, and school system. Kuwait is situated in the Arabian Peninsula overlooking the Persian Gulf. The capital of Kuwait is Kuwait City which is also one of the six governorates of Kuwait. Around a third of the population in Kuwait are Kuwaiti nationals, whereas the rest of the population are residents who have emigrated from different countries. Kuwaitis descend from four main origins: Saudi, Iraqi, Iranian and Bahraini. The main religion is Islam and the main language spoken is Arabic. English is spoken among non-Arabs in addition to other languages. English is taught as a foreign language in monolingual schools and as a second language in bilingual schools. The following section discusses the problem to be addressed in this study. The problem is manifested in the different levels of English usage among Kuwaitis. Kuwaiti society consists of monolinguals and bilinguals, of whom some are balanced bilinguals while others are receptive bilinguals only.

The next section of chapter one explains the difference between the language contact phenomena of code-switching and borrowing, supported by the criteria of borrowings and the code-switching-borrowing continuum. Then, the different types and processes of code-switching are described following Myers-Scotton (1993), Muysken (2000), Gumperz and Blom (1972), Li Wei (1994), and others. This section is followed by a closer look at the factors or reasons behind code-switching, based on the works of Scotton (1976), Heller (1988), Ritchie and Bhatia (2004), and Bullock and Toribio (2009). The final section of this chapter provides an overview.

Chapter two starts by clarifying the research questions. The questions being addressed revolve around how and why bilingual school students code-switch and how different it is from the code-switching of bilinguals in monolingual schools. Section two offers a description of the fieldwork study and data collection including the aim of the fieldwork, setting, and methodology. The aim of the fieldwork is to collect naturally occurring data representing young bilingual Kuwaitis' speech, and to analyse their code-switching instances. The study involved three Kuwaiti secondary/high schools. One school is monolingual, another is bilingual (Arabic-English), and the third is multilingual (Arabic- English-German). As mentioned earlier, in the monolingual school, English is taught as a foreign language, while in the bilingual and multilingual schools, English is taught as a second language.

Questionnaires, audio-recorded interviews, observation and note-taking were all methods used to collect data. Student information questionnaires were distributed to students randomly. This questionnaire enabled us to choose the most suitable sample for the audio-recorded interviews. The sample must be Kuwaiti female students, aged between 17 and 18, have Kuwaiti parents, and have not studied or lived in an English-speaking country for more than one year. All these conditions are necessary in order for the data to be representative and accurate. These conditions also provide us with English data that has not been affected by extra-linguistic factors.

The audio-recorded interviews took place at school during school breaks. A group of two or three students were interviewed for fifteen to twenty minutes. The questions of the interview were general questions about their studies, college plans, hobbies and current issues that interest them and youth in general. Before each interview, the researcher assured the students of the freedom of language choice. They could speak in Arabic, English or switch between the two. It was also made clear that the conversation is casual and no one else would hear it except the researcher herself. They were also given the chance to choose the student(s)

they want to converse with during the interview. This will allow the student to feel more comfortable and relaxed, and thus more likely to provide naturally occurring data. Both students and parents were asked about their perception of the English language and its usage at home and at school. The code-switching behaviour among the students were observed and noted during the interviews and even when they were not being interviewed.

In section 2.3 of chapter 2, a literature review of the code-switching analytical frameworks is provided. It starts with Carol Myers-Scotton's views on code-switching, such as her markedness model, followed by Peter Auer and Li Wei's conversational analytic approach. Conversational analysis is based on sequentiality and participant-oriented interpretations. Therefore, instances of code-switching must not be interpreted in isolation, because the turn(s) that precede and follow a code-switch determine its interpretation. Also, local interpretation is necessary when analyisng conversational code-switching. The conversation itself and its participants determine the function or motivation behind the code-switch and not the analyst. A code-switch is a contextualisation cue (Gumperz 1996) or verbal sign that guides the conversationalists on how to interpret the messages. The final section of this chapter describes the situational functions and discourse-related functions found in our data such as repair, quotation, filling linguistics gaps, side-remarks, etc.

Chapter three is the first chapter discussing the functions behind code-switching based on our corpus. It starts with a definition of contrast and how it is used in our study. Then, contrast is divided into two categories: participant-related contrast and discourse-related contrast. A participant-related contrast is either distance or preference-related. It is distance-related when the speaker code-switches to a language other than the language used by the other participants to distance herself from them. It is preference-related when the participant refuses to speak in the language of conversation because she prefers her language of choice

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over theirs. In these cases, a contrast between two languages is caused by different speakers for participant-related reasons in which discourse does not play a role. On the other hand, discourse-related contrast is code-switching to a language other than the language of conversation to contrast with the content of the previous utterance. The contrast in languages is caused by a contrast in ideas, leading to disagreement, dislike, disapproval and negation of the previous content. The next section then reviews the instances of code-switching in our data, which had contrastive functions, both participant-related and discourse-related. The participant-related contrast in our data demonstrated a contrastive case of formality vs. informality and seriousness vs. relaxation. On the other hand, the discourse-related functions of code-switching in our data were indicative of dislike, disagreement, and dispreference.

Chapter four starts with a definition of Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualisation cue. According to Gumperz, code-switching signals an interactional and functional activity. The interpretation of instances of code-switching depends on the conversation taking place and the participants themselves. Afterwards, Chen's differentiation between contextualisation cue and textualisation cue is clarified, followed by our definition of expressive code-switching. Expressive code-switching is used either to express emotions or opinions. A speaker code-switches from one language to another to indicate that the utterance is a personal statement that resulted from personal thought or experience. This type of code-switching creates a boundary between fact-based utterances and opinion or emotion-based utterances.

Furthermore, the literature regarding emotional language choice was reviewed. There is a lack of publications on the effect of emotions on language choices. Researchers such as Bender and Mahl (1960), Herman (1961), Brook (1963), Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a, 1998b, 1999) and Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b, 2008) all agree that a change in the emotional state of the bilingual speaker may lead to a change in the language choice. Gumperz (1997) recognises

that the contrast between languages i.e. code-switching, guides the participants to distinguish opinion from knowledge or facts. Some speakers find that a certain language is psychologically easier for conveying emotions (Chen 1997). There types of emotions also decide the choice of language. For example, some speakers use their second language to express negative emotions such as swearing, while their native language is only used to express emotions of love and care. The use of a second language to express negative emotions distances the speaker from these emotions and lessens their expressive effect. In many speech communities, the use of a second language's swear-word or taboo-word is considered less rude than the use of its equivalent in the native tongue.

The last section discusses the instances of expressive code-switches in our data. These examples illustrate how bilinguals can code-switch between Kuwaiti Arabic continuously, simultaneously, and smoothly without the need to pause and think.

In Chapter five, two functions of code-switching were discussed: floor holding and filling linguistic gaps. The first section illustrates the use of discourse markers such as floor holding tools. Discourse markers are defined according to their linguistic function rather than their lexical meaning. According to Schiffrin (1987), Maschler (1997) and De Rooji (2000), they are independent units that create conversational boundaries between units of talk, and their function is to create and strengthen cohesion, coherence and inference. Then, a classification of discourse markers according to Maschler (1994, 1997, 2000), who worked on bilingual discourse markers, is presented. She classifies them as interpersonal, textual (referential and structural), and cognitive realms. The interpersonal discourse markers negotiate the relationship between the conversationalists by either distancing from it or moving closer to it. Textual discourse markers are those insertions that organise the structure of an utterance and keep it coherent. Finally, cognitive discourse markers are fillers that provide information about the cognitive state of a person. They are used to hold the floor

when the speaker is experiencing a momentary lack of memory or the need to add or edit information.

In the following section, the characteristics of discourse markers are reviewed briefly, followed by a discussion of switched discourse markers in terms of Kuwaiti Arabic. Most instances of code-switched discourse markers consist of Kuwaiti Arabic discourse markers being inserted in English speeches. This might be taken to mean that Kuwaiti Arabic is more pragmatic than English and therefore can perform better in creating a conversational effect between clauses or turns, because it creates a contrast between discourse and the metalanguage frame (Maschler 1997a, De Rooji 2000). Then, one of the most common and recurring Arabic discourse markers is discussed in detail. *yaʕni* 'it means' is an Arabic discourse marker that must be interpreted according to the context and participants rather than literally. The lexical meaning of *yaʕni* is 'I mean', however, it may carry different meanings according to the purpose of usage. *yaʕni* is a functional insertion that connects utterances in order to hold the floor until the needed information is retrieved from memory. If *yaʕni* is not used, then it will be replaced by silence. A pause during conversation allows other speakers to take the floor which will deprive the speaker of completing his/her turn. In the next section, a table by Owen and Rockwood (2008) illustrates the functions of Gulf Arabic *yaʕni* according to the speech act levels. Next, other Kuwaiti Arabic discourse markers are also analysed such as *fa* 'so', *li'nna* 'because' and *bas* 'but'.

The next section deals with the second function of code-switching in this chapter, which is filling linguistic gaps. There are three main reasons of using a single-word code-switch to fill linguistic gaps in our corpus. The first concerns the unavailability of a synonym in the language of conversation. This is caused by the lack of an equivalent to some cultural-related and religious terminologies. If these terminologies are translated literally, they would convey a different interpretation and can lead to a failure in communication. The second

reason is failure to retrieve the suitable lexical item in the language of conversation, causing the speaker to code-switch and utter the lexical item in his/her second language. This is similar to the case where the speaker inserts a discourse marker to avoid turn-taking. If the speaker pauses, then another participant in the conversation may interpret it as a turn transitional point and thus takes the floor. This leaves the previous speaker's utterance unfinished. The final reason is incompetence in the language of conversation. A speaker inserts lexical items from another language simply because s/he does not know the synonym of that word or phrase in the language of conversation.

In chapter six, the two functions of accommodation and repair are explained. It starts with a short literature review of accommodation theory according to the works of Giles and Smith (1979), Beebe and Giles (1984), and Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991), etc. Accommodation is changing one's behaviour to match the behavior of the other members of the group. In the following section, the communicative accommodation theory is reviewed including the notions of social identity, convergence and divergence. Having the same language choice as the language choice of the other participants even if it conflicts with the speaker's language preference is a case of convergence. Convergence strengthens the relationship between the speakers. On the other hand, convergence is the use of a language other than the language of conversation and insisting on not changing it. Convergence either indicates distance which weakens the relationship between the speakers or indicates boundaries that should not be crossed.

Then the function of repair, caused by code-switching, is illustrated. A speaker may code-switch to another language to repair the mistake uttered by the speaker him/herself or by another. Afterwards, the process of reiteration of accommodation and repair is discussed. Reiteration is the repetition of a lexical item, phrase or whole utterance in another language. It is either repeating one's own utterance or another speaker's utterance in a language other

than the language of conversation. Then, the instances of code-switching in our data, e.g. functioning as accommodation and repair, are analysed. Two types of accommodation were observed. One is language accommodation where the speaker switches to the language of the previous utterance. This type of accommodation is a repair strategy used to converge with the conversationalists. The second is a word or phrase accommodation. In the latter case, the speaker only accommodates by repeating a single word or phrase used by another speaker in the previous utterance. As mentioned earlier, repair is either by accommodating the language of conversation through switching or by correcting the content of the previous utterance. The chapter concludes with an analysis of instances of reiteration functioning as accommodation, repair, as well as other functions.

Chapter seven focuses on code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual students who attend monolingual schools. English proficiency among monolingual school students varies from poor to fluent. Some students are receptive bilinguals who find it difficult to produce complex English utterances. They are only able to produce simple beginner's English sentences; therefore, they only use English when necessary. However, there were instances of single-word insertions produced by these receptive bilinguals that were not loanwords. Moreover, all students interviewed used Kuwaiti Arabic as the language choice of conversation without exception.

Two main functions were observed behind code-switching among bilingual students in monolingual schools. The first is accommodation and the other is filling linguistic gaps. Both types of accommodation were demonstrated among these students, although language accommodation occurred only once and the rest of the cases were single word or phrase accommodation. The students reiterated the English concepts or phrases used by the researcher in their Kuwaiti Arabic speech. This type of accommodation was used to indicate

agreement and approval of the topic being discussed. Not only does it strengthen the relationship between the interlocutors but it also strengthens coherence.

The second function of code-switching found in the speech of bilingual students in a monolinguals school is filling linguistic gaps. Most of the single-word insertions that were used to fill linguistic gaps share three main criteria with loanwords. They are frequent, acceptable, and replace their native language synonym or do not have an Arabic synonym. However, their frequency and acceptability are found solely among young Kuwaitis. Thus, they will be treated as closer to being loanwords than being code-switches in the code-switching-borrowing continuum. On the other hand, there are frequent and acceptable single English insertions that do not replace their Kuwaiti Arabic equivalents, and the Kuwaiti youth use both interchangeably. Analysis of both types of accommodation is provided followed by an explanation of the code-switching-borrowing continuum. A list of frequent and acceptable English insertions found among Kuwaiti youths is provided; these are in the process of becoming loanwords.

8.2 Findings

The main finding of the thesis is that the distinctive sociolinguistic setting of the Kuwaiti speech community contributed to the various mechanisms and functions of code-switching. Some of those mechanisms and functions of code-switching mapped to those in other speech communities found in the literature and/or observed; whereas others were unique to the Kuwaiti speech community. For example, Kuwaiti bilingual school students use cognitive discourse markers excessively and simultaneously in order to hold the floor and give the speaker more time to search for the appropriate answer. Another example of distinctive code-switching style is that code-switching among bilingual school students was used as a contextualisation cue highlighting feelings, emotions and opinions rather than

associating each language with certain feelings and emotions. Thus, code-switching has the ability to separate two verbal activities expressing two different cognitive and emotional states of the speaker and metaphorically contrast two cultures. Therefore, in communities where immigration and colonisation are not the factors behind code-switching, unique code-switching styles may arise resulted from distinctive sociolinguistic and cultural settings.

An important finding of this study is that code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual students is meaningful and purposeful and not random or caused caused by lack of knowledge or external factors such as prestige. Code-switching was used as a tool to contextualise different pragmatic functions in order to enhance the interaction and highlight the intended meaning. By using conversational analysis, we were able to identify these pragmatic functions, because it is a participant-oriented approach based on sequentiality and recurrent patterns. What preceded a code-switch, what followed it, and how it was interpreted by the participants were essential towards analysing the motivations behind code-switching. Analysing any instance of code-switching by separating it from the rest of the conversation would lead to an analyst-oriented interpretation which may not account for the intended meaning.

Another finding of this study is that the code-switching behaviour of bilingual school students in bilingual/multilingual schools differs from that of bilingual students attending monolingual schools - in three aspects. First, the language of conversation among bilingual school students ranged from English and Arabic to continuous code-switching between the two. On the other hand, bilingual school students in monolingual schools all preferred using Arabic as the language of conversation. Second, code-switches among bilingual school students were both insertional and alternational. On the other hand, code-switching among bilinguals in the monolingual school was solely in the form of insertions. Finally, the motivations behind code-switching among bilinguals studying in the monolingual school,

such as accommodation, filling linguistic gaps and repair, were also the same motivations behind code-switching among bilingual school students. Although the code-switching behaviour of the bilinguals in bilingual schools differs from that of bilinguals in monolingual schools, they shared at least some of the same motivations behind code-switching.

Another important finding is that code-switching among bilingual school students signals various functions that are both participant-related and discourse-related. The contrast of languages highlighted a contrast in verbal activities by creating a boundary between the two verbal actions. In our corpus, code-switching not only created a contrast between two verbal activities but also contextualised a contrast in meaning. In other words, code-switching was used to indicate dispreference, dislike, disagreement, refusal, rejection or negation of the content of the previous language or dispreference of the language choice of the previous utterance. Furthermore, another finding suggested that code-switching can be used to highlight objectivity and subjectivity. In other words, the contrast in the language of choice sets a boundary between objective statements and subjective statements expressing emotions, opinion, involvement and attitudes towards a certain topic. Many researchers associate certain languages with certain feelings, but in our study it was found that the act of code-switching itself contextualises feelings and not the language. This means that in a conversation where the language of speech is Arabic, the speaker may switch to English to express his/her emotions or opinion, but if the language of conversation is English then s/he then may switch to Arabic to express emotions or opinion. The case of negative expressions such as complaints, swear words and impolite expressions is an exception. Bilingual school students expressed in English their complaint and other negative expressions which would have been considered inappropriate if expressed in Arabic, their native language. Therefore, English was being used here to distance the speaker from unwanted connotations and to lessen their negative effect.

Moreover, switched discourse markers in our data were used to contextualise floor holding caused by a momentary loss of memory. Switched discourse markers can be used as a strategy instead of silence to prevent other speakers from taking the floor, because silence might be interpreted as a turn transitional point. Therefore, discourse markers provide more time for the speaker to recall the appropriate word or phrase needed to complete his/her turn. Code-switches that fill linguistic gaps caused by a lack of equivalents in the language of conversation, lack of memory or language deficiency all contribute to the organisation, smoothness and cohesion of speech. As mentioned earlier, they prevent any interruptions or turn-taking and indicate that the speaker is willing to provide more information because s/he has not finished his/her turn.

In addition, we also found that code-switching can express the relationship between speakers such as closeness and distance. The speaker's language choice can be affected by the relationship between the speakers. In other words, accommodating the language of speech may indicate closeness; whereas contrasting the language choices may indicate distance. Code-switching here is used as a strategy that manifests convergence and divergence. If the speaker chooses a language of speech that is different from the language of conversation without the intention of showing distance, then s/he may code-switch to repair the language choice. In our data, code-switching was also used as a repair strategy to correct not only the choice of language but also to signal correction of the content of utterance. Many of these functions are interchangeable as one code-switch can have various functions. Language accommodation leads to a smooth flow of conversation because the participants are adhering to the rights, obligations and expectations of each other.

8.3 Evaluation of the analytical approach

As mentioned in chapter 2, conversational analysis aims at examining everyday interactions by analysing the order and organisation of speech to answer the questions of how and why a certain utterance, such as a code-switch, is produced (Schegloff 1980, Psathas 1995). Conversational analysis is convenient in interpreting turn by turn daily interactions because it is based on the detailed analysis of transcription of audio recordings which makes the analysis data-driven rather than based on theoretical preconceptions (Wooffitt 2005). According to Schegloff (1980, 1996) and Li Wei (2005), conversational analysis does not attempt at analysing the intentions or hidden motives of the speakers but rather the participant's own interpretation of the utterance. Therefore, being a participant in the conversation would enable the researcher to provide authentic analysis to why a code-switch occurred and what function it played in the conversation.

Sequentiality, participant-oriented interpretation and contextualisation cues are three of the most important features of conversational analysis that would enable the researcher to analyse the motivations or functions behind code-switching (see section 2.3.1.2). In the literature; however, there is a lack in the guidance of how to achieve participant-oriented analysis rather than analyst-oriented analysis. Wetherell writes: "Conversation analysis alone does not offer an adequate answer to its own classic question about some piece of discourse—why this utterance here?" (1998:388). Thus, one of the important findings of this thesis is that it is crucial for the analyst to be a participant in the conversations s/he is attempting at analysing. In this case, the participant's interpretation and the analyst's would be mutual. In other words, if the analyst is participating in the conversation, then s/he will be able to recognise the local interpretation of code-switching. The analyst's interpretation and reaction towards a code-switch produced by one of the participants during the conversation would be an authentic participant-oriented interpretation of the code-switch since s/he is a

participant as well. Have (1990) explained that the major proof of correct analysis can be achieved by investigaring the subsequent utterance and sequence as it refers to the participants' understanding. On the other hand, if the analyst is not a participant in the conversation, then his/her interpretation would be subject to guessing the functions behind code-switching. As Heath (2004) states, in order to apply CA, basic understanding of the participants, setting and language is required. Extra-linguistic factors may have an effect on the production of speech; therefore, background information about the participants, the effect of the setting on the formality of the speech and understanding the language spoken are crucial. In case these factors are not known then an additional approach is recommended to be to support the conversational analysis. See Atkinson (2005) for more information on how to use an additional approach that supports CA.

It may seem for the readers who are not familiar with conversational analysis that the interpretation are haphazard and lacking proof. Paul Ten Have (1990:23) explains:

> "Most practitioners of CA tend to refrain, in their research reports, from extensive theoretical and methodological discussion. CA papers tend to be exclusively devoted to an empirically based discussion of specific analytic issues. This may contribute to the confusion of readers who are not familiar with this particular research style. They will use their habitual expectations, derived from established social-scientific practice, as a frames of reference in understanding this unusual species of scientific work. But a CA report will not generally have an a priori discussion of the literature to formulate hypotheses, hardly any details about research situations or subjects researched, no descriptions of sampling techniques or coding procedures, no testing and no statistics. Instead, the reader is confronted with a detailed discussion of transcriptions of recordings of (mostly verbal) interaction in terms of the 'devices' used by its participants".

An interpretation or a conversational function can be proved by its reccurrency, transparency and re-applicability. In other words, if the same code-switching style is being repeated by other students in other conversations several times, then this interpretation can be generalised as a conversational behaviour among this group of students. For example, if a switched discourse marker is used by different students in different conversations but with

the same conversational organisation and within the same setting to function as a floor holding device, then this is a proof that the use of this discourse marker prevents other speakers from taking the floor. The use of sequentiality will support this analysis as it detects the participants' reaction towards the use of the switched discourse marker and whether or not the floor has been taken or not.

The conversational analytic approach enables analysts to discover the motivations behind conversational code-switching by focusing on sequentiality, participant-oriented interpretation and analysing code-switches as contextualisation cues. However, insufficient explicit explanation of how each of these features should be applied, leads to difficulties in achieving authentic local interpretation based on the participant's analysis rather than the analyst's. Therefore, more guidance for analysts should be provided on how to apply each of the conversational analysis features/principles.

8.4 Recommendations for further study

This chapter will conclude by recommending further studies on the subject of English-Arabic code-switching among Kuwaitis. This study would benefit immensely from further studies on male bilingual school students to compare their instances of code-switching to the female bilingual school students in our study, not to mention the motivations behind them.

Also, this study would benefit from an analysis of the instances of code-switching at home, with family and friends, and compare them to the school setting as used in our study.

Besides, a diachronic study on English usage among bilingual school students whose parents are bilingual school alumni will also be beneficial. From observations, this sector of society speaks English at school, home and among friends, causing their Arabic to deteriorate

somehow. In the future, this phenomenon may lead to Arabic language attrition among a large number of speakers in Kuwait.

In addition to that, more studies on the code-switching mechanisms of speech communities with similar cultural and sociolinguistic setting as the Kuwaiti speech community is needed in order to discover the similarities and differences between the code-switching functions of two speech communities with a unified sociolinguistic setting.

Finally, there is still a lack of English academic publications documenting the history of Kuwaiti Arabic and its development. It would be very useful to have a publication which includes the etymological, phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical history of Kuwaiti Arabic and its development through the years.

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Appendix I: Lexical items of Kuwaiti Arabic collected from the questionnaire based on Behnstedt and Woidich's Word Atlas of Arabic Dialects / *Wortlas der Arabischen Dialekte* **(2011)**

Category 1: Man & person

Person	*wāḥid*
Man	*rayyāl*
Woman	*mara*
Boy	*ṣbai*
Girl	*bnayyah*
Father	*ubu*
Mother	*um*
Brother	*uxu*
Sister	*əxit*
Grandmother	*yadda*
Grandfather	*yad*
Child	*yāhil*
Baby	*yāhil*
Family	*ʕāyla*
Tribe	*qabīla*
Husband	*rayyil*
Wife	*zōža*
Friend	*rfīž*

Single	ʕizzabi

Category 2: Professions

President	raˈīs
Member	ʕəḍu
Trader	tāžir
Doctor	ṭabīb
Poet	šāʕir
King	malik
Officer	ḍābiṭ

Category 3: Body parts

Head	rās
Face	wayh
Eye	ʕēn
Ear	aḏūn
Bone	ʕḍām
Guts	məṣārīn
Body	žəsim
Mouth	ḥalž
Hand	īd
Arm	zand
Chest	ṣadər
Back	ḍahar

Belly	karša
Leg	sāg
Foot	rīl
Heart	galb
Skin	yild
Blood	dam
Tail	ðēl
Tongue	lsān
Tooth	ðirs
Fingernail	ð̣əfir

Category 4: Qualities & defects

Fat	mətīn
Thin	ðʕīf
Wide	wsīʕ
Thick	smīk
Far	bʕīd
Expensive	ġāli
Heavy	θəgīl
New	yədīd
True	ṣiž
Light	xafīf
Smooth	nāʕim
Good	zēn

Bad	*mu zēn*
Poor	*faqīr*
Tired	*taʕbān*
Dry	*nāšif*
Wet	*raṭib*
Special	*xāṣ*
Cold	*bārid*
Beautiful	*ḥəlu*
High	*ʕāli*
Forbidden	*mamnūʕ*
Pregnant	*ḥāmil*
Clean	*nðīf*
Necessary	*ðarūri*
Strong	*qawi*
Better	*aḥsan*
Worse	*aswa'*
Hot	*ḥār*
Cheap	*rxīṣ*
Sad	*zaʕlān*
Short	*gṣīr*
Small	*zġīr*
Clear	*wāðiḥ*
Narrow	*ðayyiž*
Weak	*ðʕīf*

Sick	*marīð̣*
Closed	*msakkar*
Angry	*mʕaṣṣib*
Easy	*sahil*
Middle	*wisṭ*
tall/long	*ṭuwīl*
Great	*kbīr*
Thirsty	*ʕaṭšān*
Old	*qadīm*

Category 5: Animal

Wolf	*ð̣īb*
Donkey	*ḥmār*
Fish	*sməča*
Cow	*bgara*
Fox	*θaʕlab*
Bull	*θōr*
Camel	*žamal*
Animal	*ḥaywān*
Worm	*dūda*
Bird	*ṭēr*
Goat	*ṣxala*
Cat	*gaṭwa*
Dog	*čalb*

Deer	*ġazāla*
Cattle	*buḡar*
Pigeon	*ḥamāma*
Rabbit	*arnab*
Sheep	*xarūf*
Mosquito	*bāʕūḏ̣*
Cockroach	*zhēwi*

Category 6: Nature & food

Water	*māy*
Fire	*nār*
Stars	*nžūm*
palm trees	*naxal*
River	*nahar*
Wood	*xašab*
Inlet	*xalīž*
Sea	*baḥar*
Tree	*šyara*
Mountain	*žabal*
Land	*arḏ̣*
Dust	*ġbār*
Seeds	*buðūr*
Bark	*gəšir*
Moon	*gumar*

Well	*bīr*
Sand	*ramul*
Rain	*muṭar*
Air	*hawa*
Wheat	*qamḥ*
Root	*žəðir*
Flower	*warda*
Sun	*šams*
Sky	*səma*
Winter	*šəta*
Rock	*ṣxara*
Fog	*ḍabāb*
Smoke	*dəxxān*
Beach	*baḥar*
Forest	*ġābah*
Cloud	*ġēma*
Summer	*ṣēf*
Spring	*rəbīʕ*
Autumn	*xarīf*
crescent moon	*hlāl*
Milk	*ḥalīb*
Egg	*bēḍa*
Dates	*tamər*
Cheese	*žəbin*

Meat	*laḥam*
Bread	*xubuz*
Oil	*zēt*
Olives	*zaytūn*
Honey	*ʕasal*
Rice	*ʕēš*
Cream	*gēmar*
Breakfast	*rəyūg*
Salt	*milḥ*
Pepper	*filfil*
Flour	*ṭḥīn*
Frankincense	*ʕilč*
Silver	*fəḍḍa*
Land	*arḍ*
Shadow	*ḍil*
Gold	*ðahab*
Boiled	*mafyūḥ*
Fried	*magli*
Roasted	*mašwi*

Category 7: Places

Market	*sūg*
Countryside	*rīf*
Room	*ġurfa*

Street	*šāriʕ*
Restaurant	*maṭʕam*
Village	*qarya*
Prison	*səžin*
House	*bēt*
Grave	*gabər*
Mosque	*masyad*
School	*madrəsa*
City	*madīna*
Town	*madīna*
Road	*ṭərīž*
Port	*mīna*

Category 8: Objects

Chair	*kirsi*
Bracelet	*swār*
Net	*šabak*
Thing	*šai*
Boat	*markab*
Money	*flūs*
Cover	*ġaṭa*
Necklace	*ʕaqd*
Car	*sayyāra*
Airplane	*ṭayyāra*

Perfume	*ʕəṭər*
Pocket	*muxba*
Paper	*wrəga*
Gift	*hadiyya*
Bath	*bānyu*
Clothes	*hdūm*
Widow	*dərīša*
Door	*bāb*
Book	*kitāb*
Incense	*buxūr*
Ring	*xātam*
Plough	*məḥrāθ*

Category 9: Colours

Black	*aswad*
White	*abyaḍ̣*
Red	*aḥmar*
Green	*axḍ̣ar*
Blue	*azrag*
Yellow	*aṣfar*
Brown	*bunni*
Orange	*burtaqāli*
Purple	*banafsəži*
Grey	*rumādi*

Category 10: Verbs

Write	*y-aktib*
Wrote	*kitab*
Drink	*y-išrab*
Drank	*šarab*
find / Arrive	*y-ilga / yōṣal*
found / Arrived	*liga / wəṣal*
speaks / says	*y-itkallam / ygūl*
spoke / said	*təkallam / gāl*
Call	*y-dig*
Called	*dag*
is awake	*ṣāḥi*
was awake	*kān ṣāḥi*
Meet	*y-qābil*
Stay	*yḍil*
Met	*qābal*
Stayed	*ḍal*
See	*y-šūf*
Saw	*šāf*
Fear	*y-xāf*
Feared	*xāf*
Sell	*y-bīʕ*
Sold	*bāʕ*
Throw	*y-aḥðif*

Threw	ḥəðaf
Take	y-āxið
Took	xaða
Ask	y-is'al
Asked	sa'al
Come	e-yiy
Came	ya
Doubt	y-šik
Doubted	šakil
Begin	y-ibda
Began	bida
Tells	y-gūl
Told	gāl
Teaches	y-darris
Taught	darras
Travels	y-sāfir
Travelled	sāfar
informs / thank	y-ʕallim / y-aškir
informed / thanked	ʕallam / šakar
speaks / talks	y-gūl /y-itḥačča
spoke / talked	gāl / taḥačča
Exchange	y-baddil
Exchanged	baddal
Leave	y-hid

Left	*had*
waits / buy	*y-anṭir / y-išteri*
waited / bought	*nəṭar / šara*
Blushes	*y-istəḥi*
Blushed	*staḥa*
uses / hire	*y-istaʕmil / y'ažžir*
used / hired	*staʕmal - ažžar*
give	*y-aʕṭi*
Demand	*/ y-aṭləb*
Cut	*y-giṣ*
Preserve	*y-xiš*
Add	*y-zīd*
Believe	*y-ṣaddig*
Think	*y-fakkir*
Swallow	*y-iblaʕ*
Change	*y-ġayyir*
Want	*y-abi*
blow	*y-infax*
Dig	*y-aḥfir*
Close	*y-sakkir*
Understand	*y-ifham*
Open	*y-iftaḥ*
Hide	*yxiṣ*
Stand	*y-ōgaf*

Stay	*y-ibga*
Decide	*y-qarrir*
Lie	*y- čaððib*
eat	*y-ākil*
Cry	*y-abči*
Be	*y-kūn*
Desire	*y-ištəhi*
Love	*y-ḥib*
Kill	*y-iðbaḥ*
Follow	*y-ilḥag*
Marry	*y-itzawwaž*
go out	*y-iṭlaʕ*
Harvest	*y-aḥṣid*
plough	*y-aḥriθ*
Cook	*y-iṭbax*
Pay	*y-idfaʕ*
Turn	*y-lif*
Study	*y-adris*
Bring	*ey-yīb*
Sit	*y-igʕad*
Play	*y-ilʕab*
Move	*y-itḥarrak*
Listen	*y-ismaʕ*
die	*y-mūt*

Carry	*y-šīl*
Forget	*y-insa*
Sleep	*y-nām*
go down	*y-anzil*
Flee	*y-inḫāš*
Emigrate	*y-hāžir*
Run	*y-arkiḏ*
Build	*y-abni*
Explain	*y-išraḥ*
wake up	*y-gūm*
Name	*y-sammi*
Remember	*y-itðakkar*
Go	*y-rūḥ*
Taste	*y-ḏ̣ūg*
Return	*y-iržaʕ*
Lift	*y-irfaʕ*
Hope	*y-itmanna*
Appear	*y-bayyin*
Sow	*y-izraʕ*
swim	*y-isbaḥ*
Hear	*y-ismaʕ*
Wash	*y-aġsil*
Hold	*y-amsik*
Freeze	*y-θalliž*

Walk	*y-amši*
Smell	*y-šim*
be near	*y-alzig*
Watch	*y-šūf*
Work	*y-ištəġl*
Buy	*y-ištəri*
Pray	*y-ṣalli*
Hit	*y-ṭig*
Laugh	*y-iḍḥak*
Become	*y-ṣīr*
Roam	*y-itmašša*
Arrive	*y-ōṣal*

Appendix II: Student information questionnaire (English version)

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in the following and choose ONE answer:

1. Personal details

Full Name:

Date of Birth:

2. Nationality

2.1. The student's nationality: Kuwaiti - Non-Kuwaiti

2.2. Nationality of father: Kuwaiti - Non-Kuwaiti

2.3. Nationality of mother: Kuwaiti - Non-Kuwaiti

3. Languages

3.1. The student's first language: Arabic - English - Other

3.2. The father's first language: Arabic - English - Other

3.3. The mother's first language: Arabic - English - Other

4. Education:

4.1. When did the student start studying at bilingual school?

At KG - At Primary School - At Intermediate School - At high school

4.2. Did the student study in an English-speaking country at any period of her life?

Yes - No

If your answer was Yes:

4.2.1. Which country was it? ....

4.2.2. How long was it (months/years)? ....

4.2.3. Which stage(s) was it? ....

4.3. Did the student live in an English-speaking country but not receive any education there?

Yes - No

If you answer was Yes:

4.3.1. Which country? ....

4.3.2. For how long did she live there?.........................

4.3.3. How old was the student when she started living there? ....

<div dir="rtl">

استبيان

الرجاء تعبئة الاستبيان واختيار إجابة واحدة فقط عند اسئلة الاختيارات المتعددة

1. معلومات شخصية:

اسم الطالبة الأول:

اسم الأب الأول:

عمر الطالبة:

2- الجنسية:

أ. جنسية الطالبة: كويتية ـ غير كويتية

ب. جنسية الأب: كويتي ـ غير كويتي

ج. جنسية الام: كويتية ـ غير كويتية

3. اللغة:

أ. ماهي اللغة الأولى للطالبة: اللغة العربية ـ اللغة الانجليزية ـ لغة أخرى

ب. ماهي لغة الأب الأولى: اللغة العربية ـ اللغة الانجليزية ـ لغة أخرى

ج. ماهي لغة الأم الأولى: اللغة العربية ـ اللغة الانجليزية ـ لغة أخرى

4. التعليم:

أ. منذ أي مرحلة بدأت الطالبة بالدراسة في مدرسة ثنائية اللغة؟

منذ الحضانة ورياض الأطفال ـ منذ المرحلة الابتدائية ـ منذ المرحلة المتوسطة ـ منذ المرحلة الثانوية

ب. هل قامت الطالبة بالدراسة في دولة لغتها الرسمية الانجليزية بأي فترة من حياتها؟

نعم ـ لا

اذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ففي أي دولة؟ ....

وكم كانت مدة الدراسة؟ ....

</div>

وفي أي مرحلة/مراحل دراسية كانت؟ ....

ج. ها عاشت الطالبة في دولة لغتها الرسمية الانجليزية لكن لم تتلقى أي تعليم هناك؟

نعم - لا

اذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ففي أي دولة؟ ....

كم كانت المدة اللتي قضتها الطالبة في تلك الدولة؟...............................

وكم كان عمر الطالبة عندما بدأت العيش هناك؟ ....

Appendix III: Interview questions

1- How's school after Ramadan?

2- What did you do in Ramadan?

3- Did you participate in events?

4- Did you visit national exhibitions?

6- What do you think of opening restaurants in Ramadan before futoor?

7- What did you do in Eid? Family gatherings, shopping, movies, travel?

8- What do you do in your spare time? Hobbies, sports, watch TV, internet?

9- What movies do you like watching?

10- What type of cuisine do you prefer?

11- What are your future plans? Studying abroad or in Kuwait?

12- What do you think of living alone?

13- What do you think of driving at 16 and not 18?

14- What do you think of working and studying?

15- What do you think of getting married while still studying?

16- What do you think of traditional clothes and makeup?

Appendix IV: Perception and language choice interviews' questions

A. To students:

1. Do you use English at home?

2. Do you speak in English with your peers?

3. Which of the following is the most important reason to learn English and which one is the least? Because it is the language of prestige, because it is the language of education, because it is an easy language, or just to know a second language?

B. To parents:

1. Why did you register your children in a bilingual school? To be fluent in English, or because the curriculum is better than the one in monolingual schools?

2. What is the language spoken at home? Arabic only, English only, more Arabic than English, more English than Arabic?

3. Do you encourage your children to speak English at home?

4. Which of the following is the most important reason to learn English and which one is the least important? Because it is the language of prestige, because it is the language of education, because it is an easy language, or just to know a second language?

Appendix V: Fieldwork permission form (English version)

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I the Principal/Co-Principal .... give the permission to the researcher at the University of Manchester Fatemah Mahsain to carry on fieldwork at our school including audio recordings of students' speech with the students' consent.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Appendix V: Fieldwork permission form (Arabic version)

<div dir="rtl">

لا مانع

أنا مدير/ مساعد مديرمدرسة ....

أعطي موافقتي للباحثة في جامعة مانشستر فاطمة ماحسين على العمل الميداني في المدرسة ومما يتخلله العمل من تسجيل صوتي للطالبات وذلك بناء على موافقتهن.

الاسم:

التوقيع:

التاريخ:

</div>

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Conversation Style

Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study (as part of a PhD student project). Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the research?

Fatemah H Mahsain . A PhD student at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures,The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Title of the Research

Conversation Style among Kuwaiti bilingual school and public school students.

What is the aim of the research?

To identify the conversation styles of this age group of the Kuwaiti speech community.

Why have I been chosen?

23 students from both bilingual schools and public schools are needed for this study to compare the conversation style of students from both types of schools.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

The participant will be interviewed with the other participants of the same school and engage in a conversation with these participants which will all be audio recorded. The questions of the interview would be in general topics.

What happens to the data collected?

The data collected will be analysed by the researcher only and be used in a PhD thesis.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All personal information will be kept anonymous. Pseudonyms will be used in the research. The data will be stored by the researcher and only the researcher and the supervisors will have access to them. After the research is completed all the recordings will be archived at the University of Manchester unless a request is received from a participant for deletion of all

or part of her interviews. This request should be made during recording or up to two weeks afterwards. Only the supervisors will have access to the archived recordings.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to yourself

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

Participants will NOT be paid for participation.

What is the duration of the research?

15 minutes a day for interviews and group conversations for two weeks or more (total of 3 hours)

Where will the research be conducted?

At school during school breaks.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

The outcome will only be used in a PhD Thesis and might be used for a conference paper.

Contact for further information

Fatemah Mahsain
Mobile#: 67778046
email: f.mahsain@yahoo.com

What if something goes wrong?

You can contact the researcher at any time by email:

f.mahsain@yahoo.com

If a participant wants to make a formal complaint about the conduct of the research they should contact the Head of the Research Office, Christie Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL.

Conversation Style

CONSENT FORM

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below

Please Initial Box

1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

3. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded

4. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes

I agree to take part in the above project

Name of participant	Date	Signature

Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature

<div dir="rtl">

أسلوب المحادثة

استمارة معلومات المشاركين

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة (كجزء من مشروع طالب دكتوراة) وقبل أن تقرر اذا ماكنت تود المشاركة أو لا فإنه من المهم أن تكون على دراية بأهداف هذه الدراسة وماذا تتطلب. الرجاء أن تأخذ وقتك في قراءة المعلومات التالية بحرص وتستطيع مناقشتها مع الآخرين إن أردت. يرجى أن تستفسر إذا كان هناك أي شيء غير واضح أو إذا احتجت إلى المزيد من المعلومات. خذ وقتك قبل اتخاذ القرار بالمشاركة أو بعدمها. شكرا لقراءتكم.

1. من سيقوم بالدراسة؟

ستقوم بالدراسة طالبة الدكتوراة الباحثة فاطمة حسن ماحسين من قسم اللغات واللغويات والثقافة في جامعة مانشستر في بريطانيا وعنوانها التالي:

</div>

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures
The University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester
M13 9PL, UK

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2.عنوان البحث:

أسلوب المحادثة لدى الطالبات الكويتيات في المدارس ثنائية اللغة وطالبات المدارس الحكومية

3.الهدف من البحث:

للتعرف على أسلوب المحادثة عند هذه الفئة العمرية

4.لماذا تم اختيارك لهذه الدراسة؟

هذه الدراسة تتطلب 23 طالبة في مرحلة الثانوية من مدارس حكومية و مدارس ثنائية اللغة وذلك للمقارنة بين الفئتين.

5.ماذا سيطلب منك في هذه الدراسة؟

ستقوم الباحثة بسؤال المشتركات أسئلة عامة وتسجيلها صوتيا كما ستسجل الباحثة الحوارات اللتي تتم بين الطالبات في فترة الفرصة وأثناء حصص الاحتياط.

6.ماذا سيحصل للمعلومات اللتي تجمعها الباحثة؟

سوف تقوم الباحثة بتحليل هذه المعلومات وتقديم نتائجها في بحث رسالة الدكتوراة

7.كيف سيتم التعامل مع سرية المعلومات؟

</div>

سوف يتم التعامل مع جميع المعلومات وخاصة الشخصية بسرية تامة حيث أنه لن تستخدم أسماء المشاركات في هذا البحث بل ستبدل الأسماء الحقيقية بأسماء مزيفة. كما أن التسجيلات ستحفظ في مكان مقفل وآمن ولن يستطيع الاطلاع عليهم سوى الباحثة ومشرفي البحث من أساتذة الجامعة. وعند الانتهاء من البحث سوف تحفظ التسجيلات في أرشيف الجامعة ماعدا في حالة طلب المشاركات اتلاف هذه التسجيلات فسوف تحترم رغبتهن.

8.ماذا يحدث إذا غيرت رأي أولا أريد اكمال المشاركة؟

إن لك كامل الحرية للاشتراك بهذه الدراسة أو لا وإذا قررت المشاركة سوف تحتفظ بهذه الاستمارة كما سيطلب منك أن توقع على استمارة لا مانع من المشاركة. في حال أنك قررت المشاركة فإنه لك الحرية الكاملة بأن تنسحب بأي وقت دون الحاجة لتقديم أي سبب للانسحاب ودون أي ضرر لك.

9.هل سيتم اعطاء مقابل مادي للمشاركة؟

لن يعطى أي مقابل مادي للمشاركة

10.ماهي المدة الزمنية للدراسة؟

سوف يتم تسجيل المحادثات والحوارات لمدة 15 دقيقة يوميا أو أكثر لكل مشارك خلال أسبوعين أو أكثر بمجموع 3 ساعات لكل مشتركة. أما من سيطلب منهن التسجيل في المنزل فسوف يطلب منهن تسجيل 30 دقيقة يوميا من المحادثات مع الأهل لمدة أسبوع.

11. أين ستقام الدراسة (التسجيلات)؟

ستقام الدراسة في المدرسة أثناء الفرصة وأثناء حصص الاحتياط

12. هل ستنشر نتائج هذه الدراسة؟

ستكون النتائج جزءا من رسالة الدكتوراة

13. للمزيد من المعلومات اتصل أو أرسل رسالة قصيرة إلى:

فاطمة حسن ماحسين

موبايل: 67778046

البريد الالكتروني: f.mahsain@yahoo.com

14. ماذا لوحدث أي خطأ؟

اذا واجهت أي مشكلة اتصل بالباحثة على البريد الالكتروني المدون في الأعلى.

إذا أرادت إحدى المشتركات تقديم شكوى عن طريقة القيام بالدراسة فالرجاء الاتصال برئيسة قسم الأبحاث في جامعة مانشستر على العنوان التالي:

Head of the Research Office, Christie Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL, UK

The University
of Manchester

MANCHESTER
1824

<div dir="rtl">

أسلوب المحادثة

استمارة موافقة

إذا كنت راغبة بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة فيرجى تعبئة هذه الاستمارة وتوقيعها بالأسفل:

1- هذا تأكيد مني بأني قد قرأت ورقة المعلومات عن المشاركة بالبحث المصاحبة لهذه الاستمارة وأنه قد سنحت لي الفرصة للنظر بتلك المعلومات والسؤال عنها وأعطيت لي إجابات شافية عنها.

2- إني على دراية تامة بأن مشاركتي بهذه الدراسة تطوعية ولي كامل الحرية للانسحاب بأي وقت دون إعطاء أي تبرير.

3- إني على دراية تامة بأن المحادثات سيتم تسجيلها صوتيا.

4- أوافق على استخدام مقاطع من المحادثات وذلك بسرية تامة.

إني موافقة على المشاركة بهذه الدراسة:

اسم المشاركة:
التاريخ:
التوقيع:

اسم ولي الأمر (في حال كان المشترك أقل من 16 سنة):
التاريخ:
التوقيع:

</div>

Appendix VII: Data collection questionnaire

ID Number	English Phrase	Kuwaiti Arabic equivalent
	Person	
2	Girl	
3	Boy	
4	Baby	
5	Man	
6	Woman	
7	Father	
8	Mother	
9	Sister	
10	Brother	
11	Child	
12	grandfather	
13	grandmother	
14	Wolf	
15	Donkey	
16	Fish	
17	Cow	
18	Fox	
19	Bull	
20	Camel	
21	Animal	
22	Worm	
23	Bird	
24	Goat	
25	Cat	
26	Dog	
27	Gazelle	

28	Cattle	
29	Pigeon	
30	Rabbit	
31	Sheep	
32	Heart	
33	Blood	
34	Leg	
35	Face	
36	Tail	
37	Ear	
38	Head	
39	Tongue	
40	Chest	
41	Tooth	
42	Belly	
43	Foot	
44	Mouth	
45	Arm	
46	Eye	
47	fingernail	
48	Bones	
49	Guts	
50	Body	
51	Skin	
52	Back	
53	Hand	
54	Day	
55	Night	
56	Water	
57	Fire	
58	Stars	

59	Palms	
60	River	
61	mosquito	
62	Wood	
63	Inlet	
64	Sea	
65	Tree	
66	mountain	
67	Earth	
68	Dust	
69	Seed	
70	Bark	
71	Moon	
72	Well	
73	Sand	
74	Rain	
75	Wind	
76	Wheat	
77	Root	
78	Flower	
79	Sun	
80	Sky	
81	Winter	
82	Rock	
83	cockroach	
84	north / east / south / west	
85	Fog	
86	Beach	
87	wood (place)	
88	Cloud	
89	Summer	

90	Spring	
91	Autumn	
92	Dawn	
93	crescent moon	
94	Milk	
95	Egg	
96	Dates	
97	Cheese	
98	Meat	
99	Bread	
100	Oil	
101	Olive	
102	Honey	
103	Rice	
104	Cream	
105	breakfast	
106	Salt	
107	Pepper	
108	Butter	
109	Flour	
110	Silver	
111	Officer	
112	Land	
113	Morning	
114	Friend	
115	Shape	
116	Chair	
117	Poet	
118	Year	
119	Name	
120	Bracelet	

121	Husband	
122	Wife	
123	Weight	
124	Time	
125	Balance	
126	Vomit	
127	livelihood	
128	Thing	
129	fishing net	
130	Problem	
131	King	
132	Boat	
133	Idea	
134	Drop	
135	Mind	
136	Division	
137	Market	
138	Money	
139	countryside	
140	Cover	
141	Room	
142	necklace	
143	Car	
144	Hour	
145	Song	
146	Outside	
147	Street	
148	Airplane	
149	restaurant	
150	Doctor	
151	System	

152	Midday	
153	Shadow	
154	Road	
155	Perfume	
156	Dhofar	
157	president	
158	Part	
159	Family	
160	Port	
161	Pocket	
162	Village	
163	Member	
164	Paper	
165	Fasting	
166	Month	
167	Gift	
168	Goal	
169	Light	
170	Prison	
171	Self	
172	Right	
173	Left	
174	Bath	
175	Dream	
176	Colour	
177	condition	
178	Clothes	
179	God	
180	Tribe	
181	House	
182	Window	

183	Door	
184	Gold	
185	Grave	
186	frankincense	
187	Trader	
188	Blessing	
189	Book	
190	Ruins	
191	inheritance	
192	Mosque	
193	Hunger	
194	Smoke	
195	School	
196	Minute	
197	Line	
198	Incense	
199	City	
200	Town	
201	Ring	
202	Plough	
203	War	
204	spirit/soul	
205	Harvest	
206	Truth	
207	Luck	
208	government	
209	Council	
210	Thirsty	
211	long/tall	
212	Middle	
213	Great	

214	at/by	
215	about/from	
216	After	
217	Wide	
218	On	
219	Far	
220	tomorrow	
221	expensive	
222	Closed	
223	Angry	
224	In	
225	Poor	
226	Single	
227	Boiled	
228	Only	
229	old/ancient	
230	Near	
231	Fried	
232	All	
233	Early	
234	How...?	
235	How many days...?	
236	Many	
237	Heavy	
238	Tired	
239	this book / this city / these boys	
240	that book / that city / those girls	
241	Good	
242	Bad	
243	New	
244	True	

245	Behind	
246	Light	
247	Smooth	
248	Straight	
249	Fat	
250	Thin	
251	Thick	
252	Dry	
253	Wet	
254	Special	
255	Never	
256	Cold	
257	Inside	
258	Yes	
259	No	
260	Easy	
261	beautiful	
262	High	
263	forbidden	
264	With	
265	in front of	
266	yesterday	
267	pregnant	
268	what is your name / what is happening...?	
269	next to	
270	Now	
271	Clean	
272	Roasted	
273	you (m.s)	
274	you (f.s)	
275	He	

276	She	
277	We	
278	you (dual)	
279	I	
280	you (m.pl)	
281	you (f.pl)	
282	they (m.pl)	
283	they (f.pl)	
284	they (dual)	
285	necessary	
286	And	
287	Or	
288	Strong	
289	when is your birthday...?	
290	Better	
291	Worse	
292	Here	
293	There	
294	where...?	
295	Since	
296	Hot	
297	Cheap	
298	Sad	
299	Smaller	
300	Short	
301	Small	
302	Clear	
303	Against	
304	Narrow	
305	Weak	
306	Some	

307	Sick	
308	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19	
309	20, 21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 32, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 1000	
310	zero, half, third, quarter, first, last	
311	black, white, red, green, blue, yellow, brown, orange, violet, purple, grey	
312	Write	
313	Wrote	
314	Drink	
315	Drank	
316	Find / Arrive	
317	Found / Arrived	
318	Speaks / says	
319	Spoke / said	
320	Call	
321	Called	
322	Is awake	
323	Was awake	
324	Meet / stay	
325	Met / stayed	
326	See	
327	Saw	
328	Fear	
329	Feared	
330	Sell	
331	Sold	
332	Throw	
333	Threw	
334	Take	
335	Took	
336	Ask	

337	Asked	
338	Come	
339	Came	
340	Doubt	
341	Doubted	
342	Begin	
343	Began	
344	Tells / relates	
345	Told / related	
346	Teaches	
347	Taught	
348	Travels	
349	Travelled	
350	Informs / thank	
351	Informed / thanked	
352	Speaks / talks	
353	Spoke / talked	
354	Exchange	
355	Exchanged	
356	Leave	
357	Left	
358	Waits / buy	
359	Waited / bought	
360	Blushes	
361	Blushed	
362	Uses / hire	
363	Used / hired	
364	give / demand / cut / preserve / add / believe / think / swallow / change / want	
365	blow / dig / close / understand / open / hide / stand / stay / decide / lie	
366	eat / cry / be / desire / love / kill / follow / marry / go out / harvest	

367	plough / cook / pay / turn / study / bring / sit / play / move / listen	
368	die / carry / forget / sleep / go down / flee / emigrate / run / build / explain	
369	wake up / name / remember / go / taste / return / lift / hope / appear / sow	
370	swim / hear / wash / hold / be handsome / freeze / walk / smell / be near / watch	
371	work / buy / pray / hit / laugh / busy / roam / arrive / become	
372	Take! (2.MS, 2.FS, 3.MPL, 3.FPL, DL)	
373	Eat! (2.MS, 2.FS, 3.MPL, 3.FPL, DL)	
374	Write! (2.MS, 2.FS, 3.MPL, 3.FPL, DL)	
375	Drink! (2.MS, 2.FS, 3.MPL, 3.FPL, DL)	
376	Think! (2.MS, 2.FS, 3.MPL, 3.FPL, DL) / repeat	
377	I go to the market every day	
378	He might travel to Muscat tomorrow	
379	We have just come back from town	
380	She must have arrived there by now	
381	Why did you forget to return the shirt yesterday?	
382	It is necessary to construct new houses	
383	We should have visited her family's house	
384	They had to travel	
385	You must always be careful	
386	Don't go to the market today!	
387	Look for the old books!	
388	Meet (f.s) her tomorrow!	
389	Where did you lose (2 m.s) your keys?	
390	She started to tell a long story	
391	Can you come with me?	
392	She became scared when she saw him	
393	If I had some money I would give it to you	
394	My clothes are not clean	
395	If you had arrived yesterday, you would have seen her	

396	After five minutes he started to talk	
397	I walked with your friend's brother	
398	There are only twenty-four hours in one day	
399	If he had found the house, he wouldn't be here now	
█		
400	We will travel to Dubai in our father's car	
401	Respect those who are older than you!	
402	These are the bags that you gave me yesterday	
403	The man's house was always very cold	
404	I do not want to talk about that subject	
405	You don't have to go to the cafe	
406	He must not remain at home	
407	I have two sons and a daughter	
408	If you want to find her, you will find her	
409	I do not know whether I was going to send them or not	
410	If I go I will meet him	
411	If he studies he will succeed	
412	You will not be allowed to go unless you finish your work	
413	My father's office is far away	
414	Your sister's book is valuable	
415	His cousin (paternal) is a merchant	
416	Your mother is a doctor	
417	These pens are mine	
418	These animals are theirs	
419	We always drink tea at the cafe after work	
420	This is the man from whom I received a letter	
421	You walk in the mountains in the summer, but in the winter you always walk on the beach	
422	If I were you I would not do that	
423	When will they return from their trip?	

424	What is the name of those plants?	
425	What are the names of those young girls?	
426	Her son and her daughter are always busy at school	
427	Their daughters are skilled cooks	
428	How much are these delicious dates?	
429	He asked who went to town on Tuesday.	
430	Which friend came to your party?	
431	Which girl did you see?	
432	I know the man who lives here	
433	She knows the woman who lives there	
434	He knows the men who live there	
435	We know the women who live here	
436	He is coming from Muscat	
437	There was a man asking for you yesterday	
438	The camels usually stand beneath the tall palm trees	
439	He is still alive	
440	He was still alive	
441	I still don't understand what you mean	
442	Her mother is still undecided	
443	This old building is still standing	
444	I did not see the houses that you were talking about.	
445	We started to cry	
446	I have no paper with me	
447	Are you not hungry?	
448	He is not in the desert	
449	I was not hungry	
450	We were not in the desert	
451	They are not busy	
452	Their baby was born at seven o'clock in the morning	
453	The glass was broken on the floor	

454	This article was written five years ago	
455	A meeting is held in this room monthly	
456	My car will not be repaired until next week so I will be forced to hire a car	
457	These books were written in English originally, then translated into Arabic	
458	I am going to sleep now because I am tired	
459	He/she has not arrived yet	
460	I ask her to tell me her favourite story	
461	The manager must be at home	
462	The door opened suddenly	
463	In the morning we drink coffee but in the evening we always drink tea	
464	You must be more careful in the future	
465	He might go home tomorrow	
466	I will give it to them because I do not need it now	
467	When I got there I saw that she wasn't home	
468	You shall meet the President tonight!	
469	She smiled at me when I gave her all the presents	
470	He told me a story about his brother who was a soldier	
471	I think he arrived last night but I am not sure	
472	I still remember the first time I travelled to that city	
473	A man approached me who I had not seen before	
474	It is possible that it will rain in July	
475	You must understand	
476	That road is not used during the winter	
477	The mosque was built many years ago	
478	The newspaper is printed and published in Muscat	
479	This girl is sicker than the man	
480	The two girls work inside the house	
481	The two brothers fight outside the office	

482	This is a question which has no answer	
483	His friend's father arrived from the field	
484	It is said that you are unlucky	
485	Mountainous regions are found in the north of this country	
486	The truth is known	
487	We gave the trader some of the money	
488	He would write to them every day and tell them his news	
489	I want to work in the market because I like it a lot	
490	I did not tell her that I would go	
491	I do not like what was mentioned in the newspaper	
492	We were forced to wait because of the rain	
493	He comes from another village	
494	The sound of the engine was unusual	
495	It is impossible for her to see the moon tonight	
496	There was no one there to hear us	
497	I am not the one who does that	
498	I am granting you two wishes which I will carry out for you	
499	I still remember the first time I travelled	
500	Something is better than nothing	
501	That picture was more beautiful than this one	
502	I arrive in less than ten minutes	
503	She wants to travel for two months or a little longer	
504	It is one of the oldest cities in the world	
505	We study at a different university	
506	They teach at the same university	
507	She broke the window accidentally	
508	He smashed the glass on purpose	
509	I am expecting bad news	

510	They warned him to stop before he hurt himself	
511	I remember the story now	
512	The story reminded me of my childhood	
513	Tomorrow I will know the truth	
514	He taught us the rules of football	
515	They are separating the sheep and the goats	
516	She scattered the seeds on the ground	
517	You are in a hurry today because you are late	
518	I hurried him to leave the room	
519	I wash my face every morning	
520	We must scrub this floor quickly	
521	You returned to your house	
522	You returned a book that you had bought last week	
523	I usually listen to the radio	
524	I let him hear the music	
525	She reminded him of his duties	
526	We negotiated in order to reach a new agreement	
527	She sits alone on the beach	
528	He sat with his wife on the beach	
529	I wrote a long letter	
530	She has been writing to her old friends for a long time	
531	During the summer we work in the city	
532	They do business with many foreign companies	
533	That team defeated all its rivals last year	
534	They will try to defeat a new team tomorrow	
535	I tried to call you but you did not reply	
536	I am furious about what you said	
537	The boys fought until their father arrived	
538	They informed me about their family problems	

539	He always makes me happy each time he visits my house	
540	I made the people enter the room	
541	After that we locked the door	
542	The weather forced them to return to their village	
543	If you are ill I will feed you	
544	You dressed your daughter this morning	
545	The farmer informed the whole village	
546	The driver let them down at the side of the road	
547	His story made her laugh	
548	The teachers presented their students at the conference	
549	We always set up our camp near a well	
550	This company published four newspapers weekly	
551	They learned these poems at school	
552	The train departed from the station	
553	Their reasons were explained in the report	
554	After the storm our things were scattered over a wide area	
555	We used to speak with each other every day	
556	You will not get married?	
557	The bus timetable is changed in the summer because the nights are shorter	
558	His poems were influenced by his experiences in another country	
559	The caravans roamed around in the distant mountains	
560	The two friends corresponded for many years	
561	The two workers co-operated in the factory	
562	They dealt with the matter	
563	The brothers met together outside the mosque	
564	The traders argued together about the price	
565	I pretended to know nothing, but she knew that I was lying	
566	His son is pretending to be ill because he does not like to go to school	

567	I pretended to be busy, but I was very lazy today	
568	The ministers agreed with one another about the report	
569	The windows were completely broken	
570	The ruins were revealed next to the old port	
571	The electricity to the village was cut off	
572	These flowers are blossoming today	
573	The meeting was held last year	
574	He joined them in the team	
575	We moved around the city looking for work	
576	She approached the angry dog with caution	
577	The crowd assembled in the square	
578	He waited for the bus whilst talking to his friend	
579	The dome of the mosque is supported by large pillars	
580	They will not be united until they agree	
581	Her voice is well-known everywhere	
582	I bought those vegetables this morning	
583	He blushed when he saw her	
584	The hills turn green during the winter	
585	His face was tanned from the sun	
586	His back was bent from a long and hard life	
587	The officer asked them about the accident they had witnessed	
588	They used the plough to cultivate their land	
589	Did you enjoy the film that you watched last night?	
590	We will hire a car from this company because it is trustworthy	
591	I borrowed his bicycle because my car was broken	
592	If he leaves in the morning he will be here before the evening	
593	I have seen her only once or twice	
594	They rarely go to the doctor	

595	I have read this book apart from one chapter	
596	She has only ridden in a car a few times	
597	How do they know that you are busy?	
598	We visited only our relatives	
599	You have nothing to do but talk to me	
600	The weather in the evening was hot but the garden was cool	
601	This is unreasonable	
602	He left the house for an unknown reason	
603	Muhammad! Mind those fast cars!	
604	Do you know where you are going?	
605	While I was asleep in bed I heard a noise	
606	We were sitting near his father's office	
607	Their mother entered the room but they were not sleeping	
608	Her daughters are employees at the post office	
609	He came wearing a blue shirt	
610	She sat, putting her head in her hands	
611	I cannot drive along this road because it is always closed	
612	I was afraid of them	
613	All of the shops will be locked up tomorrow	
614	I remained, fascinated by the story she was telling me	
615	I mentioned to him a teacher with whom he was familiar	
616	He is certainly over seventy years old	
617	They are expected to graduate from university	
618	I read the article that had been published in the newspaper two months ago	
619	He gave his brother's telephone number to his friend	
620	Her mother gave the bracelet to her	
621	I understand what she was trying to explain	

622	Nothing like this has happened to me	
623	You surely know that	
624	When my two daughters grow up, will they do the same as me?	
625	The two of them study Arabic literature	
626	The market traders do not know that you are my cousin	
627	He crosses the street when he wishes	
628	I rarely drink coffee twice after supper	
629	I am often unable to sleep	
630	Perhaps he knows better than me	
631	I will listen to your story, and perhaps I will change my mind	
632	I help her as much as I can	
633	Whenever he left the house, she saw him to the door	
634	The manager is not present at the meeting	
635	I remembered this later	
636	It was four o'clock in the morning when we began	
637	If we knock on the door of your house, be ready!	
638	I will stay with you wherever you may go	
639	The storm had calmed down completely after a couple of hours	
640	You will stay here for three days	
641	The bus stops every two hundred metres	
642	I had lots of reasons	
643	He walked a few steps in front of me	
644	It weighs no more than a few grammes	
645	He was a few years older than us	
646	The clock struck twice then it stopped	
647	After a few minutes we became alone	
648	We found several old chairs	
649	If he did not come I would go to sleep early	
650	If they are not at home they will be at their neighbour's house	

651	I don't know whether I am able to fulfil the demands	
652	I could not remember whether I had given her the things	
653	I will meet his family if I visit Salalah	
654	Come to our house tomorrow, if you wish	
655	I will discuss that subject with him if he wants to	
656	If you are students then you are not rich	
657	If you delay you will lose your place	
658	As for her companion, she was a doctor	
659	As for the others, they remained	
660	Winter has now arrived	
661	As for me, I froze to the spot	
662	The Middle East is a region full of history	
663	This is what I imagined in the beginning	
664	This is what happened with me	
665	I saw both men and women there	
666	This is a man whom I like and respect	
667	I didn't pay attention to what he said	
668	I contacted everybody I knew	
669	The man sat in front of the television watching a football match	
670	Why didn't you tell me this when I was in the market?	
671	I sat on the balcony watching it	
672	He married her whilst he was young	
673	My friends are waiting for me there in the café	
674	We ate our meal whilst sitting in the room	
675	We sat in the cafe drinking coffee and talking	
676	The people around me are laughing and chatting	
677	Eat the bread and drink the water, Karima!	
678	One day we went to the desert together	
679	Don't drink coffee after ten o'clock in the evening!	

680	She was too young to understand	
681	I won't stay longer than a few months	
682	The distance is much further than that	
683	It was the most modern and biggest building in the town	
684	Finish your work!	
685	Most of the employees are still students in the university	
686	We travelled the distance in twelve hours	
687	Out of all of his brothers, Waleed loves sport the most	
688	It was the biggest tree I had seen in my life	
689	The important thing is that you return quickly. Do you agree?	
690	The three employees arrived at the company	
691	I want to teach reading and writing in the school	
692	I thought that the house was burning	
693	You ran across the square as fast as you could	
694	He has been teaching children since he was a young man	
695	He said that they came through the mountains	
696	I will relax at home tonight	
697	After that we might go to a restaurant	
698	Don't be frightened sister!	
699	Why have I come to you instead of you coming to me?	
700	Rather than travelling to Abu Dhabi, he set out with us to Muscat	
701	The view was really wonderful and I don't know how to describe it to you	
702	I agreed with them to meet in front of the shop	
703	The boy began to cry when he didn't find his mother beside him	
704	In the morning we left the house and headed north.	
705	I knew that I would not find my friend	

706	Don't say anything about your friends!	
707	We will meet tomorrow as you wish	
708	How much money do you have with you?	
709	I tried to remember exactly what happened	
710	Each of them lives with two or three friends	
711	I read two or three letters	
712	Come on let's get out of here	
713	The sun appeared, and so the temperature rose	
714	He received the message yesterday, then left the capital	
715	When we heard that news we rejoiced greatly	
716	We started to laugh when we heard his joke	
717	My mother is the woman who is standing in the queue	
718	There is a big celebration in our village every Eid Fitr	
719	He arrived in January	
720	My father and my brother went to market on Saturday	
721	She kissed the baby on its cheek	
722	There is not much room between the table and my bed	
723	There is a mosque opposite the school	
724	There is a picture above the bed	
725	The little boy hid behind the tree	
726	His house is behind the mosque	
727	I injured myself with the knife	
728	The man's head was covered with a kaffiyeh	
729	Do you work with a hammer?	
730	Do you know how to use this machine?	
731	He slaughtered the chicken with a knife	
732	This chair is made of wood	
733	That chair is made of metal	
734	She is as big as you	

735	Although he is quiet, he is not shy	
736	Although he was born in Oman, he does not speak Arabic	
737	The market is in the middle of the village	
738	She sat between them and spoke with them	
739	A man came towards me hiding something behind his back	
740	Waiting for him we drank another cup of coffee	
741	Singing she was washing the clothes	
742	My son is crying because his friends are laughing at him	
743	They managed to arrive here early by following the desert road	
744	Take any five apples and give them to me!	
745	Is there any body at home at noon?	
746	I don't believe that anyone knows the truth	
747	She remembered the story better than anyone else	
748	She runs faster than anyone else	
749	He runs faster than anyone else	
750	He could be anywhere!	
751	Did you buy yourself anything yesterday?	
752	Have you seen anyone there?	
753	I do not like the food. Give me something different!	
754	Has anything happened?	
755	If you see something, tell me!	
756	Have you ever lived in Muscat?	
757	I will help you anytime	
758	There are no more seats next to you	
759	I didn't get money from anybody	
760	No one uses this book now	
761	I don't know anybody here	
762	Somebody is living in this house but I do not know who	
763	However, nobody is living in that house	

764	She said that she did not know anyone	
765	No-one forced you to do that	
766	Except for our grandmother, no one in the village knows the song	
767	He did not buy anything in the market	
768	She did not want anything to drink	
769	What did he give you? Nothing!	
770	I never go to the market to buy bread	
771	He visits me often but he never lets me know when he is coming	
772	They have never lived here	
773	I knew a man who never had any money with him	
774	Perhaps I can give this man some money	
775	I want to visit Paris some day	
776	I heard that other people live here as well	
777	We went to the local restaurant with some of the guests yesterday	
778	I gave some water to your four camels	
779	I must go to the shop to buy some food tonight	
780	In the mosque some of the people are kneeling, some are standing	
781	The mother gives her child some food	
782	Every evening he wanted to go somewhere	
783	I want to go somewhere nice and peaceful for a week	
784	Somehow he left without paying the bill	
785	He wants to meet someone here	
786	We sent someone to ask for the manager	
787	He got angry with me because of something	
788	Every morning I wake up my child at seven o'clock	
789	I found something. Guess what is is!	
790	You should visit me sometime	
791	Our grandmother sometimes forgets our names	

792	Everybody except the grandfather left	
793	Everyone seems to be thinking only of themselves	
794	She woke up everybody with her screaming	
795	Except for an old man everyone was smoking	
796	I understand every word he says	
797	My child makes me angry every day	
798	The teacher teachers his pupils a new letter every day	
799	My children make me happy every day	
800	I wanted to travel to town with those three men	
801	Do you want to talk to these four boys?	
802	I do not want to hear about it any more	
803	The father is trying to teach his sons	
804	He wants to become famous	
805	You can believe him, his words are true	
806	Can you mend these holes with a thread?	
807	The water is drinkable	
808	Who can build a house without nails?	
809	I can open the door	
810	We can go to the market tomorrow in the afternoon	
811	If you want I can help you to paint your house	
812	We cannot go back until she gets well	
813	I couldn't open the door	
814	I will close the window so that he can't hear us	
815	She walked around the house without finding an open door	
816	I couldn't convince her to come with me	
817	We couldn't find my grandmother's silver ring	
818	He can't leave until he finds the key	
819	I cannot study because I have to help my	

	mother	
820	I can't repair the car on my own so my brother repairs it for me	
821	You have to go there even if you don't want to	
822	After I left school I started to work in the market	
823	Finally he has started working	
824	My skin became red because of the sunshine	
825	It started to rain while we were waiting	
826	Old people like to tell stories about their younger days	
827	My daughter is scared to go across any bridge	
828	I like to drink a cup of coffee in the morning	
829	The old women like to sit in front of the house and talk for hours	
830	I want him to go away	
831	He asked me to give him the money	
832	I told her to buy some tea and sugar	
833	He told me to sell the car next year	
834	I demanded from her to leave immediately	
835	She made him leave	
836	He ordered her to open the door	
837	He came to my house to see me	
838	I came home to talk to you	
839	She sits the child on the chair to feed it	
840	He pushes the people aside to get on the bus	
841	To go to the shop you have to walk towards the mosque	
842	I have nothing left to give you	
843	I gave the man some money so he could buy coffee	
844	It is known that he is very rich	
845	I know that he said this to you	
846	I heard that you got a good job in town	
847	I think that he has lived here since June	

848	I said to him that the shop opens at 10 in the morning	
849	The woman told me that she had just arrived in the village	
850	I hope it stops raining soon	
851	He had already gone before we got there	
852	Before we reached the house she had already gone	
853	When I was young I lived in a big house in a town	
854	When I came home I found a pile of rubbish in the street	
855	When I opened the door, the cat hid under the bushes	
856	When I was young I used to go to the market very often	
857	Whenever he laughs the whole neighbourhood can hear him	
858	By repairing his car for him we saved him a lot of money	
859	I did not go out of the house for four days because it was raining	
860	I went home because I was tired	
861	I have covered myself with a blanket because it is cold	
862	I gave it to them because I do not need it anymore	
863	There were so many people at the funeral	
864	Therefore I didn't see her there	
865	He told him how to sell his land	
866	That man knew how to repair cars	
867	She taught her daughter how to boil an egg	
868	How can we get to town without asking for my brother's car?	
869	They walked all the way without speaking to each other	
870	When are we going to meet?	
871	What food does your brother like?	
872	Oh father! What have you done?	
873	What will I be when I become old?	
874	How many days?	

875	How many remained?	
876	How many years have you lived here?	
877	Who is that person coming towards us?	
878	Who did this?	
879	Who is coming with you?	
880	Where does he live until the summer?	
881	Hey Karima! Where are you going?	
882	Where is he during the day?	
883	I would like to ask him why he did this?	
884	Why is she happy?	
885	Why did she do this?	
886	He was not at home	
887	The bottle was not in the bag when I looked for it	
888	There was nothing there	
889	He is not at home	
890	There is nothing there	
891	He is not sad	
892	Tomorrow I will not be at home	
893	Tomorrow you will not be at home	
894	I was not at home	
895	You were not at home	
896	You came to my house but I was not at home. I had gone out	
897	I am not at home	
898	You are not at home	
899	I knew that you were not at home yesterday	
900	You know that I will not be here tomorrow	
901	Those animals will not be here in the evening	
902	Neither he nor his brother have enough money	
903	I don't have much money with me right now	

904	She does not have a house	
905	She does not have a brother	
906	I do not have a car	
907	I do not have a sister	
908	There was only a little hair on his head and no teeth in his mouth	
909	She did not have the strength to walk back home	
910	I would not ask you if I knew where it is	
911	One boy's shirt was torn	
912	Young men are very courageous	
913	The door was painted black	
914	The bicycle was stolen	
915	The dress is washed	
916	She is dressed	
917	The meat is roasted	
918	He is full	
919	The house is painted	
920	He came himself to see me	
921	He bought himself another coffee	
922	He suddenly saw himself in the mirror	
923	We ourselves will know the news soon	
924	Is this egg boiled?	
925	I don't know what to do at all	
926	Tell me what you have done today!	
927	He talked so much, he made me forget what I wanted	
928	I bought the golden bracelet, that I will give to my mother	
929	He asked me what to do to earn some more money	
930	This book is mine	
931	That bicycle is mine	
932	Those pens are mine	
933	That book is yours	

934	This bicycle is yours	
935	This car is ours	
936	These seats are ours	
937	That pan is ours	
938	This book is not mine	
939	That bicycle is not yours	
940	Those seats are not ours	
941	I send you a letter every week (m/f) (s/pl)	
942	I send him a letter every week	
943	I send them a letter every week (m/f)	
944	I send her a letter every week	
945	They send me a letter every week	
946	She sends you a letter every week	
947	This is my brother	
948	This is my sister	
949	They are his parents	
950	I was at home	
951	I came home	
952	I did not come home	
953	You were at home (m/f) (s/pl)	
954	You were not at home (m/f) (s/pl)	
955	He was at home	
956	He was not at home	
957	We were at home	
958	We were not at home	
959	They were at home (m/f)	
960	They were not at home (m/f)	
961	Tomorrow I will be at home	
962	Tomorrow you will be at home	
963	I know	
964	I do not know	

965	I am not going to town	
966	I do not want to go to town	
967	You are not going to town (m/f) (s/pl)	
968	You do not want to go to town (m/f) (s/pl)	
969	She doesn't want to go to town	
970	He doesn't want to go to town	
971	We do not want to go to town	
972	They do not want to go to town	
973	I might go to town	
974	He didn't see me and I didn't see him	
975	He didn't see you (m/f) (s/p)	
976	He didn't see him	
977	He didn't see her	
978	He didn't see us	
979	He didn't see them (m/f)	
980	I am happy today	
981	You are happy today (m/f) (s/pl)	
982	He is happy today	
983	She is happy today	
984	We are happy today	
985	They are happy today (m/f)	
986	Yesterday I was sad	
987	Yesterday you were sad (m/f) (s/pl)	
988	Yesterday he was sad	
989	Yesterday she was sad	
990	Yesterday we were sad	
991	Yesterday they were sad (m/f)	
992	He is not as much a man as his father	
993	I am not as clever as you	
994	She walks exactly like her brother	
995	Her age is the same as yours	

996	He doesn't work as much as his colleague	
997	Football I like it a lot!	
998	Whether you agree or not I don't care	
999	Why did the people come? They came to mourn	
1000	I could not find my keys anywhere	
1001	He suddenly appeared from nowhere	
1002	There was nowhere else to go	
1003	My brother made me bring it back	
1004	I got these things from my sister	
1005	I need new clothes for my brother's wedding	
1006	I have a few things to do here before I can go back home	
1007	I am sorry I lost your keys. Please don't be mad with me	
1008	I will wait for you in front of the mosque	
1009	He bought new clothes so that he could go into town	
1010	I have already said this to you before	
1011	We said to one another: Where are we?	
1012	He bought himself another coffee	
1013	I introduced this man to all the men in the village	
1014	Later I sold the animals to my neighbour	
1015	After work he usually goes to the local shop to buy some sweets for his children	
1016	He is lying to us	
1017	She is showing her daughter her new ring	
1018	Her friend is making her stay for another day	
1019	Today we are feeding the animals early	
1020	The fire made us leave our houses	
1021	I do not open the door to strangers	
1022	His father makes him send the goods back	
1023	Soon I will have enough money to buy a car	
1024	We told our son to become a doctor	

1025	I expect that I will be able to pay you tomorrow	
1026	I told my youngest son to talk to you	
1027	Maybe he was telling lies	
1028	She said to her friend: I want to be young again	
1029	She thanked me for the beautiful earrings	
1030	That teacher showed pictures to the students	
1031	He left this food for you and your brothers	
1032	I heard the news from the boys	
1033	I got the coat from him	
1034	He stole it from them	
1035	I ate some bread	
1036	I read some of the newspaper	
1037	I saw him at the party with two of his friends	
1038	She stained the cloth with some juice	
1039	Instead of bread my son bought sweets	
1040	Why didn't you ask me, instead of that man?	
1041	I have two sisters	
1042	I have two brothers	
1043	I have only one son	
1044	Where is the money? With him	
1045	They have their books with them	
1046	The man who came to the wedding has a new car	
1047	The men who came to the wedding have new cars	
1048	The boy's father had a big beard	
1049	The girl's mother had a beautiful gold necklace	
1050	I do not have much furniture in my room - only a chair, a bed and a table	
1051	You have a gold ring too	
1052	So you have two cars	
1053	My father always has some money with him	

1054	I usually go for milk in the morning	
1055	An old man went to the well for water	
1056	They fight for the water	
1057	My son asked me about his grandfather	
1058	I went across the bridge	
1059	She saw an accident with her own eyes	
1060	She still sews with a needle	
1061	I am lonely without you	
1062	It takes hours to reach the city without a car	
1063	I forced myself to eat the food	
1064	He made himself get up, even though he was tired	
1065	She made herself sick by eating all the sweets	