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Communicative Functions and Motives of Palestinian Children's Code-switching in Family Conversations

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Abstract

Code-switching is a phenomenon by which speakers use more than one language in the same utterance or conversation and it is common in ESL contexts. Researchers have identified many communicative functions and motives which explain why speakers code-switch. In Palestine, and though English is a foreign language, the researcher noticed that some Palestinian children code-switch in their daily interactions and found it worthy of investigation. Therefore, in the current study, the functions and motives of Palestinian children's code-switching in their family conversations were investigated, and the relation between their competency level and the complexity of their code-switching was examined. The research had both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. The qualitative research was conducted on four children aged between 8 and 15 over a period of six and a half months, from July 2nd, 20111 to January 19th, 2012. Their daily interactions with family members were observed and the code-switching instances were registered. The instances were categorized firstly according to the functions and secondly according to their complexity level, and then they were qualitatively analyzed. The quantitative research was conducted on 170 school children of the same age group. They filled a questionnaire that inquired about the functions and motives of their code-switching, and their responses were analyzed and represented using Microsoft Office Excel and Origin Pro 7.0. The results showed that Palestinian children do have functions and motives behind their code-switching. The three major ones were: compensating for the lack of vocabulary items, expressing feelings and habitual use. Other important ones were: discussing Western societies, responding to an English utterance and showing knowledge of technology. Showing off, was the weakest motive as decided upon by the participants in both groups. Moreover, the complexity of the four children's code-switching was not found to be influenced by their English competency level.

Arabic Abstract

ملخص الدّراسة

الدّمج اللغويّ هو ظاهرة يستعمل خلالها المتخاطبون أكثر من لغة واحدة في نفس العبارة أو المحادثة، وهي مألوفة في السّياق الاجتماعيّ الذي تكون فيه اللغة الإنجليزيّة هي اللغة الثانيّة. وقد قام الباحثون بتحديد دوافع ووظائف تفاعليّة عديدة تفسّر قيام المتخاطبين بدمج اللغات. في فلسطين، ومع أنّ اللغة الإنجليزيّة هي لغة أجنبيّة، فقد لاحظت الباحثة أن بعض الأطفال الفلسطينيين يدمجونها مع لغتهم الأمّ في تفاعلاتهم اليوميّة ووجدت ذلك جديراً بالبحث. لذلك فإنّ هذه الدراسة بحثت في الدّوافع والوظائف المتعلقة بالدّمج اللغويّ للأطفال الفلسطينيّين في محادثاتهم العائليّة، وفحصت العلاقة بين كفاءة الطّلاب في اللغة الإنجليزيّة ودرجة تعقيد دمجهم اللغويّ. كان للدّراسة كلا البعدين النّوعيّ والكمّيّ، الدّراسة النّوعيّة أجريت على أربعة أطفال أعمارهم بين الثامنة والخامسة عشر، تمّت ملاحظة تفاعلاتهم اليوميّة مع أفراد أسرتهم وسجّلت حالات دمجهم اللغويّ وصنّفت أوّلاً وفقاً للوظائف وثانياً وفقاً لدرجة التّعقيد، ثم بعد ذلك حلّلت نوعياً. أما الدّراسة الكميّة فقد أجريت على 170 من طلاب وطالبات المدارس من نفس الفئة العمريّة قاموا بتعبئة استبانة عن دوافع ووظائف الدّمج اللغويّ عندهم، وقد حلّلت ردودهم ومثّلت برسوم بيانيّة بواسطة برنامج مايكروسوفت اوفس اكسل وبرنامج أوريجن برو 7.0 . وقد أظهرت النّتائج أنّ الدّمج اللغويّ عند الأطفال الفلسطينيّين له دوافع ووظائف أهمّ ثلاثة منها: التّعويض عن النّقص في المفردات و التّعبير عن المشاعر والممارسة الاعتياديّة. ومن الدّوافع والوظائف المهمّة الأخرى: مناقشة المجتمعات الغربيّة و الردّ على كلام قيل باللغة الإنجليزيّة و إظهار المعرفة بأمور التّكنولوجيا. أمّا المباهاة فكانت أضعف دافع حسب الّنتائج في المجموعتين. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، فقد وجد أن التّعقيد في الدّمج اللغويّ عند الأطفال لم يتأثّر بدرجة الكفاءة عندهم.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

- the soul of my father who had always been the happiest for any success I achieve.
- my husband whose assistance made this work achievable.
- my daughters and sons who had to bear with my being occupied much of the time.
- my mother, sister and brothers for their constant support.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Code-switching is a widely-spread phenomenon in bilingual communities all over the world by which a speaker uses more than one code, a language or even a dialect, in the same discourse while interacting with someone who understands these languages. This is why switching between languages is seen as an inimitable act that only bilinguals are capable of performing, while monolinguals are not (because their code-switching occurs from Standard to Colloquial versions of their first language or between dialects). Some researchers consider the phenomenon of code-switching as the norm of language use in most communities where two languages or more are used. Kohnert, et al (2005) sees it as an effective communication mode which proficient bilingual speakers switch to in interactions with other individuals who share both languages. It is also argued, in (Foley & Thompson 2003), that being able to code-switch represents a dimension in the development of the language of bilinguals, and that a speaker may resort to code-switching as a wide-ranging linguistic resource from which s/he can draw choices in order to communicate effectively. Quite the contrary, imposing one of the spoken languages on the interaction limits the communicative options that speakers with multiple languages in their repertoire can use to express their selves or to convey their messages. Other researchers argue that code-switching in itself is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but also a psychological one, and they even believe that extralinguistic motives cause it.

The researcher of the present study noticed a strange behaviour on the part of Arabic-speaking children who switch English codes with Arabic ones to communicate with each other, in a context where English is a foreign language. Literature says that such code-switching behaviour usually occurs in bilingual communities where L2 is used outside the classroom

formal setting, i.e. where L2 is a second and not a foreign language. Noticing the strange behaviour and knowing about what the literature says made the researcher believe that this would be an interesting area of investigation. She decided to explore the reasons why this phenomenon takes place among Palestinian Arabic-speaking children. The literature on this topic analyzed the motives behind code-switching and the functions served by it in the ESL context, and she thought that it would be interesting to find out if such motives and functions exist in the EFL context. Seeing that such a domain has rarely been researched makes the grounds for engaging in this topic strongly appealing and the researcher hopes it will add to the knowledge in the field of code-switching.

Researchers got interested in code-switching because it is a practice that involves interference between languages (even though some believed it is a psychological and not a linguistic one). They studied the phenomenon in relation to various social factors including age, gender, education, topic and setting which add to its complexity. Some researchers considered the interlocutors, the function, and the situation to be the most important ones. However, there are more influential factors present in the literature. One important factor is the period of exposure to the languages being switched, as Genesee (1989) concluded. The longer the period of exposure extends the more frequent and complicated the code-switches become. On the other hand, Kanakri & Ionescu (2010) focused on the influence that the relationship between the interlocutors imposes on their code-switching. It introduced an interesting influential factor which is the social distance between the interlocutors. It claimed that a short distance of this type has an escalating influence on the rate of the practice and that …

> "[t]he familiarity and friendship relation between the speakers might have been, therefore, the reason why there was a higher incidence of a

type of code-switching. It is possible that the degree of intimacy and the social context in which bilinguals find themselves are clear factors that influence the type and frequency of code-switching." (p. 186)

1.1 Dimensions of Studying Code-switching

Code-switching has been investigated in two main dimensions: the grammatical constraints which decide on where switching can occur in utterances, and the communicative functions that are aimed at by the speakers. In other words, the former focuses on how people switch and the latter on why they do.

They have identified many communicative functions that are achieved or at least aimed at through code-switching. Malik (1994) classified them into nine broad categories: " authority, communication, conceptual, emphasis, ethnicity, interlocution, lexicon, psychological and trigger" (p.7) and she claimed that five of them include the most common reasons that trigger switching. They are:

1. Communication such as 'excluding a person from the dialogue '
2. Conceptual such as 'experience practiced only in one language'
3. Emphasis such as 'making a point'
4. Interlocution such as 'expressing group solidarity'
5. Lexicon such as 'conveying precise meaning'

1.2 Code-switching in the Palestinian Context

The Palestinian community is not an exception with regard to code-switching being practiced within it in different settings and on varied scales. It is practiced by teachers and college educators. It is also practiced in workplaces and homes. This is due to the fact that it has always been of great importance for Palestinians to learn foreign languages, especially English.

Teachers of such languages code-switch in the classroom to ease the processes of teaching and learning, and their practices (as a part of a widespread phenomenon) have been widely investigated. The presence of foreign employees, especially in non-governmental organizations, and also the need of specific domain-related terminology result in code-switching in workplaces. Similarly, some Palestinian workers and merchants switch Arabic with Hebrew because of their business relations with Israelis. In the previous two settings, the need for code-switching can be detected and comprehended. However, this is not the case in the family setting in which both parents are Arabic-speaking Palestinians. The researcher's family is of this type and she, being newly informed of the term 'code-switching' in some of the MA courses, detected code-switching practices by her children in their casual interactions and got interested in the topic. Muysken (2000) talked about his interest in the phenomenon and stated that …

> "many bilinguals will produce sentences in ordinary conversations. What is interesting to me, as it has been to many others in recent years, is that such sentences are produced with great ease and complete fluidity" (p.2).

Prepared with more reading about the nature of the phenomenon and what researchers had to say about it, the researcher decided that her children's practices needed to be investigated and explained. This need emerged from the fact that the four children in the family could speak Arabic very well and yet they chose voluntarily to switch it with English, which is the foreign language they learn at school. This study was therefore based upon a belief that the Palestinian children have specific motives standing behind their code switching practices, and that they aim at achieving particular functions. These motives and functions were the center of the study and it may be claimed that both are not merely linguistic and that the children saw code-switching as a useful communicative resource and not merely a means of fulfilling a linguistic need.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

In the Palestinian context, English is learnt as a foreign language and it is seldom needed outside the formal setting of the classroom. Nevertheless, the Palestinian children switch between their first language (L1), i.e. Arabic, and English in their daily casual interactions.

Palestinian children use English-Arabic code switching as an aspect of communication among peers, and what motivates them to do so is a need to fulfill some communicative functions and sometimes to fill linguistic gaps. The motives and the desired functions for this switching deserve to be investigated in order to explore linguistic and cognitive insights into such a linguistic performance which seems to have rarely been investigated in a context where the second language (L2) is learned as a foreign language. The investigation is expected to explain some developmental aspects of the children's linguistic abilities, and to clarify their use of code-switching in some cognitive processes such as memory retrieval and decision making.

1.4 Purpose and Significance of the Study

This study aims at investigating the motives that Palestinian children have to practice code-switching in their daily family and peer conversations and the functions that this practice achieves. It is specifically significant to investigate such a practice because it occurs voluntarily in a context in which L2 is a foreign language which is hardly ever used outside the classroom. The researcher aspires for findings that explain the motives and the functions that stand behind the phenomenon of code-switching in the Palestinian childhood context, and to compare them with those of other contexts whether similar or different. Another important issue dealt with in the study was the types of code-switching that are practiced by these children, and how these types relate to the children's competency level.

The significance of this study is that it leads to better understanding of the behaviour of code-switching because "detailed examination of the children's code-switching … could reveal more about what is actually happening in the process" (Yu. 2005, p. 17). It is also expected and hoped for that it will, consequently, lead to a higher level of acceptance and less criticism of this behaviour, especially in (but not restricted to) the education field. As Myers-Scotton (1993) stated, it is treated, especially in earlier studies, as a deficiency in the linguistic abilities of bilinguals who are considered not to be developed in the languages they use, and less developed in their ability to master English. Moreover, the researcher sees that revealing the functions of the behaviour of code-switching by the children and the motives that stand behind it will lead to suggestions on how to make use of them to increase the motivation for learning English of some Palestinian children.

1.5 Questions of study

The code-switching behaviour of the Palestinian children, which the researcher first observed in her own children's behaviour, raised important questions that call for answers in order to better explain the behaviour from various aspects. Following are the questions:

1. What motivates Palestinian children to switch codes in their daily conversations?
2. What type of functions do they desire to achieve by switching codes?
3. How is their competency level reflected in the code-switching practices?

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The only limitation that the researcher could think of is the study being limited to children who attended private schools where foreign curricula are used, and not the national English curriculum *English for Palestine*. Nevertheless, it may be claimed that these children represent a good sample of Palestinian children because they are of different ages and from both

genders. Moreover, the results of the study can be generalized to include Palestinian children of different ages because the level of competency in the English language did not have a crucial influence on the type or amount of instances of code-switching.

1.7 Definitions of Terms

1. *Code* 'is a relatively neutral conceptualization of a linguistic variety - be it a language or a dialect' (Boztepe, 2005,p.4).
2. *Code-switching* is a practice by which interlocutors alternate between two or more languages, or even varieties of the same language, in a conversation.
3. *Intersentential switching* is the type of code-switching which occurs at sentence or clause boundaries, i.e. outside the sentence or the clause level, (Myers-Scotton, 1989).
4. *Intra-sentential switching* takes place inside the sentence or the clause level, which also referred to as *code-mixing*.
5. *Tag-switching* is a common type of intra-sentential switching which involves 'the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language' (Barredo, 1997, p 4).
6. *Intra-word switching* occurs within a word such as at a morpheme boundary, (Myers-Scotton, 1989).

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Background

2.1.1 Definitions of Code-switching

The present study was based upon a selection of theoretical assumptions related to the phenomenon of code-switching, one of which was the definition itself. The various proposed definitions of the term itself reflect an intense interest in the phenomenon by the researchers and also their different interpretations of its nature and causes. Muysken (2000) defined it as "the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event" (p.1) while Bentahila and Davies (1983), defined it as "the use of two languages within a single conversation, exchange or utterance" (p. 302). The latter even went as far as considering it a third code which is the product of mixing two codes together, as contrasted with that of choosing one code over the other. Myers-Scotton (1990), whose definition will be adopted in this study, defined it as "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation. It can be intra- or –extra sentential and also intra-word" (p.85).

2.1.2 The Markedness Model

Explanations of why bilinguals switch codes were another base to build upon in this study. Myers-Scotton (1995) presented the Markedness model to propose an explanation. The idea proposed in the model was that the bi- or multilingual speakers choose to use a specific linguistic code in an interaction in order to determine the type of relation they desire to have with the other interlocutor and to define a specific image of themselves. The model has three main elements that were clarified in Jagero & Odongo (2011). The first is the 'unmarked code' which is the most expected one as a medium of interaction in regard to the components of a situation,

such as the interlocutors, the topic and the setting. Obviously, the second is the 'marked choice' and it is the unexpected one. The third is the 'exploratory choice' which is manifested when the speaker switches codes when s/he is not sure of the choice that would be best for achieving their goal. Bi- or multilingual speakers usually make unmarked choices because they are aware of the fact that these choices are safer. However, this is not always the case because "[s]peakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices, and make their decisions, typically unconsciously" (Myers-Scotton, 1995, p.75).

2.1.3 Competency Level and Code-switching

It is presumed that the level of complexity of a language reflects a person's competence in that language. The complexity of code-switching practices is also believed to depend on the level of competency in the two languages and researchers have investigated this area. Poplack (1980) found that a good knowledge of the grammars of two languages (or more) enhances the complexity of code-switching between them, and that a high level of bilingual competence is required for alternating between two languages.

Hammink (2000) suggested that a good command of the two languages is required for producing intra-sentential code-switching. Jalil (2009) claimed that the "most complex type of code-switching is the intrasentential one" (p.4) and explained its complexity by the fact that it is most likely to result in producing ungrammatical code-switches due to the necessity of a great knowledge of the grammars of the two languages and how they map onto each other. Similarly, Poplack (1980) claimed that intra-sentential code-switching type requires a high level of knowledge of the grammar of L2. Next in Poplack's scale was 'full sentences', i.e. inter-sentential type, and lastly came tag-switching which "include interjections, fillers, tags, and

idiomatic expressions, all of which can be produced in L2 with only minimal knowledge of the grammar of that language" (p.605).

Nevertheless, other researchers claimed that intra-sentential code-switching is easier than inter-sentential code-switching arguing that it is easier to switch shorter language sequences than longer ones (Iqbal, 2011).

Other researchers studied the impact of acquiring different levels of competency in a second language on the speaker's choice of a specific pattern of code-switching to use in an interaction. This was the focus of Pfaff's (1999) study which was conducted on a child who was born and brought up in Germany by his Turkish parents. The findings of this case study revealed that the child's proficiency in the second language seemed to govern his choice of specific patterns of code-switching and that he developed new linguistic code-switching behaviours as he acquired higher levels of competency in his L2, i.e. German. The sharp diversion that he showed in using the types of these behaviours reflected his ideas about the linguistic competence of his interlocutors, whether German or Turkish, and his notions of the different communicative norms in the community.

2.1.4 Social Associations of Code-switching

"[L]anguage choice and mixing behaviour reveal early sensitivity to the preferred language of the interlocutor, whose perceived language preference he attempts to match" (p. 117-118). The interpretation of the child's behaviour might shed light on and better explain what Abdel-Fattah (2010) stated about the inconsistency in the code-switching behaviour of single individuals who may choose to switch codes on specific occasions and to withhold on other occasions. Moreover, the findings of Pfaff's study might be supported by the claims of Myers-Scotton (2002). The latter pointed out that the speaker's choices of switching codes can

sometimes be a social technique which the speaker uses in order to present his/her self in relation to others, and she added that many people do have specific social and psychological associations with the different languages available for use in a community and by using one over another the speaker sends a message of who he or she is.

Code-switching may be triggered by many factors, as Kim (2006) clarified, such as interlocutors, emotions, situations, attitudes and messages. These factors are the basis for making a language choice by bilingual people and Bhatia & Ritchie (2004) classified them to 'with whom' referring to the participants including their backgrounds and relationships, 'about what' including the topic and content, and 'when and where' a speech act occurs. Fishman (1965) agreed and stated that it is such factors which are outside the speaker that determine the choice of language among bilingual speakers. In other words, it might be said that code-switching practices are not isolated from the culture in which they occur. Malik (1994) explained that cultural conditions may control the reasons for code-switching. Some lexical items and expressions are not acceptable in specific cultures, or even do not exist. As a result, when a speaker has to mention them, he/she borrows the exact item or expression from the other language in which the 'forbidden' or 'strange' concept exists. Other conditions, Malik clarified, are related to particular professions such as law, medicine and engineering where the professionals prefer to use terms from the language in which they got their education simply because they are the ones available for them, and not terms from their mother tongue.

2.1.5 The Comprehensive Framework of Matrix Language (MLF)

Moreover, theories about the nature of code-switching practices were also built upon in this study. One of them was Myers-Scotton's comprehensive framework of matrix language (MLF), which accounts for intrasentential code-switching. In this model, "it is assumed that

every clause has a matrix language … and that every utterance has a ML grammatical frame into which morphemes may be inserted or embedded whether they derive from one or more than one language" (Smith, 2004, para.7). The language from which the morphemes are taken to be inserted in the matrix language is called the embedded language. The two languages are also called the host and the guest language, respectively. For example, when Leen talks with her brother Omar about the i-pad games by saying,

"laʔ, hadoul sˤiʕbaːt; hadoul il-*easy*"

"No, these are hard; those are the-…"

the host (or matrix) language is Arabic because it is the dominant one and it provides the frame for the sentence. English is the guest (or embedded) language because the English word *easy* was inserted in the Arabic sentence. In this specific example, the embedded words followed the morphological rules of the host language by taking accepting its definite article '*il*'.

2.1.6 Code-switching: A Discourse Phenomenon

Other different aspects of the phenomenon were also explored by the researchers such as the constraints governing its use, its different types, reasons behind it, its practitioners' motives, and the conditions it occurs in. The present study investigated the communicative functions and the motives related to the phenomenon. Romaine (2000) said that …

> "… there is increasing evidence to indicate that this mixed mode of speaking serves important functions in the communities where it is used and that it is not random." (p. 57)

She pointed out that code-switching cannot be dealt with only in terms of the structure of sentences, but rather as a discourse phenomenon which speakers are stylistically motivated to get

involved in and which serves expressive functions and has meaning. These functions, she added, are the concern of the 'metaphorical' code-switching as opposed to the 'transactional' type which is "controlled by components of the speech event like topic and participant" (p. 59). She also claimed that a switch may achieve more than one function at the same time and thus attributing only one meaning to a particular switch may not be possible.

2.2 Review of Relevant Studies

The present study focused on the communicative functions and the motives related to the phenomenon of code-switching, and this section includes a review of them in which the researcher sorted what some of the researchers found out into two main categories: communicative functions and speakers' motives.

2.2.1 Communicative Functions of Code-switching

In certain conditions, speakers find themselves switching codes, consciously or unconsciously, in an attempt to communicate more effectively and to achieve specific communicative functions. Listeners too recognize these functions as pointed out by Genesee (1980) who said that some children who do not actually switch codes recognize the psychological and the social objectives of the practice. Karen (2003) discussed some of the possible conditions in which code-switching is most likely to happen and following are some of them:

- *Lack of one word in one of the switched languages*
- *Some concepts are easier to be expressed in one of the languages*
- *Some activities have been experienced only in one of the languages*
- *A misunderstanding must be clarified*
- *One wants to exclude another person from the conversation*

- *One desires to create a specific communication effect*

- *One continues to speak the language used lastly due to the trigger effect*

- *One wishes to express group solidarity*

- *One wants to make a point*

Malik (1994) listed situations according to the functions that they aimed at achieving. The following were some of them:

- *The speaker's mood*

- *Emphasizing a point*

- *Habitual Experience*

- *Semantic significance*

- *Showing identity with a group*

- *Addressing a different audience*

- *Attracting attention*

Looking closely at the two previous lists, one can detect some common points between them such as *emphasizing a point*, *showing solidarity with a group* and *excluding somebody from the conversation*. Similarly, Sert (2005) revealed that code-switching in a classroom context was meant to be *a reflection of the interlocutors' ethnic identity* and aimed at *building solidarity* among them.

Sert (2005) also discussed some of the functions. One of them was *the equivalence function* by which students show their ability *to bridge a gap in communication* when they spoke in the foreign language, in which they are not competent, by using the native word instead of its equivalent foreign word. This equivalence function was the first condition to be included in Karen's list as a condition where the lack of one word in one of the two languages enhances the

chances of switching codes. Tarone (1980) also mentioned this function and considered it a communicative strategy through which a speaker tries to solve a difficulty in the second language by retreating to the first language. The example that the researcher included was a sentence in which one word from the speaker's first language was inserted in a sentence in English because the child who produced it did not know the equivalent English word. Færch and Kasper (1984) classified such a communicative attempt as a non-cooperative achievement strategy by which the speaker tries to solve the problem without resorting to the help of others, as opposed to the cooperative strategies of the same type and to the avoidance ones. In such cases, the speakers try to fill the gaps in their vocabulary repertoire in order *to guarantee the continuity of the interaction* and *to avoid a breakage in communication*. Abdel-Fattah (2010) claimed that such attempts arise from the speakers feeling that "their language is imperfect" (p.101) especially when it comes to expressions of technology and science. Talking about the same function, the personal experience of the writer with code-switching is included in Hamilton (2011). She explained that she often switched languages in the middle of sentences when she forgot a word, in an attempt to find a suitable one. She added that, sometimes, it was the *lack of an equivalent way to say a word, phrase or emotion in her native English* that made her use phrases in another language. This is because, she thought, that some concepts are more easily stated and discussed in one language, and that they might lose an important part of their meaning when they are described in another language. In Shizuka (2006) it was concluded that the two young children, whose code-switching had been studied, code-switched more often from English into Japanese (their dominant language). They did so when they forgot the Japanese word or in situations where it was easier to use English words.

Emphasis and *clarification* through *reiteration*, which was proposed to be one of six code-switching functions in Gumpertz (1982), were also reported as functions to be achieved by code-switching. Students in Eldridge (1996) switched languages for such purposes. They said a message in the target language and then they repeated it in the native language to signify to the teacher that they really understood what they have said, and/or to make sure that they have conveyed the meaning in the target language correctly. They also switched languages in order to control conflict in the intended meaning, i.e., to avoid possible misunderstandings arising from the lack of words that are culturally equivalent. Similarly, in Bailey (2000), Dominican American high school students used code-switching through reiteration to confirm their understanding of a friend's message and to serve *emphasizing* or *clarifying* such a message. They code-switched to discuss formal topics such as the school rules and their code-switching functioned "as a particularly powerful framing device to repair a misunderstanding" (p.180). The school children in Reyes (2004) also used code-switching for the purposes of *clarification* and *emphasis* in addition to *topic shift* and *accommodation*. They were found to switch codes more frequently while changing topics because they spent much of their time talking about social events and teasing each other. Shizuka (2006) included *emphasis* as a function for the code-switching of two young children, and explained that the code-switcher in such a case repeats the same meaning in the other language.

The function of *clarification* was also stated in Karen (2003) as a possible condition for code-switching when a speaker attempts to clarify a misunderstanding, and that of *emphasis* was mentioned in Malik (1994) as a situation in which a speaker aims at *emphasizing a point*. Elsaadany (2003) concluded that Arabs in America use code-switching, from Arabic to English, to replace the Arabic expressions with English ones in order *to facilitate understanding*. They

did so when they thought that the use of Arabic expressions or words may result in confusion. In addition, he clarified that their code-switching *emphasized the English expressions as being important*, and '[t]hus, the choice of English expressions shows *accuracy, emphasis* and *clarity*' (p.83). He gave the expression of 'annual fee' as an example. It was used in a conversation between a Jordanian man and an Egyptian one, by both of them. The speaker used it to make sure that he is fully understood, and the listener repeated it to show that he understands what the meaning of the phrase is. McLaughlin, Blanchard, & Osanai (1995) saw that *clarification of statements* and *clearing ambiguities* are functions aimed at by young children, while the older children, together with adults, do the same in order to convey social meanings

Some speakers switched codes *to mark quotations*, i.e. to report what has been said by another person in the same language he/she used. This is a function that Gumpertz (1982) mentioned among other six functions. Another was *the speaker's feeling that one language is more suitable for a specific topic than another.* Cook (2001) mentioned that function and gave two examples to elaborate:

> "Mexican Americans … who prefer to talk about money in English rather than Spanish and one of my Malaysian students who told me that she could express romantic feelings in English but not in Bahasa Malaysia" (p. 104).

The second example clarifies well, the researcher believes, what Abdel-Fattah (2010) meant by saying that it is *the speaker's wish to idiosyncratically express affective feelings* such as anger that makes him/her switch codes. More examples were provided by Nortier (2011) who said that a Turkish/Dutch girl told her that she preferred to curse in Dutch because cursing in Turkish sounds more serious and severe.

2.2.2 Speakers' Motives for Code-switching

(1) *Lack of topic-related vocabulary* was one of the repeatedly-mentioned reasons for switching codes. In Muthusamy (2009), a study which investigated the communicative functions and reasons for code-switching among Tamil speaking undergraduate university students in Malaysia, students said that they found themselves switching codes whenever they encountered a difficulty in finding an appropriate word when talking about a specific topic. Consequently, they resort to another language to choose words they feel are more comprehensible and achieve more effective communication. Similarly, bilinguals' code-switching was explained as inefficiency in finding an appropriate word or expression or even translations for the needed vocabulary, (Grosjean, 1982, p.150).

(2) *Habit* was another reason the students gave to explain their code-switching behavior, also in Muthusamy (2009). This behaviour was seen, as the responses of the students showed, as a normal psychological one emerging from their being accustomed to switching languages in the environment they were raised in. Their behaviour included not only the choice of language, but also their selection of lexical items and grammatical structures. In other words, one may say that these students were influenced by and imitated other people in the community who switched codes. Malik (1994) discussed and elaborated on the habitual practices of code-switching by giving examples of words and expressions used in this way. Some of these are frozen expressions "of greeting and parting, commands and request, invitation, expressions of gratitude" (p.5).

(3) The same students said that they aimed at *making a point* by switching codes. Using a word in another language emphasized its semantic importance.

(4) They also switched codes for the purpose of *identifying with a specific group*. At a specific point of an interaction, they wanted to be identified with the speakers of an admired linguistic group or with the majority in order to bond with the intended group.

(5) They were also motivated by a need for *expressing a specific mood*, i.e., the speaker switches codes when he/she feels happy, sad or furious. Muthusamy (2009) expressed this reason by saying that "[t]he speaker may choose to switch … for the mere pleasure of switching" (p.9), and Grosjean (1982), reported that some bilinguals usually code-switch and code-mix when they are tired, lazy, or angry and that "[i]t is rare that a bilingual can lock out one language completely when speaking the other, especially when he or she is tired or under stress" (p.290).

(6) The same study observed an interesting reason for code-switching during the interviews and discussions with the students. This was *showing command over the language of power*, which can be associated with the speakers' *desire for getting the best possible rewards*. The latter was a reason that Myers-Scotton (2002) discussed. It was pointed out in this study that the choice a speaker makes, on which language to use, is a highly subjective one based upon a belief that this choice is the best one. The writer illustrated by giving an example of a Hungarian bilingual child living with his family in the United States. This child chose to switch to English, while having a meal, at a point where he wanted to inform his mother that he preferred to prepare his salad by himself. In his attempt to achieve this goal, he chose the language of the powerful and dominant culture to show his own power and independence. Taweel & Btoosh (2012) stated that

> "Code-switching is sometimes used as a symbol of power. In a study conducted on a 4-year-Chinese child, Bain and Yu (2000) find that the child switches to English as a way of having a certain power in a

situation. Similar findings about two children but with French-English code-switching are also reported in Jisa (2000)" p.(3)

(7) *Getting the prestige of one language over another* is the reason why some speakers choose to use it, according to Muthusamy (2009), Romaine (2000) and Abdel-Fattah (2010). Muthusamy (2009) noted that in the Malaysian context, the language of power and prestige is often English and the students usually desire to show their knowledge of this language. Romaine (2000) pointed out that educated people are expected to know another language, such as French in most European countries and even in Russia before the Revolution where it was used by polite and cultured people. Abdel-Fattah (2000) further said that when the society gives prestige to those who know a foreign or/and a second language, they are psychologically motivated to switch codes in order to show their knowledge ability and thus attain the prestige. Suleiman (2004) thought of switching codes as "an attempt at identity negotiation whereby the speaker seeks symbolically to ascribe to the self some of the attributes associated with a more prestigious group" (p.31). Myers-Scotton (2002) believed that both power and charm are elements of one motive which is *prestige*.

(8) *Wanting to express oneself in all the linguistic resources available at one's disposal* motivated some children to switch codes. Ayeomoni (2006) concluded that Yoruba children start code-switching between English and Yoruba language and start merging the two grammatical systems of the two languages in the primary school stage for that reason.

(9) One more reason, mentioned in Cook (2001), is *showing the speaker's role*. A good incident to exemplify this reason is one from western Kenya, presented in Romaine (2000), in which a sister speaks to her brother, in his store, in their mother tongue spoken at home in order to get a

special treatment. However the brother insists on using Swahili, being the neutral choice, to emphasize his role as a seller and a store owner and not a brother.

(10) *Including oneself in informal personalized activities that pertain to a specific group of persons* was another reason that Romaine (2000) proposed. Genishi (1976) expressed the same idea by saying that those who switch codes are motivated by *a desire to accommodate*. Similarly, Romaine (2000) pointed out that children see code-switching as a means to accommodate and not as one for emphasizing a point, nor for marking an ethnic identity. Nortier (2011) simplified the idea when she said that a Dutch-Arabic bilingual who lives in Netherlands would probably feel more comfortable talking in Arabic with family members and Dutch with friends.

(11) Quite the contrary, Romaine (2000) and McCormick, K. M. (1994), pointed out that code-switching may be used as *a strategy of neutrality* by using it continually during an interaction to avoid having the interaction defined in terms of a specific social sector, by using the language associated with it, or as a way of trying to decide upon the appropriate or acceptable code to be used in a specific situation. Nortier (2011) saw that a person might choose to switch codes in order to show that he/she knows the language, even though poorly, and would like to be identified as so. She pointed out that "[code-switching] is a powerful tool for identification" (para. 9).

Other researchers investigated situations which are similar to Karen's conditions and which people created to pass on meaning. One of these researchers was Gumpertz (1982) who included some of these situations. They represent reasons for code-switching that will most probably be relevant to the present study. Following are they:

- to convey precise meaning
- to ease communication, i.e., utilizing the shortest and the easiest route

- to negotiate with greater authority
- to capture attention, i.e. stylistic, emphatic, emotional
- to communicate more effectively
- to close the status gap
- to establish goodwill and support

Commenting on the use of code-switching in Gumperz's situations, Muthusamy (2009) claimed that effective communication depends on fulfilling the relational and referential function of language which is achieved by code-switching practices. Nilep (2006) clarified this statement when he described code-switching as a contextualization cue which enables the speaker, by giving information that is not referenced in the content of the utterance, to guide the listener in the process of interpreting the utterance. In such a case, the listener himself is expected to come to a better understanding of what has been said.

Although other researchers studied other aspects related to code-switching, such as the code-switcher's knowledge of the behaviour itself, their studies provided useful information about the types and functions of the practice. One of these studies was Hammink (2000). Despite the irrelevant general topic of this study, it contained some useful information. In its abstract, the researcher said that "Poplack found that the complexity of intrasentential code switching required that the speaker has a sophisticated knowledge of the grammars of both languages … Less proficient bilinguals favored single-word and tag switches, while more proficient bilinguals code switched at the phrase and clause level as well". In the body of the study, the researcher referred to the results of Genishi (1976) which showed that young children switched codes driven by a motivation to accommodate their friends who had a different level of language ability.

In addition to her own experience about code-switching and its functions, the writer of Hamilton (2011) listed reasons for code-switching such as …

> "hiding a person's level of fluency, …, indicating a change from an informal to formal situation, …, exerting control over a situation, …, or easing interpersonal relationships" (para. 3).

'Motives' were referred to by 'causes' in Ayeomoni (2006) and the researcher listed many causes that stand behind the phenomenon of code-switching. He said that '[s]ome are status, integrity, self-pride, comfortability and prestige (Akere, 1977; Bokamba, 1989; Hymes, 1962; Kashru, 1989; Kamwangamalu, 1989). Other causes include modernization, Westernization, efficiency, professionalism and social advancement (Kashru, 1989; Kamwangamalu, 1989). According to these scholars, some of the functions of code-switching and code-mixing are intra-group identity (Gumperz, 1982); poetic creativity (Kashru, 1989) and the expression of modernization (Kamwangamalu, 1989)'.

2.3 Types of Code-switching

This chapter has been started by presenting different definitions of the term 'code-switching' which reflect the strong debate on how to view and explain the practices of this phenomenon. The broad term includes various forms of linguistic communicative behaviour of bilingual people which researchers most commonly classified as borrowing, mixing and switching. However, defining clear-cut boundaries between these classifications has not been an easy mission and has been considered a non-necessary process by some researchers. Boztepe (2005) claimed that, in order to correctly understand the cultural and social processes related to code-switching, it is essential that researchers free themselves from the need to classify instances of non-native utterances in language as being code-switches or borrowings. 'After all, there are

more similarities than differences between the two concepts' (Boztepe, 2005, p.8). The researchers have generally agreed on the classification proposed in Poplack (1980) which was based on the linguistic structures of code-switched utterances. This classification differentiated between three kinds of code-switching: inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and tag-switching.

Inter-sentential code-switching refers to switching languages across the sentence boundaries. It is most common among fluent bilinguals and it is believed to be a mechanical and an unconscious linguistic process that "fills in unknown or unavailable terms in one language" (Bista, 2010, p. 3). A good example would be the title of Poplack's (1980) study which is 'Sometimes I will start a sentence in English y terminó in español', [Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish and finish in Spanish].

Intra-sentential code-switching (which is also referred to as *code-mixing*) occurs within the sentence boundaries, without hesitating or making pauses that may indicate the shift (Lipski, 1985). It is more complicated than the first type. "The complexity of this type of switching is explained by the high probability of violation of syntactic rules, as well as the requirement of a great knowledge of both grammars and how they map onto each other" (Jalil, 2009, p. 4). According to the Matrix Language Model, the word structure of the dominant language, i.e. the matrix language, governs the practice in this type. The material from the other language, namely the embedded language, is just inserted in the frame of the matrix language. In fact, Muysken (1997) referred to this type as *insertion* and explained it with the ABA structure in which A and B stand for two languages and the constituent of B can be a word or multiple words.

The third type is *tag-switching* which involves the insertion of a tag (e.g. no way, oh my God, you know, right, etc) in a language other than that of the whole sentence and these tags may

freely inserted at any point in a sentence. It does not require a high competence in L2 and it may be claimed that it is the easiest type to be practiced since its use does not usually involve grammatical violations. Poplack (1980) added that "[t]he ease with which single nouns may be switched is attested to by the fact that of all grammatical categories, they have been found to be the most frequently switched" (p. 589).

Another type of code-switching is the *intra-word* type in which the switch occurs within the boundaries of a word, such as in *workbooki* (English *workbook* with the Arabic first person singular possessive pronoun (*i*).

Conclusion

Reviewing the literature revealed that there are two main models followed for investigating of the phenomenon. One model focused on observation of code-switching practitioners. Conversations were recorded and code-switching instances were then calculated and analyzed, both structure and function wise. In the other model, questionnaires were the means of collecting data. The researcher, being aware of the rareness of code-switching studies conducted in an EFL context, decided to carry out a study that is a mix of both models. The phenomenon existed in the interactions of the researcher's children and it was a necessity to observe them in order to collect data. To prove that it existed in other families and peer interactions, a questionnaire procedure was required to provide supporting evidence.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Subjects:

The subjects in this study were Palestinian children, aged between 8 and 15, whose mother-tongue is Arabic and who attended private schools in the city of Jerusalem. In the selected schools, English was taught as a school subject and not as a medium of instruction. Being the researcher's own children, four of the subjects were closely observed in the family context. The older ones were females named Leen and Hiba, and the youngest were males named Muhammad and Omar. When the observation was initiated, Leen was 14, Hiba was 13, Muhammad was 9 and Omar was 8. They all started to learn English at the age of five, i.e. in kindergarten, but its use was not really needed for interaction outside the classroom almost at all. Actually, it was learned as a foreign language. However, the children switched it with Arabic on a daily basis in their family and peer conversations. They watched television series and movies in English, and they played computer and video games in which they read and listened to instructions in English. The two girls were interested in English songs and singers too. The parents of the four children were also proficient in English and that made the children's family environment suitable for switching codes since all members were capable of perceiving and producing speech with switched codes. The parents did not mind the code-switching practices of their children. On the contrary, they encouraged them to practice their English and saw their use of code-switching as a good sign of learning and they even got involved in such practices themselves.

The other group of children consisted of 170 school children who were chosen from the same schools which the researcher's four children attended and within the same age range. The

total number of the male students in this sample was 64 and that of the females was 106. The number of females was bigger in the sample due to the fact that one of the two schools, from which the students were selected, was a girls' school while the other was a mixed one. The questionnaire was distributed to the third, fourth, eighth and ninth graders by their own teachers to whom the purpose of the study has been explained in order to become able of explaining the questions and sentences for their students.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

Due to the uniqueness of the context of the present study, three different types of methods were used to collect data. With her own four children, the researcher used observation, accompanied with documentation in a diary, and also a structured interview. As for the school children, they had to respond to a questionnaire.

3.2.1 Observation

The researcher, being the mother of the four children, had access to most of the children's conversations and could detect instances of code-switching and collect data of the kind for analysis. This procedure was conducted over a period of six and a half months, from July 2nd, 20111 to January 19th, 2012. She wrote utterances that included code-switching in a diary, specifying who produced the utterance, whom was addressed and the specific context (if there was one) in which the instance occurred. During this process, it was important to her that the children do not know that they are being observed in order to get the utterances in a natural setting. She was afraid that tape- or video-recording would have caught their attention and could have resulted in an alteration of behaviour or even refrain from practicing. Even writing in the diary did attract their attention a few times, but they were always content with the researcher's answer that she was writing down ideas in preparation for the new scholastic year (since this was

something she usually did as a school teacher). In another attempt to diminish any influence on their code-switching behaviour, she, and the children's father, refrained from switching English and Arabic with the children during the period of observation. Consequently, the instances that were collected were natural and spontaneous. The researcher's being the mother of the subjects freed her of the burden of having to establish rapport between her and the subjects, and the subjects themselves behaved naturally because no 'stranger' is there. This is probably why Miller (1981), reported in Atawneh (1983), claimed that parents are the ideal observers of their children.

The observation took place at all times and places in which the researcher and her children were together, whether inside or outside the house. When it was not possible to write down the utterances at the time of their production, in fear of the issue being discovered, both the researcher and the father of the children would memorize the utterances and then write them down when possible.

The children's code-switching was not restricted to a specific activity (though more obvious in some of them as will be discussed later), and this resulted in gathering a variety of instances related to different domains. They switched the two languages during their daily interactions such as playing, chatting, quarrelling or having meals, etc. They also code-switched during watching television and playing computer games, and much of their switching occurred during their playing Wii games. These are interactional video games in which players' movements are detected remotely and their game characters move accordingly. Its verbal and written instructions are in English, and all the characters in the games speak English. The children usually got very excited while playing and got engaged in code-switched verbal responses to the game's actions. It needs a high level of concentration to play these games and

this provided the opportunity for the researcher to be with the children in the same room writing down what they say without attracting their attention most of the time. She wrote down their utterances day by day.

3.2.2 A Structured Interview

After about six and a half months of observation, the observation and the diary documentation had to be stopped because the topic of the research had to be revealed to the children. The next procedure was to interview them in order to ask them about their code-switching practices. Basically, the questions of the questionnaire (to be discussed later) were the basis for the interview. Importantly, they were asked whether their code-switching was a conscious or unconscious practice. They were also asked if mixing English with Arabic made them feel more comfortable and made their communication easier. They were presented with specific situations, in which code-switching usually takes place, and they had to decide upon the ones that they usually code-switched in. Finally, they had to grade topics of interaction according to how much code-switching they do when they discuss these topics. It was only with the youngest child that the researcher needed to simplify the sentences of the questionnaire with examples of similar life situations.

All the above inquiries were included in the questionnaire but the researcher chose to do this questioning procedure orally with the four children for two reasons. Firstly, she wanted to be able to expand the question-answer interaction between her and the children, if she needed to, in order to get more detailed information especially if a given answer triggered a new inquiry. The other reason was that she wanted to make sure that the sentences in the questionnaire would be comprehensible for the other group of children and to spot any ambiguous ones and she found out that the youngest child, about nine years old, needed the sentences of the questionnaire to be

simplified for him and exemplified with similar life situations. She aimed at passing the information gained from this experience to the other teachers who would conduct the questionnaire procedure with their students and to benefit from it herself. Nevertheless, the researcher asked the two girls a few more questions after classifying the children's code-switching instances according to the type of code-switching they contained. These questions aimed at exploring the girls' explanations of the results of this classification in specific and of the purpose (or function) of their code-switching in some of the instances.

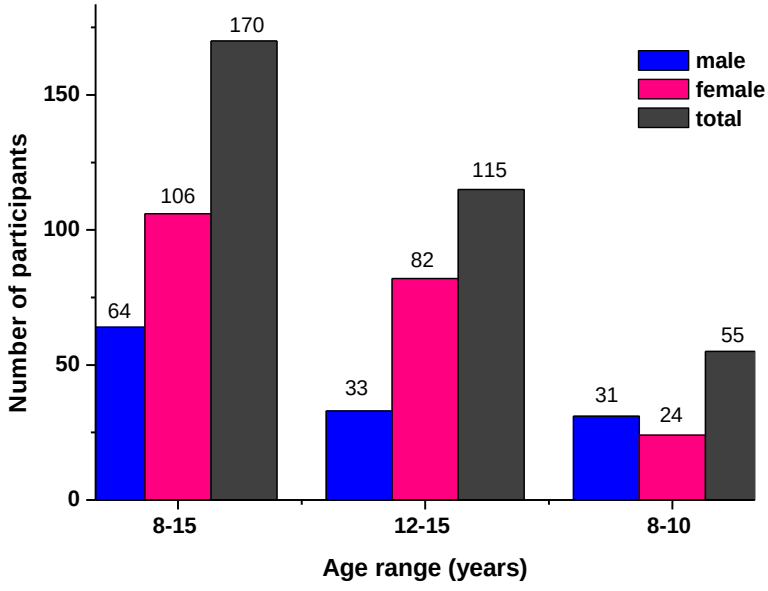
3.2.3 A Questionnaire

The last procedure was using a questionnaire (see appendix A, page 91) which was validated by Dr. Raghad Dwaik and Dr. Riyad Zahdeh. It included questions about the motives and desired functions of code-switching. It was distributed for school children, of the same age range, to explore their motives and the functions they desire to achieve (if they affirm the fact that they do switch codes). Conducting such a questionnaire was meant to examine the existence of the code-switching phenomenon among the larger sector of Palestinian children, and to compare its results with the observational ones. For that reason, the researcher made sure to choose children with the most similar conditions to those of her four children.

As was mentioned in the above section, the researcher used the questions of the questionnaire as a basis for interviewing her four children. Doing this helped her in conducting the questionnaire for the fourth graders whose English teacher she was. Some of the questionnaire sentences had to be explained for the children in slang Arabic and other had to be exemplified with real life situations so that the children could understand them well. The other teachers were also supplied with the information that the researcher got from the interview

experience in order to be able to deal with any problems or discomforts that they or/and their students might face.

However, some of the questionnaires had to be discarded because the researcher saw that they were useless for two main reasons. The first one was that the respondents of such questionnaires replied with a 'No' answer for the question about practicing code-switching and yet continued responding to the other questions about the functions and the motives. The other reason was detecting some evidence that the respondent did not take the matter seriously, such as leaving a whole question unanswered or putting one big circle around all the sentences of a question. Nevertheless, the number of the questionnaires that were rejected for the first reason was bigger, 15 out of 38, and the respondents of these questionnaires were mostly from the third grade. This fact made the researcher decide not to expand the number of respondents from the third and fourth grades, 8-to-10 years old, and to concentrate on those from the eighth and ninth grades, 12-to-15 years old. Graph 1 presents the age and gender of the participants.



Graph 1. Age and gender of the participants

The questionnaire consisted of four main paragraphs, the first of which was an inquiry about age, gender and years of learning English. The second contained five questions about whether the participants code-switch with family and friends or not, whether their parents speak English or not and if they mind the code-switching practices of their children and lastly about the children's feeling during code-switching. Ten of the situations, in which code-switching commonly takes place, and motives, that trigger code-switching, were included in the third paragraph. Each participant had to choose the ones that are true for his/her own case. In the last one, seven topics that are usually discussed in conversations were listed, and the participants judged these topics in relation to how much code-switching (between English and Arabic) they practiced while discussing them. The scale of judgement ranged from 1 to 5, 1 referred to the least amount of code-switched utterances involved in the topic and 5 referred to the most.

3.3 Methods of Classifying and Analyzing Data

3.3.1 The Code-switching Instances of the Researcher's Four Children

After stopping the observation, the instances were classified in categories according to the functions that these instances aimed at achieving or the motives that led to their production. The classification depended on mere qualitative analysis by the researcher who studied the utterances themselves and, equally important, the contexts in which they were produced. The activity the children were involved in, the interlocutor, the subject, the mood of the speaker or/and the listener and the level of competency were all taken in consideration by the researcher during the classification procedure.

However, classifying the instances was not an easy task for two main reasons. Firstly, many of the instances seemed to emerge from the nowhere, i.e. without a clear motive or desired function and these were classified in the category of *habit*. Secondly, some other instances were

difficult to be clearly related to only one motive or function and they would fit into two. In other words, such instances overlapped in two of the categories.

Eventually, the instances were classified in eight main categories. The researcher started by writing eight main functions and motives as titles for the categories. They were chosen because they prevailed as very salient in the literature and because the researcher believed her children's code-switching behaviour was related to them. Each instance was then dealt with individually in order to be classified in one of the eight categories, having in mind all the factors that have been mentioned above. At the end of the procedure, the instances were grouped in only six of the chosen categories because the comprehensive analysis of each instance clarified for the researcher where it belonged to, and when an overlapping occurred with an instance the researcher had to put it in the category that she believed it better belonged to. *Accommodation* and *excluding a person* were the two excluded functions because the researcher could not relate any of the instances to them. The other six will be presented and discussed in the next chapter.

In addition, the children's code-switching instances were classified once again according to another criterion which is 'types of code-switching'. The instances were divided according to the speaker first. Then, the instances produced by each child were classified again according to their type: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and intra-word. They were calculated and the results were represented in a graph.

3.3.2 The Questionnaire

The analysis of the questionnaire was merely qualitative. The responses were entered for analysis to Microsoft Office Excel 2007, and the drawing of the graphs was done using Origin Pro 7.0.

As for the first question, the total number of the questionnaires was entered and the participants were distributed according to their gender, age and two age ranges, 8-to-10 group and 12-to-15 group.

As for the other three questions, a unified division of the participants was followed. They were treated as one whole group as a start. They were then divided to two age groups, the 8-to-10 group and to the 12-to-15 group. Another division was between males and females as separate groups. Obviously, the aim of these divisions was to detect any differences in the responses between the two age groups and between the males and females.

In the second question, the ‘yes’ and ‘no’ answers were calculated and represented in a graph for each of the divisions pointed out above. In the third question, it was the respondents’ choices of each sentence that were also calculated and represented in the exact same division. The fourth and last question needed an average of ‘grades’ to be measured for each branch. It was measured by dividing the sum of the grades on the number of the participants.

The diversity of methods used for collecting and analyzing the data presented above aimed at attaining reliable and generalizable results. The objectivity of the quantitative analysis will support the subjectivity of the qualitative results. Moreover, conducting a questionnaire on 170 male and female school children, from the same age group of the four children, aimed at finding similarities and differences between the two types of results.

Chapter 4

Results and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

After presenting a detailed description of the subjects and the methods of collecting and classifying the data, this chapter presents the researcher's analysis of the collected data that consists of two groups. As presented in the previous chapter, there are two types of data: observational and questionnaire-related. Consequently and respectively, there will be two types of analysis: qualitative and quantitative.

4.2 Analysis of the Four Subjects' Code-switching Instances

The code-switching instances of the four children in the family context were studied carefully in order to find common motives and/or functions by which the behavior itself could be explained. Trying to achieve an objective analysis, the researcher studied the context of each instance and all the factors that might have affected or triggered it, such as the interlocutor, the mood, the content, etc. The fact that the researcher was the mother of the four children eased her task in this respect because of her well-acquaintance with their usual behaviour and her good knowledge of their personalities. Nevertheless, this ease was sometimes obstructed by the ambiguity of the reason why a child switched codes at a specific point or the fact that some instances of code-switching seemed to accept two explanations, i.e. they could be explained in relation to more than one function or motive.

4.2.1 Functions and Motives

Studying the code-switching instances produced by the four children revealed that their behaviour relate to six main motives and functions. The motives are: making a point, showing knowledge of the language of power or/and prestige and, simply, habitual use. The

communicative functions were: clarification and emphasis, expressing feelings (or mood) and compensating for the lack of vocabulary items. The lack of vocabulary items, expressing feelings in a specific mood and habitual use were more dominant than others. Following will be a detailed discussion of each of the six functions and motives, starting with the prominent ones.

4.2.1.1 Lack of Vocabulary Items

About 24% of the collected instances showed that the four children switched codes when they did not know, or remember at that moment, the equivalent word or expression from the other language. Interestingly, the missing words or expressions were from the two switched languages. Sometimes the child would say a sentence in Arabic and insert an English word and on other occasions the opposite happened.

The children showed a need to switch codes to achieve this function mainly in interactions involving experiences practiced in only one of the two languages. Some of these interactions took place during watching television and during playing computer and video games, which are mostly available in English. The researcher divided code-switching instances within this domain into two groups:

1- Switching English words and/or expressions, of which the child did not know the Arabic equivalent because s/he was initially exposed to these words through hearing or reading the instructions of these games. Following are some examples of instances that occurred during playing video games:

(1) Omar to Leen: "il-*high score* tabaʕiː aʕlaː min il-*high score* tabaʕek."

Omar to Leen: "the …… of mine is higher than the …….. of yours."

(2) Muhammad to Omar: "ʕamr muptadeʔ, maː ptiʔdar tilʕab maʕo *expert*."

Muhammad to Omar: "Amr is a beginner, you cannot play with him … ."

(3) Muhammad: "*uniform*-hom louno azraʔ ɣareːb.."

Muhammad (commenting on movie characters):

"……-plural masculine possessive pronoun colour is strange blue."

2- Instances which involved English words or/and expressions of which the Arabic equivalents were known to the child but were not chosen to be used in his/her speech in favour of the English ones.

In this case, the choice of the switched word was determined by the context. The child used an English word because it suited the setting more than the Arabic equivalent did. A good example is a sentence uttered by Omar who addressed his sister, while playing computer games, saying:

(4) "maː biddiː t-*help*-iːniː"

"I don't want you to-…-me"

Omar and his sister were playing a video game where both of them had control over one character. His character faced trouble and shouted: "Help" and Leen could help get it out of trouble. Omar, however, wanted to take action himself and expressed that wish immediately in an Arabic sentence that included the English verb his character used, i.e. help. Interestingly, he applied the Arabic rules of word formation for the English word as a verb as if it was an Arabic one. His response was immediate and quick because he did not want to lose his right to take action to get his character out of trouble. This spontaneity and speed in uttering seemed not to allow Omar to think of the Arabic equivalent, nor did Omar himself seem to be interested in using the Arabic one. Using the same word of the character showed that he understands the dangerous situation very well but is still willing to take the risk.

At another occasion, he needed his sister's help and she refused to help him. He responded in exactly the same previously mentioned manner:

(5) "maː biddiː il-*help* tabaʕek."

"I don't want the-… of yours"

In addition, the children showed a need for code-switching while trying to make complete English sentences but couldn't find, or remember, an English word. Hiba, for an example, was talking about a sick cat with her mother who said that a vet would not treat the cat without being paid. Hiba commented:

(6) "Maybe *jiʔbal*"

"… *he will accept*"

Leen, similarly, addressed her sister once saying:

(7) "Don't tidfaʕiːniː*"*

"… *push me*"

Hiba answered her, in a proud teasing manner, by saying:

(8) "isimhaː *push me"*

"It's called ..."

While being interviewed, the four children agreed on that they switched codes when the word or expression they needed was not known to them at the time of speaking. Moreover, they claimed that this behaviour of theirs was unconsciously performed and that they did not think of why they switched the two languages.

4.2.1.2 Expressing Feelings or Reflecting Mood

This function was also agreed upon by the four children in the interviews and, interestingly, the feelings and the mood that the children were involved in were in general positive ones (but not restricted to them). The researcher noticed that it was during exciting activities, such as playing video games, and happy moments, such as family gatherings, that the children tended mostly to switch codes. Some examples are presented below to clear this idea and to specify some of the related feelings or/and the moods.

At lunch table, Muhammad chose to show his likeness and enjoyment of the meal in a full English sentence, his foreign language. He said:

(9) "Mmm! It's so so delicious."

In another very similar situation, he gave a more simple English expression to describe the meal by saying:

(10) "Perfect."

Muhammad, however, was not the only one to comment on food with code-switching being involved. Hiba addressed her mother once by saying:

(11) "Tabaxti azkaː akla, *thank you*."

"You cooked the most delicious meal, .."

She was happy that her mother cooked a meal that she liked very much, so she inserted an English expression of showing gratitude, in her Arabic sentence, which happened to be a very common and widely-spread one among other Arabic speakers.

Expressing excitement was also clear in the children's code-switching behaviour. It could be easily and mainly detected while the children were playing video and computer games. The interactional type of video games they used to play, namely Wii games, usually got them

expressing their excitement whether they were playing alone as individual players or as two players. The following interactions between the family members, that took place during playing Wii games, are very good examples:

(12) Leen: "I'll miss you."

Hiba: "I'll be back."

(13) Hiba: "I'm going up there."

Leen: "Up there *willaː* down there?!"

"… or …?!"

(14) Mother: "ʔnaː mutet."

"I died."

Hiba: "You don't have lives?!"

In the three previous examples there was a person-to-person interaction. In example number 12, both the trigger and the response were complete English utterances. Leen expressed her displeasure because Hiba's character in the game, a partner and not an opponent, died. Hiba comforted her sister, and most probably herself too, that her character was going to have another chance and come to life again. In example number 13, Hiba was about to succeed in moving her character up, as supposed to happen, and she showed her eagerness and excitement to be in that position. When something wrong occurred and the opposite happened, Leen made an ironic and happy comment in a full English sentence containing one Arabic word. Hiba, though addressed in Arabic by her mother in example number 14, chose to reply in an English sentence showing her excitement about the game between her and her mother as partners.

Outdoor family activities were not any different with respect to code-switching being involved as an indication of enthusiasm. In a trip to a water-park, the mother thought that one of

the pools is suitable and proposed going into it in Arabic. Hiba's answer came quick with an excitement tone.

(15) Mother: "ʃuː raʔjikum tinziluː fi haːj il-birkeh?"

"What do think about going into this pool?"

Hiba: "Yes, that's nice. Let's go to it."

A very similar situation happened between Muhammad and his mother as follows:

(16) Mother: "hajhaː itˤtˤajjara."

"There is the plane."

Muhammad: "Where is it?"

Nevertheless, feelings expressed in the data, though mainly positive ones, were not restricted to this type. Annoyed was Hiba when Leen teased her by saying that her teacher, and not Hiba's, was the organizer of the trip:

(17) Leen: "irriħla min tanðˤiːm mʕalimti."

"The trip is planned for by my teacher."

Hiba: "Whatever!"

Muhammad was angry with Omar and displeased by the consequence of something he did. The expression he used to show these feelings was:

(18) Muhammad: "Did you see?"

In a restaurant, his mother said in Arabic that she did not like the food at all and he replied in English to show his agreement with his mother and his own dislike of the food. It went like this:

(19) Mother: "ʔanaː maː ħabeit il-ʔakel bilmarra."

"I did not like the food at all."

Muhammad: “Me too!”

While shopping, the girls hated a pair of shoes they noticed and said to each other:

(20) Leen: “ʃuːfiː haːdaː!”

“Look at this!”

Hiba: “Oh, my gosh! This is very bad.”

Leen, expressing her fear once, switched codes while watching a TV program showing an execution scene. She said:

(21) “I can’t look.” She covered her face with a scarf then said:

“il-muʃkile inno *I can see*.”

“The problem is that …

The discussion above clearly shows the relation between the feelings the children were experiencing and their code-switching behaviour. Positive feelings, such as happiness, excitement, pleasure, etc., were dominant in most situations. Sometimes, however, the children switched codes when they felt sad, annoyed, scared or angry.

4.2.1.3 Habitual Use of Code-switching

This reason (or motive) to practice code-switching sometimes seemed to the researcher to be an umbrella that could cover many of the instances of code-switching in the data, and could have a share as a co-motive for the other ones. The ease and quickness in which the children produced switched utterances gave her a first impression that the children’s behaviour was not only unconscious, but habitual as well. In the interview, Muhammad literally said that it was easier for him to speak this way, i.e. with code-switching, simply because he got used to it. It was the deep study of the instances that clarified to the researcher the strong presence of the

other motives and functions, and the questions of the interview opened Muhammad's mind to the new concept of code-switching and its functions.

Several factors helped in developing the code-switching behaviour of the four children into a habitual practice and they are:

1. The fluency in English their parents had, and the fact that they themselves did practice code-switching and did not have bad attitudes towards it.
2. The high exposure to the English language through series, movies, computer and video games.
3. The code-switching practices of the Arab actors, whom the children were fans of.
4. The fact that their brothers, sisters and many of their peers switched the two languages (as was revealed by the results of the questionnaire which are to be presented later).

Some of the children's code-switching instances were related to greeting and politeness expressions which are common in the Palestinian context among many individuals, such as 'please', 'thank you' and 'sorry'. Many Palestinian adults use such words in different settings, usually without being noticed or marked as foreign words. Consequently, youngsters develop the habit of using them as the adults do. Following are some examples:

(22) Hiba: "Leen, naːwliːniː xubze please."

"…, hand me a piece of bread …"

(23) Omar: "mħammad, please uːm min houn."

"Muhammad, … move from here."

(24) Mother: "xudiː yaː hiba."

"Take …"

Hiba: "Thanks."

Hiba wrote on her mother's car:

(25) "ʔiɣsiliːniː please."

"wash me …"

Other English expressions used by the children in their switched utterances could be classified as frozen expressions or phrases, and they are also common in the Palestinian context. Some of these are: here is the …, me too, kind of, wait a minute, etc. Such expressions were most probably acquired by the children through the experiences of watching TV since they are used frequently in the spoken language of movies and series. As many of their fellow peers in Palestine, the four children are fans of such movies and series and regular viewers of them. Consequently, they tended to use expressions or phrases they repeatedly heard on TV in their personal interactions and it grew to become a habitual use. Following are some examples:

Responding to her mother who called for her in Arabic, Hiba said:

(26) "Wait a minute."

Omar, trying to tease his sister, used an ironic sentence that many people, youngsters and adults, use in their casual interactions:

(27) Leen: "aʕtˤiːniː il-bilifoun."

"Give me the mobile phone."

Omar: "Why? ʕaʃaːn sky is high?"

"… because …"

In a public place, the mother needed to leave her hand bag and asked Muhammad to keep an eye on it. His affirming reply came spontaneously in English. The phrase he chose to reply with, though not suitable for the situation, was understood by the mother as an acceptance.

(28) Mother: “mħammad, diːr baːlak ʕalaː ʃantˤitiː.”

“… keep an eye on my handbag.”

Muhammad: “very much”

At another occasion, his mother wanted him to get his school bag. His reply was similar to the previous, but meaningfully suitable to the situation this time:

(29) Mother: “ruːħ ʒiːb ʃantˤitak.”

“Go and get your bag.”

Muhammad: “Here it is”

The examples presented above show that the children switched the two languages in their conversations with each other and with their parents as well, with no regard to the type of language they were addressed in. Their responses were always spontaneous and quick and they were not limited to a specific setting, and this supports the researcher’s explanation of the children’s behaviour as a habitual one. Actually, she and her husband practiced code-switching, before the observation phase started, which probably was an important factor that influenced and encouraged the children’s verbal practices.

4.2.1.4 Showing Knowledge of the Language of Power and Prestige

English is considered a prestigious language in the Palestinian community and being competent in it would be a privilege to any person. In earlier years, practicing such a competence was confined to the sectors of the specialized workplaces of educated people who were highly esteemed if they were graduates of foreign countries such as the USA or the United Kingdom. However, the case is a little bit different nowadays because English invaded most sectors of the community through television, computer and electronics worlds. Many people now switch English with Arabic in their daily interactions, with friends and family, at different levels of

occurrences. When they do, they have in mind the purpose of showing their knowledge of English as a merit of course. Sometimes, this showing of knowledge by itself aims at fulfilling a need for accommodation to a group who possesses such knowledge and practices code-switching to show it.

Moreover, being competent in English not only provided one with a sense of the prestige of knowledge, it also provided him/her with a feeling of power. For this generation, power is resembled in the American hero: his moves, his clothes, his way of thinking and, most importantly in relation to this research, his language.

Omar was playing Wii games with his sister when he addressed her in a sentence that a famous wrestler used to use and repeat in his wrestling matches:

(30) "You can't see me woman."

To him, this is a frozen expression expressing the feeling of being powerful and having control over the opponent. Both Muhammad and Omar acquired this expression from their school and neighborhood peers, and not from their family members, because watching wrestling matches was not allowed in their house. Nevertheless, they acquired both the expression and its supposed meaning of being powerful.

The children's father asked the children once about which pair of shoes to wear and two of them participated in the response. It went like this:

(31) Father: "ħilwe haːy ilkundara, willa albes ittaːnje?"

"Is this pair of shoes beautiful, or should I wear the other one?"

Muhammad: "the twice."

Leen: "Both of them."

Muhammad's response was most likely a habitual act, but his sister's was obviously an attempt to show her recognition of her brother's mistake and her own knowledge of the correct sentence that should have been used.

Wanting her brother Muhammad to leave her place on the sofa, Hiba chose to address him in English using a forceful tone. She said:

(32) "Can you go?"

Muhammad left the place and blamed Omar for Hiba's anger because he wouldn't let him sit next to him in the first place. He said:

(33) "Did you see?"

At another incident, Hiba switched to English and used the same strong tone but with her sister Leen this time. They were both playing a Wii game as partners during which Leen annoyed Hiba by saying something she did not like about her performance in playing. She said:

(34) "You, stop talking."

However, the response from Leen came equally strong and spontaneous. She said:

(35) "You, stop losing."

Omar also behaved in a similar way. He wanted his sister Leen to give him the i-pad and his utterance was the following:

(36) "Give it to me woman."

The examples presented above are clear pieces of evidence showing how the four children used their foreign language, i.e. English, to convey strong messages to each other. Interestingly, their sentences, that are related to showing knowledge of the language and to getting the power or/and the prestige of using it, were mostly full English sentences and their

producers initiated the English interactions and sometimes their utterances were responses to somebody who spoke in Arabic.

4.2.1.5 Making a Point

Another motive behind switching to English by the children was the need to make a point. In this respect, they chose in all the instances detected to express their opinions in full English sentences. This behaviour was similar to that related to showing knowledge, which can be explained by the fact that in these two specific cases the speakers aimed at getting better appreciation and beautifying their self-image as being knowledgeable and persuasive. While attempting to achieve this goal, the children's English sentences varied between initiated ones and responses either to an Arabic or English trigger.

Leen quoted a song while she was playing Wii games with her sister to express her determination upon winning. She said:

(37) "I will never say never."

Similarly, Hiba chose to express her opinion about an issue that her brother Muhammad was inquiring about. Muhammad was asking his mother if Hanna Montana, an American teenaged-singer, went to school. The life of this singer, as presented in a TV series that the children watched regularly, was a very interesting one. Just as Hiba heard the question, her response was spontaneous and quick and it reflected a strong belief. This was how it went:

(38) Muhammad: "maːmaː, Hannah Montana bitruːħ ʕalaː il-madrase"

"Mum, does Hana Montana go to school?"

Hiba: "Why should she do that?"

This immediate and strong response reveals Hiba's belief that Hanna Montana, being a famous and wealthy singer, does not need to get an education certificate, i.e. she believes that a certificate is only a means to earn money.

At another instance, her behaviour was not much different, but it was defensive this time. She said something not nice to her sister and she had to defend herself against her parents' criticism. The conversation went as follows:

(39) Mother: "haːda il-ħakiː miʃ ħiluː bilmarra."

"This talk is not nice at all."

Hiba: "We're just having fun."

Father: "You're teasing your sister."

Hiba: "We're just playing."

Omar also behaved in a similar, but simpler, way. It occurred while he was studying maths under the supervision of his mother who doubted that he committed the same mistake twice. When she told him about that, he denied that immediately.

(40) Mother: "ɣlitˤet nafs il-ɣaltˤaː, sˤaħ?!"

"You made the same mistake, right?"

Omar: "No, no, no. Of course no."

4.2.1.6 Clarification and Emphasis

Code-switchers sometimes use vocabulary items and phrases from L2 to clarify the message they desire to convey. This occurs when they feel that the L1 word or phrase does not give the exact meaning they have in mind, so they repeat it in L2 to make sure that the listener gets the meaning that they intend. At other times, repeating the word or phrase in L2 does not

add any clarification, but it emphasizes the desired meaning and strengthens its effect on the listener. Following will be examples from the data to clarify these two uses.

Leen was giving her sister a piece of advice about the consequences of watching horror movies when she used code-switching to draw emphasis on the key expression in her sentence. To achieve this aim, she added a noun phrase, "bad dreams", that is very close in meaning to the exact translation of the Arabic word, nightmares. She said:

(41) "btiḥlami kawabees, *bad dreams.*"

"You'll see nightmares …"

Hiba, on another occasion, was commenting on the size of a screen in the cinema when Leen responded to her utterance exactly in the same previous way. It went like this:

(42) Hiba: "kaːnat iʃʃaːʃe ktiːr dˁaxme."

"The screen was very huge."

Leen: "kaːnat ktiːr *huge.*"

"It was very …"

The reiteration involved in the code-switching procedure was what distinguished this function from that of compensating for the lack of vocabulary items. The issue was not that the speaker did not find the appropriate word from the language in which the main body of the sentence was formed in. The issue in this case was that s/he sensed a need to repeat the word, or to say a similar one, in order to clear the meaning of the word or to enhance its meaning. On the part of the listener, the original word would most likely have been enough for comprehending the message. In other words, code-switching was not mainly intended for conveying the message. The speaker's aim was the addition or/and the clarification that code-switching added to the message.

In conclusion, the researcher believes that the above discussion of the six motives and functions clearly shows that the code-switching practices of the four children are not arbitrary; and, whether consciously or not, they switch Arabic and English in order to achieve these motives and functions.

However, she also believes that some of the six motives and functions overlap or seem to be strongly related that one might find it very difficult to associate some of the code-switching instances to only one motive or function. *The habitual use of code-switching*, for example, is related to that of *expressing feelings*. In fact, the children expressed their feelings in a habitual manner in many code-switching occurrences. In other words, they used English expressions that are commonly used in this domain by Arabic speakers from whom the children most likely got their habit, such as 'oh, my gosh' and 'whatever'.

On the other hand, the function of *compensating for the lack of vocabulary items* can be related to that of *showing knowledge of the language of power and prestige*. The connection could especially be made when the children chose to mix English words, of which they know the Arabic equivalents, into their Arabic sentences because these words are more prestigious, such as in example 43, or reflect feeling powerful, as in example 44:

(43) Leen: "tisʕbaħuː ʕalaː xeir *everybody*."

"Good night ..."

(44) Omar: "laʔanniː anaː *mister*."

"Because I am a ..."

In example 44, Omar meant to say 'master' to describe his advanced level of playing the Wii games.

Interestingly, the discussion of the functions and motives of c*larification, emphasis* and *making a point* brought to light the idea that the children felt a 'power' in the English language. They got advantage of it by code-switching because it helped them clarify and emphasize their communicative messages and because they made stronger points by expressing them in English.

4.3 Interview Results

Interestingly, the children's responses in the interviews showed accordance with the researcher's qualitative analysis that was presented in the previous section, especially in relation to the three dominant functions and motives. As for the other three, there were some variations. Table 1 below shows their responses regarding the functions and motives.

Table 1

Interview results regarding code-switching functions and motives

	Functions and Motives	Leen	Hiba	Muhammad	Omar	Total
1.	Lack of vocabulary items	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**
2.	Emphasis	✓	×	×	✓	**2**
3.	Expressing happiness	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**
4.	Expressing anger	×	×	×	×	**0**
5.	Showing off	×	×	×	×	**0**
6.	Discussing Western societies	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**
7.	Exclusion of an interlocutor	✓	✓	×	✓	**3**
8.	Responding to an English Utterance	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**
9.	Showing knowledge of technology	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**
10.	Habitual Practice	✓	✓	✓	✓	**4**

As shown in the table, all four stated that they did use code-switching when they did not find a word, or an appropriate one from the Arabic language and that their behaviour was an attempt to compensate for the lack of vocabulary items. However, the researcher's analysis of the collected data showed that it was not always an Arabic word that needed to be compensated for. That was the case when the matrix language which constituted the main body of the sentence was Arabic, and this was not the only case. In many of the cases, the matrix language was English and the embedded language was Arabic such as in example 7, presented previously, in which Leen said to her sister:

"Don't tidfaʕiːniː"

"… *push me*"

They all also agreed on expressing feelings as an important function that code-switching achieved. Nevertheless, they said that they switched between the two languages when they felt happy or/and excited and not when they felt angry. The instances of code-switching collected in the data supported the children's responses in this respect. Most of them reflect happiness or excitement and few reflect anger or sadness.

In addition, it was agreed upon by all four children that their code-switching behaviour was just a result of a habit. Muhammad, when the researcher asked him if he was aware of his code-switching behaviour, literally said that it was a normal thing to do and that he felt that he was talking normally. Actually, all the children said that they were not aware of the code-switching happening in their interactions. Leen added that she did not ever think that this code-switching behaviour of hers had functions and motives. She explained that it is 'more fun' to switch-codes and that by using English in her speech she is beautifying it because, she believes, English is a more beautiful language than Arabic.

The results concerning other functions showed variations. Showing off one's knowledge and skills of English was entirely disregarded by the four children and none said that s/he had that purpose in mind. In fact, Leen, as will be presented later in quantitative analysis, explained her lowest occurrences of code-switching by refraining from the practice because some of her classmates at school criticized such practices and considered them as acts of showing off. However, some other situations were wholly agreed upon as having high potentials to motivate code-switching, such as the discussion of Western societies, responding to a person who started talking in English and trying to show knowledge of technology. Using English to exclude a person from the conversation was agreed upon as an important function by three children. Muhammad was the only one who said he did not use English for this reason. As for being motivated by a need to clarify meaning or to emphasize it, Leen and Omar chose it as a motive for them while Hiba and Muhammad did not.

Another issue that the children were asked about in the interview was the share of code-switching that different domains of discussion had. Each child was required to give his/her judgement on seven domains, in relation to code-switching frequency, on a scale of 1-5, 1 being the least and 5 being the most. Table 2 shows the results:

Table 2

The four children's judgement on the amount of their code-switching in different domains of discussion

	Domains of Discussion						
	Learning	**Friends**	**Family**	**Technology**	**Television**	**Songs**	**News**
Leen	2	1	1	4	3	3	1
Hiba	1	4	2	5	4	3	1
Muhammad	2	1	2	4	2	2	1
Omar	1	1	3	5	4	4	2

The following points clarify the results:

1. Out of the seven selected domains, *the electronic games and the world of technology* got the highest judgement. Hiba and Omar gave it 5 and Leen and Muhammad gave it 4.

2- Next in rank was the domain of *movies and television programmes* which got 4 by Hiba and Omar, 3 by Leen and 2 by Muhammad. The researcher found Omar's response strange because his English competence abilities were not advanced enough to report events of a movie. She asked him for an explanation. He said that, when he talked about the movie to others, it was the English words or expressions that he did not know the Arabic equivalent of that he code-switched into his Arabic sentences.

3- Issues related to *songs and singers* were given 4 by Omar, 3 by Leen and Hiba and 2 by Muhammad. This result reflects the children's real-life interest in these particular issues, but the researcher thinks that Omar's response related more to his level of interest in this topic and not to the code-switching rate related to it, a thought that emerged from a mother's observation of her own child's interests and behaviour.

4- Other domains, such as *family matters*, generally received low evaluations. It got 3 from Omar, 2 by Muhammad and Hiba, and 1 by Leen.

5- *Friends' issues*, on the other hand, got 4 by Hiba, but 1 from the three other children.

6- *Studying and school-related topics* got 2 by Leen and Muhammad, but Hiba and Omar gave it 1.

7- As for the *world events*, it was only Omar that gave it 2. The three other children gave it 1.

In conclusion, these results reflect the real life interests of the four children as they themselves expressed and as noticed by the researcher in her daily observation. Interestingly, code-switching occurrences went higher in correspondence with the level of fun and enjoyment

experienced by the children when discussing the different domains. Not a surprise at all, the world of technological devices and electronic games scored the highest, and that of the tragic world events got the lowest score. Code-switching proved to be a behaviour that is mostly related to the enjoyable activities.

4.4 Analysis & Interpretation of the Questionnaire Responses

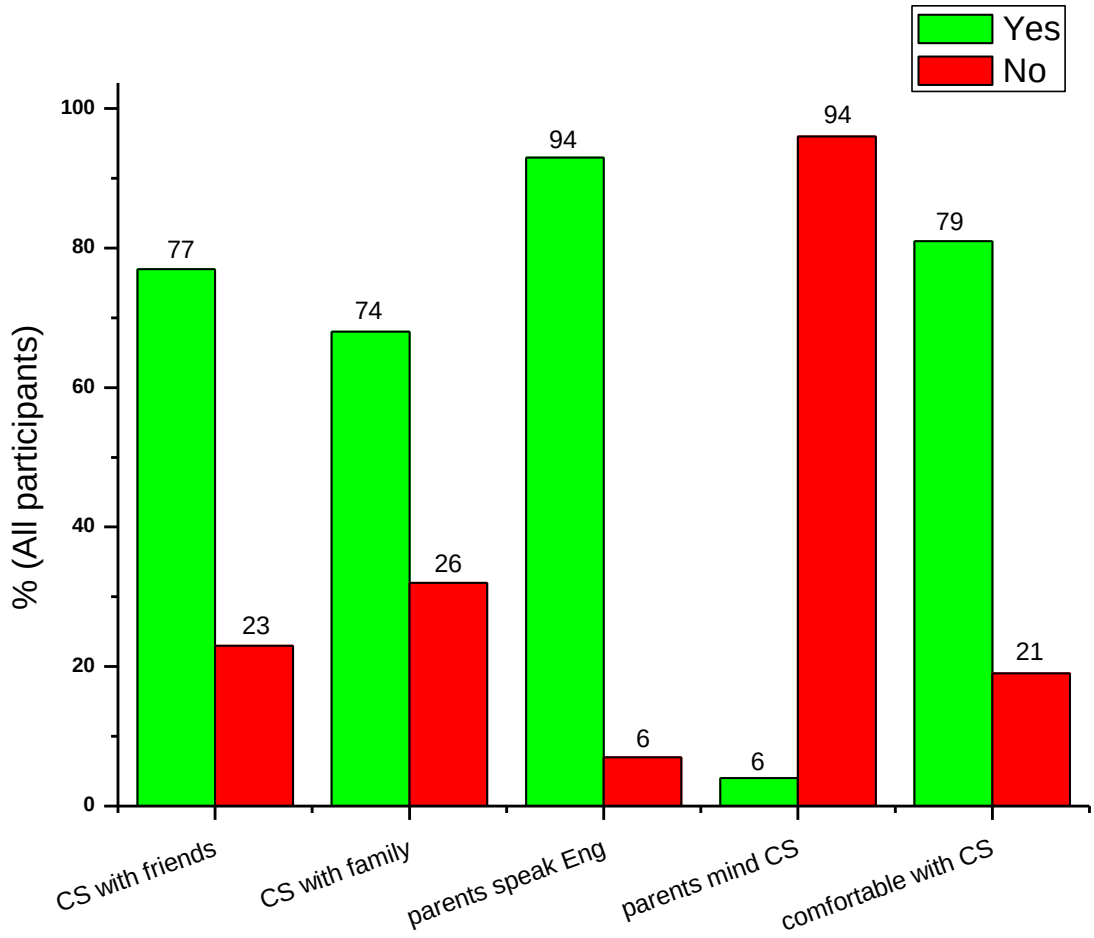
As was mentioned in the methodology chapter, various aspects of the results were graphically presented. In this chapter, they will be presented in the order of the questions in the questionnaire, starting from the second question. The first one has been discussed in the methodology chapter because it was meant to gather data about the subjects related to gender, age and years of learning English. The results were compared and contrasted with the researcher's analysis of the code-switching instances of her four children.

4.4.1 Surrounding Social Settings and Attitudes

The second question was mainly about the social settings and attitudes surrounding the children. It contained paragraphs about the children's feelings when they code-switch and about the people with whom they usually engage when they do. Other paragraphs were about the parents' ability to speak English and their attitude towards their children's code-switching. Graph 2 shows the responses of the participants to the five questions.

The responses for paragraph 1 show that 77% of the participants do switch codes with their friends and 74% of them do the same with their family members. The two percentages are very close and, regardless of the 3% difference between the two, they reflect how widely-spread the phenomenon outside the classroom setting is. These responses are very similar to those of the researcher's four children who said that they do switch codes with their family members and

with their friends as well, except for Omar who said he switches codes only with his family members.



Graph 2. Surrounding social settings and attitudes

As for paragraphs three and four, the questionnaire subjects revealed relevant parental facts which are also similar to those of the four children whose parents speak English and do not mind the code-switching of their children. 94 % of the participants revealed that their parents can speak English and, interestingly, also 94 % of them said that their parents do not object to their code-switching. These interesting results for the two questions hold an important implication. It is the parents who are able to speak English who do not object to the code-switching of their sons and daughters, and vice versa. This implies that the competent-in-the-language parents possess

positive attitudes towards the foreign language and towards switching it with the first language, most likely because of their awareness of the importance of English in the global world of education and technology. On the other hand, the parents who cannot speak English possess negative attitudes the reasons of which need to be investigated. The researcher could not perform such an investigation because the names of questionnaire respondents were not required, but she believes the reason might be a bad feeling that the parents have because of their inability to understand the mixed utterances their children produce and/or to share such practices with them.

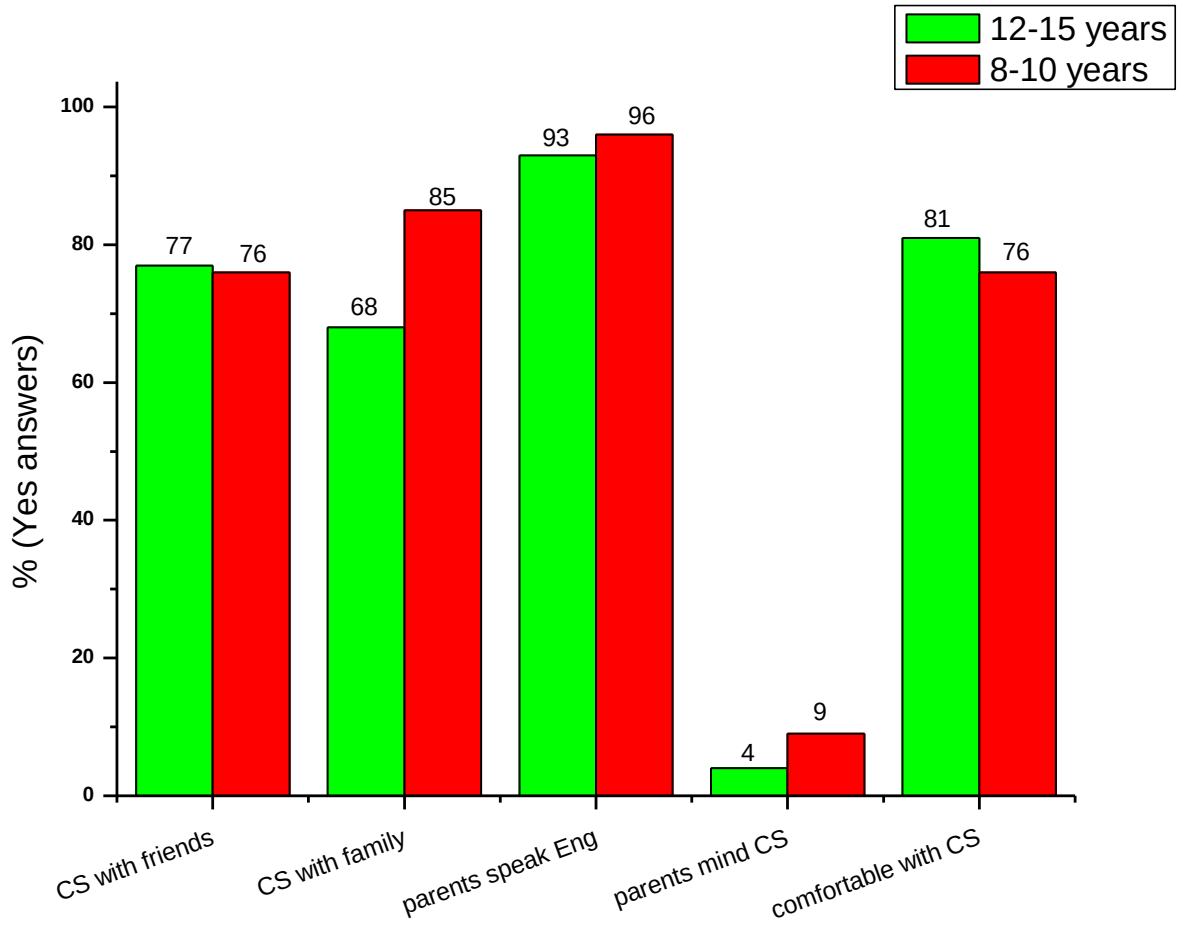
Ending the first question, the fifth paragraph investigated how the children feel when they code-switch. The results show that 79% of them feel it is more comfortable and easy to switch between English and Arabic in the same dialogue. All four children also agreed on this point and said they had the same feeling. For example, Muhammad mentioned in the interview that code-switching for him was the normal thing to do. Leen said that it is 'more fun' to switch-codes and that code-switching beautifies her mother tongue, i.e. Arabic. In other words, she felt that the English words or expressions that she inserted into her utterances made them more beautiful.

4.4.1.1 Surrounding Social Settings and Attitudes: Age Differences

More detailed analysis was done on this question to detect any differences in the responses that might be related to the two factors of age and gender. Graph 3 shows the differences in the responses of the participants according to a division into two age groups: the 8-to-10 group and to the 12-to-15 group.

The graph shows no considerable differences between the two groups. The only difference that may be noticed is in the second paragraph which questioned the children's code-switching with their family members. The participants in the 12-to-15 years old group gave a 10% less 'yes' responses than those in the other group. In other words, the older participants

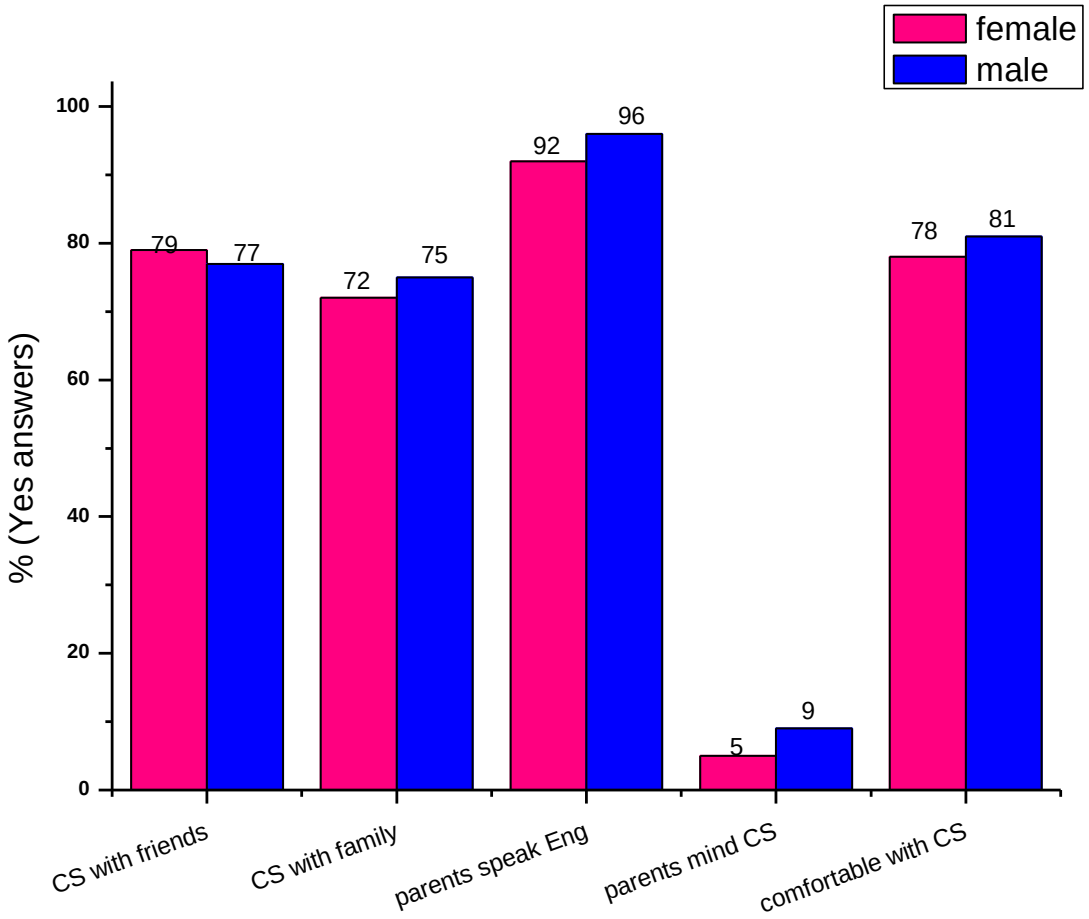
switch codes in their conversations with their family less than the younger ones. This result may be explained by the fact that children who are between 12 and 15 years old usually have stronger friendship relationships than those of a younger age. Moreover, they gave about a 5% more 'yes' responses to the fifth paragraph about being comfortable with their code-switching practices.



Graph 3. Surrounding social settings and attitudes: age differences

4.4.1.2 Surrounding Social Settings and Attitudes: Gender Differences

The effect of the gender factor on the results was even slighter than that of the age factor. Graph 4 below shows the results.



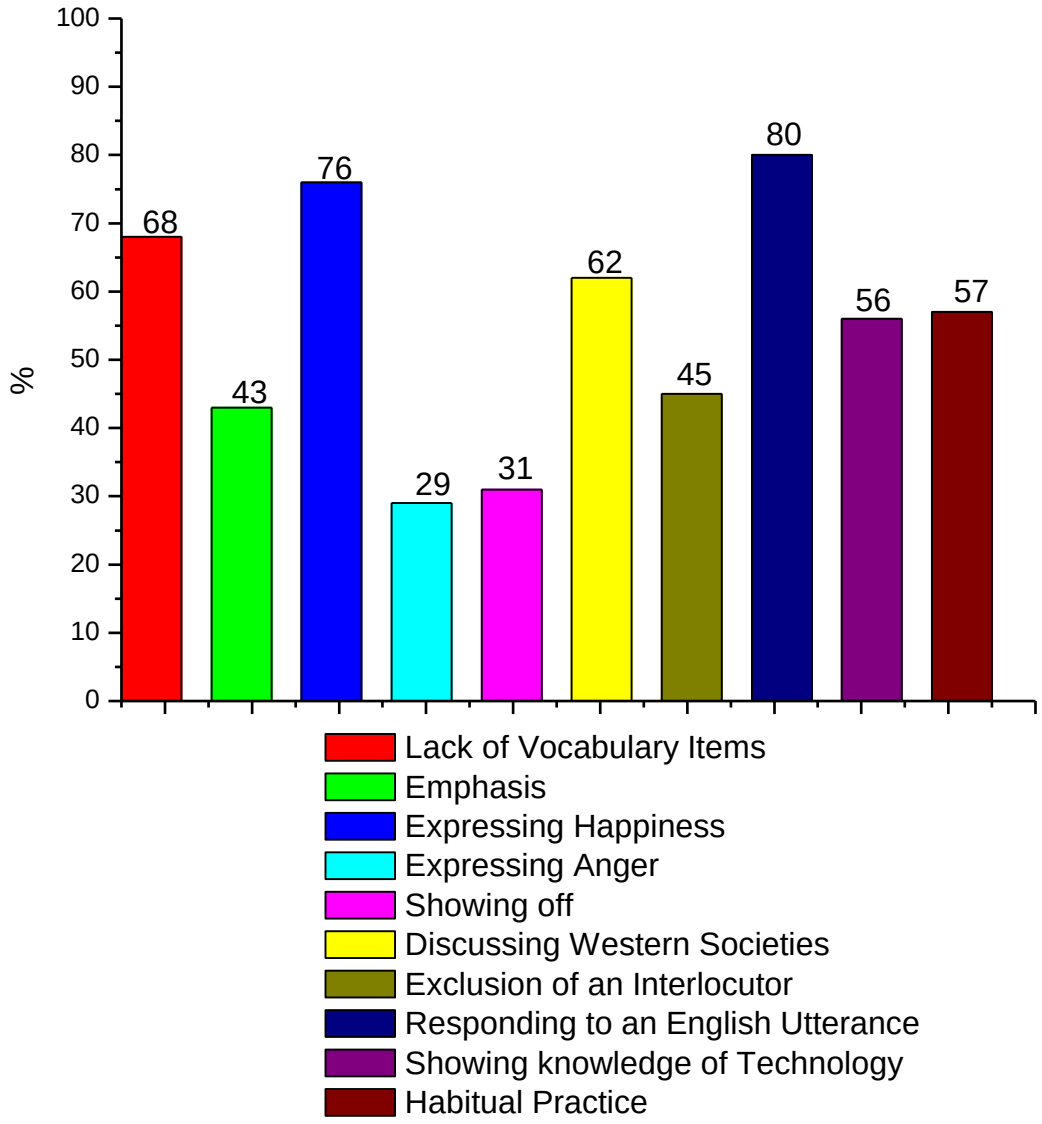
Graph 4. Surrounding social settings and attitudes: gender differences

It is obvious in the graph that the differences in the responses of the male and female participants are between 2% and 4% which means that gender has no effect to be considered in the present analysis.

4.4.2 Motives and Functions of Code-switching

The third question was about the motives and functions that made the participants code-switch. Nevertheless, the researcher did not use the words 'motives' or 'functions' in the question because the participants were not familiar with them and using them might have caused some confusion on their part. Instead, the question inquired about 'situations' in which the participants usually switch English and Arabic in their conversations, and the participants had to

circle the number of each situation that was true for them. The number of the situations was ten and the distribution of the responses of the participants as a whole group was presented in graph 5 that follows:



Graph 5. Situations in which CS took place

In order to simplify the results, the researcher divided them into three groups: high-percentage results, medium-percentage results and low-percentage results, as presented in table 3.

Table 3

Results for motives and functions according to the percentage of responses

High-percentage Results	**Medium-percentage Results**	**Low-percentage Results**
Responding to an English Utterance 80%	Habitual practice 57%	Showing off 31%
Expressing happiness 76%	Showing knowledge of technology 56%	Expressing anger 29%
Lack of vocabulary items 68%	Exclusion of an interlocutor 45%	
Discussing Western societies 62%	Emphasis 43%	

Examining these three groups shows a similarity to the researcher's analysis of her four children's code-switching analysis in which two of the functions classified in the high-percentage group, namely *lack of vocabulary items* and *expressing happiness*, were found to be more dominant than other ones. In the analysis of the four children's code-switching, and though the second prominent function was titled *expressing feelings*, the analysis showed that the four children mainly expressed positive feelings in their code-switching practices, such as happiness and excitement. In the above division of groups, the function of *expressing happiness and excitement* was much more emphasized upon by the participants than that of *expressing sadness and anger* which got the lowest percentage in the group. In other words, the qualitative analysis of the four children's code-switching instances matches the present quantitative analysis in this exact point. This interesting result may be connected to the fact that the activities during which the children switched codes were mostly enjoyable ones, such as playing games or chatting with peers. In addition, the participants' English vocabulary repertoire was enriched by the English

television series and movies and the instructions of the video games. They, being young children, do not tend to watch tragic series or movies and this explains their usage of more happy expressions than sad ones.

As for the motive of *responding to an English utterance*, the researcher did not find that it explains many of the four children's code-switching instances but they all said in the interview that they do respond in English when they are addressed in English. Moreover, the data of code-switching instances contains some instances that are responses to English triggers. The following are some examples:

(45) Leen: "I don't think you win."

Muhammad: "I don't seem."

(46) Hiba: "You, stop talking."

Leen: "You, stop losing."

(47) Hiba: "Muhammad, be careful."

Muhammad: "I'm be carefulling."

The fourth situation in the high-percentage group was *discussing Western societies* which was also agreed upon by three of the researcher's children; Leen was an exception. The researcher found Omar's agreement on this situation strange because his competence level in English was not high enough to discuss societies. When she asked him to explain his choice, he said that when he watches something in English on television and he wants to report it to somebody he would use some English words because he heard them on television and understood the context but did not know their meaning in Arabic.

In the medium-percentage group were the situations of *habitual use*, *showing knowledge of technology*, *exclusion of an interlocutor* and *emphasis*. The percentage *habitual use* got was

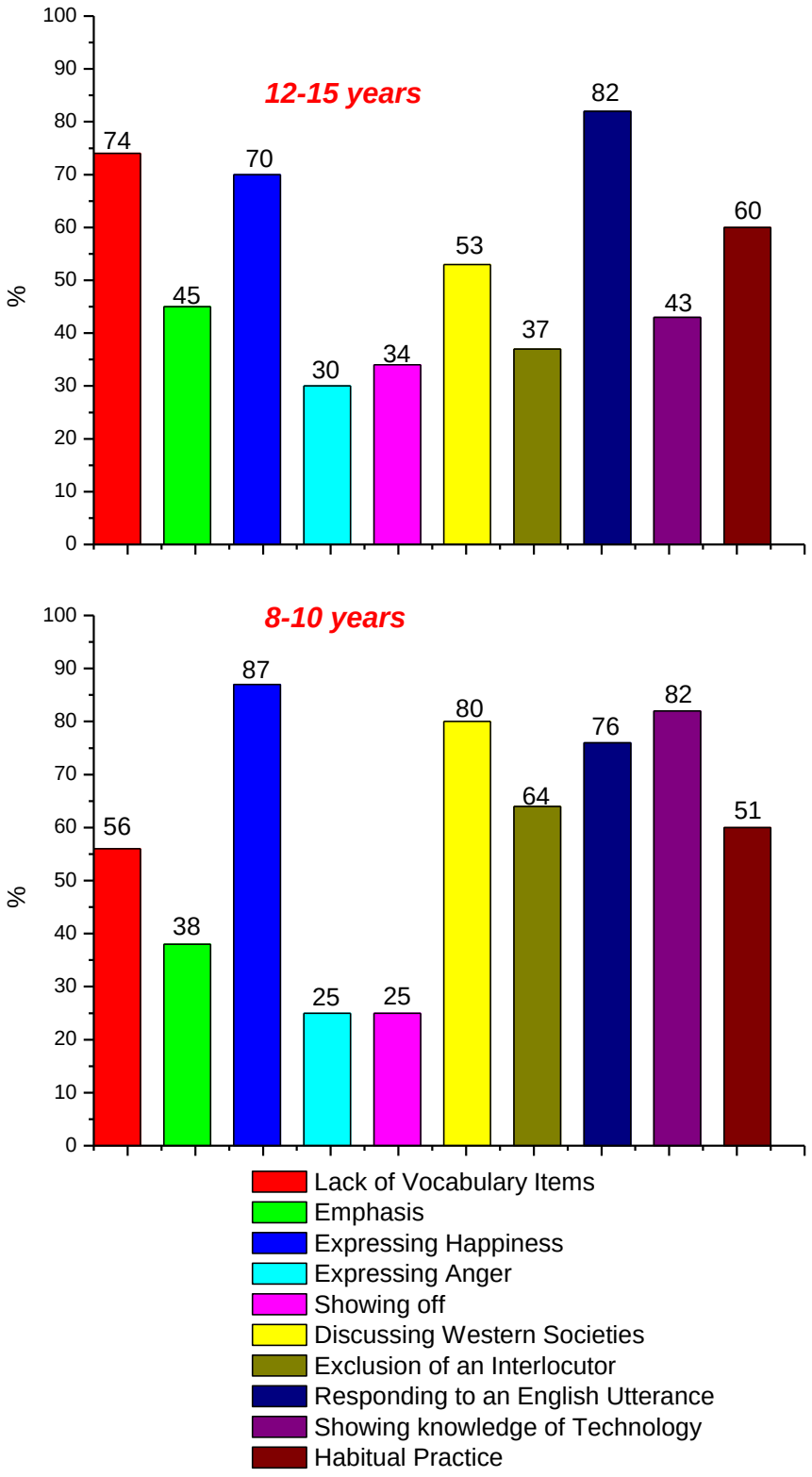
57% and it was previously found to be one of the prominent motives that explained many of the four children's code-switching instances. *Showing knowledge of technology*, with a percentage of 56, was agreed upon by the four children. These results go with the results of the qualitative analysis of the children's code-switching instances in which *showing knowledge of the language of power of prestige* was presented as one of the six motives for code-switching since being knowledgeable in technology means having the power of using it and the prestige of the knowledge itself.

Exclusion of an interlocutor got 45% and three children agreed upon it as a function. Muhammad said he does not switch codes for this purpose and his facial expressions showed that he felt it would be impolite to do so. 43% of the participants chose *emphasis* as a function for their code-switching and only two of the researcher's children, Leen and Omar, chose it too. The motive of *showing off* got the least percentage which is 31% if we exclude *expressing anger* since it was compared with *expressing happiness*, and similarly, all four children agreed that they do not code-switch for the purpose of showing off.

The above discussion shows clearly the similarity between the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire and the interview and the qualitative analysis of the code-switching instances of the four children. This similarity is positive because the objectivity of the quantitative analysis supports the subjectivity of the qualitative analysis.

4.4.2.1 Motives and Functions of Code-switching: Age Differences

In this section, any differences in the results that relate to the age factor will be presented. The results were presented in graph 6.



Graph 6. Motives and functions of code-switching: age differences

Comparing the results of the two age groups shows some variations between them. The clearest variation was about *showing knowledge of technology*. 82% of the 8-to-10 years old children chose this function while only 43% of the 12-to-15 group respondents did. This big difference may be explained by referring to the types of technology that are being discussed and the interests of the children in the two groups. For the 8-to-10 children, technology most likely refers to electronic and computer games which resemble the most important matter in their lives, i.e. playing. As for the 12-to-15 children, in addition to games they have more issues to discuss. Their interests expand to include cars, singers, sports, movies and friendship issues.

The result concerning the function of *expressing happiness* can be explained in a similar way. 87% of the 8-to-10 participants said they switched codes *to express happiness* compared with 70% of the 12-to-15 participants. Again, it can be said that the life of younger children revolves, supposedly, around fun activities that make them happy.

Two other controversial responses were about *discussing Western societies* and *exclusion of an interlocutor*. The responses of the 8-to-10 participants rated 27% higher for these two situations. The researcher sees this as a strange result because these two situations require good competency level in L2 in order to incorporate code-switching into them. Thus, the responses of the older children were expected to be higher in this respect.

As for the other six situations, the percentages representing the responses of the 12-to-15 group were higher than the 8-to-10 group but the differences were generally not very big. The obvious difference was between the percentages concerning *lack of vocabulary items*. 74% of the older participants chose this function as one that motivated their code-switching behaviour while only 56% of the younger ones did.

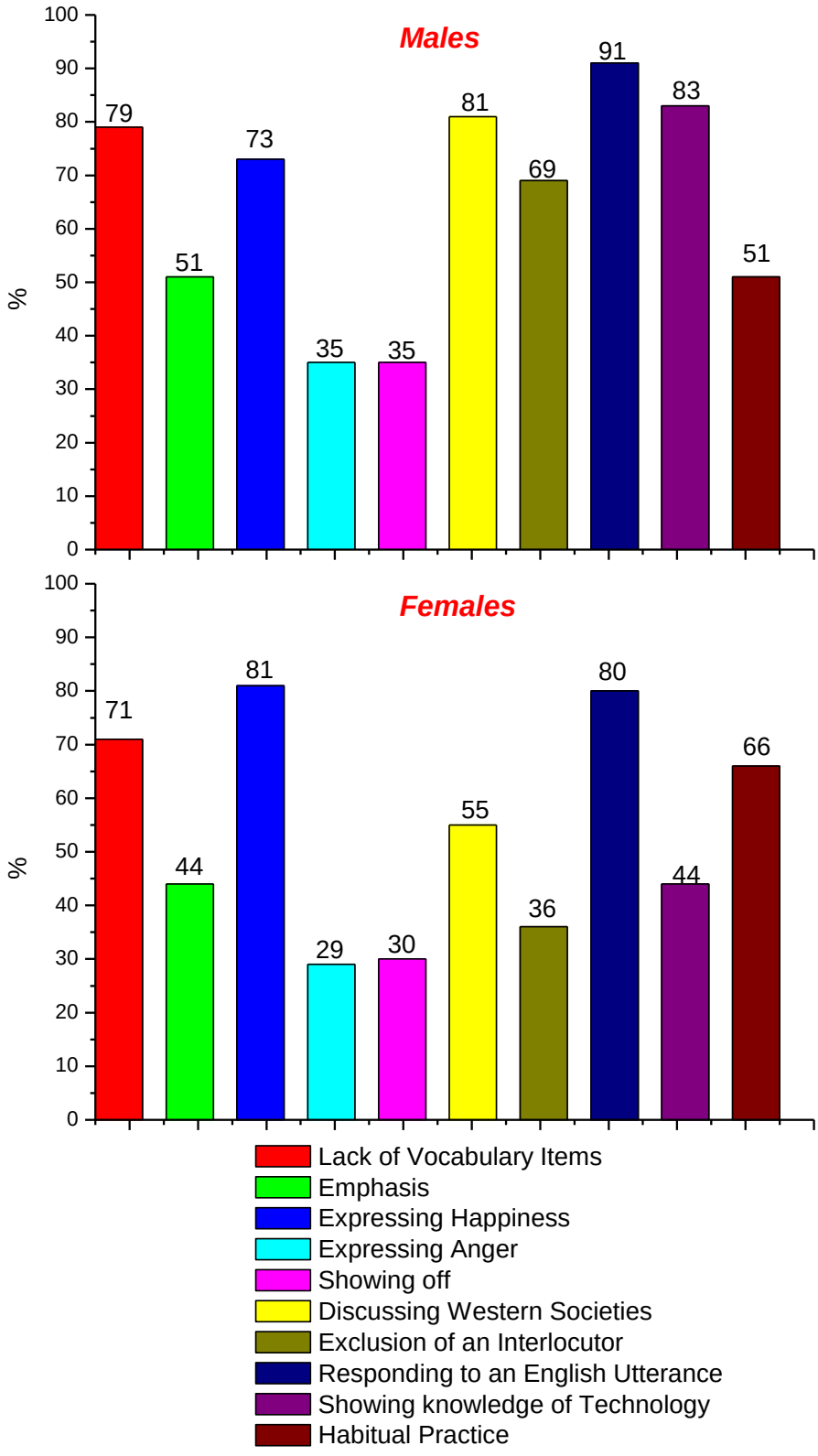
A much lower difference, exactly 9%, marked the motives of *habitual practice* and *showing off*, but despite the same difference, the percentages of the responses of the two groups were not similar. 60% of the older children said their code-switching was a *habitual practice* but only 34% of the same group said they aimed at *showing off* their knowledge in L2. On the other hand, 51% of the younger ones chose *habitual practice* as a motive and 25% chose *showing off*. *Emphasis* was chosen by 45% participants of the 12-to-15 group and 38% of the 8-to-10 group, with a 7% difference. As for *expressing anger*, the choice was 30% by the older children and 25% for the younger ones. A motive that got a high percentage of responses by both groups was *responding to an English utterance*, 82% by the older children and 76% by the younger ones.

The presentation above showed the similarities and the differences in the responses of the two groups. Three of the ten situations, from which the children had to choose, came among the first five in both groups. They are: *expressing happiness*, *responding to an English utterance* and *discussing Western societies*. In addition, the two groups agreed that the two functions of *expressing anger* and *showing off* were the least likely to motivate their code-switching practices.

4.4.2.2 Motives and Functions of Code-switching: Gender Differences

The responses of the participants were classified according to their gender and presented in graph 7. Examining the graph shows three major differences in the responses regarding three of the code-switching situations:

1. *Showing knowledge of technology*. The number of male respondents who chose this function was much bigger than that of the female respondents, 83% to 44%. This big difference, 39%, reveals that males are much more interested in technological issues than females are. The researcher thinks that it reflects the real interests that males in general have. They are usually



Graph 7. Motives and functions of code-switching: gender differences

interested in the usage of cars, machines and electronic devices. Females may as well have such interests, but more in the usage than in the structure.

2. *Exclusion of an interlocutor*. 69% of the male respondents said they code-switch in order to exclude an unwanted interlocutor from a conversation, while only 36% female respondents did.
3. *Discussing Western societies*. The male respondents who chose this situation as a motive for their code-switching were also more than the females. With a difference of 26%, 81% of the males and 55% chose it. The topics of discussion are probably the reason for such a result. The interests of males, which were mentioned in point number 1, relate directly to the technologically-advanced countries and the speakers need to use the foreign terminology that is common in the domain of technology.

The percentages representing the responses about the other seven situations were much closer than the three discussed above, and they showed similarities. Only two of the code-switching situations got more female responses: *habitual practice* and *expressing happiness*. 66% of them said *habit* was the reason they code-switched, while only 51% of the male respondents said the same. As for the function of *expressing happiness*, it got 81% and 73% correspondingly. Interestingly, these two situations are shallow if compared with the other situations (after excluding *expressing anger* since it is the opposite of *expressing happiness*). For example, c*ompensating for the lack of a word*, *emphasizing a point* and *excluding an unwanted interlocutor* are more important to achieve as communicative goals than *expressing happiness* or *practicing a habit*. After all, speaking one's L1 is some kind of a habit and expressing happiness in L1 is supposed to be an easy task. This result then indicates that females use code-switching

for less important things than males do. However, more research has to be done in order to prove such an indication to be true or false.

The males' responses to the function of *showing off* were more than those of the females', 35% to 30%. Some may consider the function of *showing off* to be as shallow as *habitual practice* and *expressing happiness* and, consequently, the result concerning it might be thought of as a contradiction to the result concerning them. However, this belief is not always true because *showing off* can be cleverly used as a successful technique of presenting one's abilities and knowledge, in an impressive and persuasive manner, to get a job for an example.

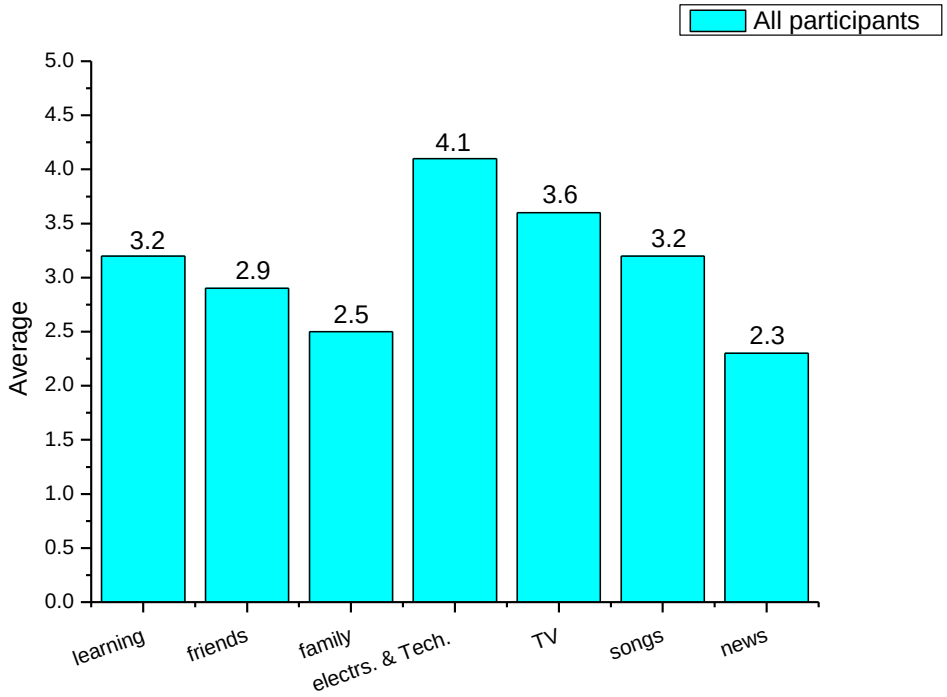
As for the other four situations, the percentages of the males' responses were higher for all of them, but the differences ranged only between 11% and 6%. *Responding to an English utterance* got the 11% difference, with the high percentages of 91 for males and 80 for females. The responses for *compensating for the lack of vocabulary items* were also high, 79% for males and 71% for females. These high results reflect the participants' awareness of the importance of the two functions, whether conscious or not of the act itself. The two functions of *emphasis* and *expressing anger* got low and close responses by both males and females. 51% of the males and 44% of the females chose *emphasis* and 35% of the males and 29% of the females chose *expressing anger*. They probably find it easier and more influential to emphasize a point by explaining it or rephrasing it in Arabic because it is the language of the listener too. It is also easier for them to express their anger in their mother tongue because they learned most of their English from school textbooks which are allowed to contain limited words and expressions of anger and sadness. They feel that L2 is more distant and detached than L1 in this respect because their most intense feelings relate to emotional memories they experienced in their L1 (Schrauf, 2000) and, as Altarriba (2003) put it, the semantic representation of the emotional words in L1 is

strengthened by their traces in the memory and therefore these words are more deeply fixed in the mind.

The previous presentation of the effect of the gender factor on the results pointed out interesting points that would be a good subject for further future research. It showed that, despite the general similarities between the males and females' responses, there are some differences.

4.4.3 Code-switching in Different Topics of Discussion

In people's usual conversations, they talk about different topics according to their personal interests. This section of the research will present the results about the level of the participants' code-switching in seven main topics people usually discuss. The results of all participants as one group are shown in graph 8.



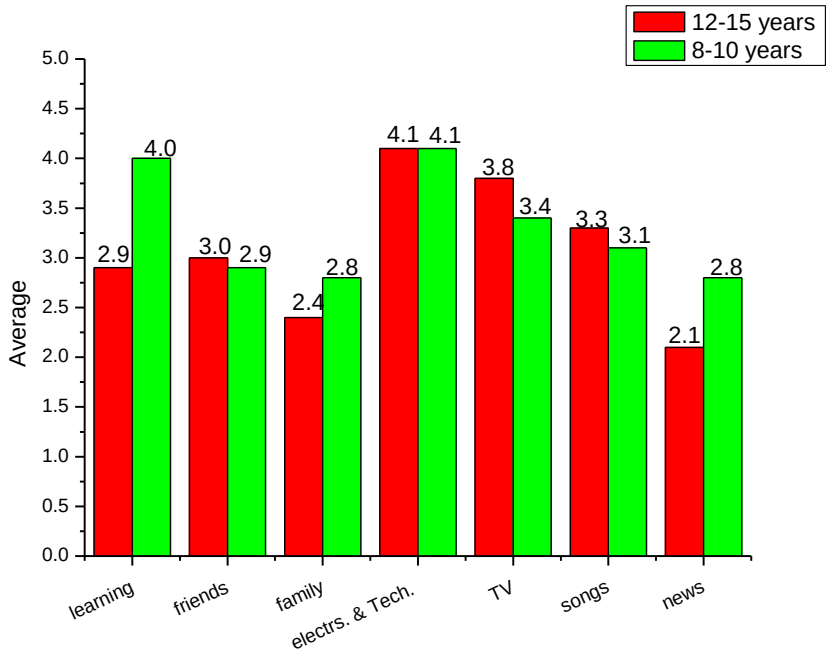
Graph 8. Average of code-switching in different topics of discussion

The participants gave their judgment on each of the topics in relation to the code-switching involved on a scale of 1-5, 1 being the least and 5 being the most. Topics related to *the*

electronic games and the world of technology rated the highest, as expected. It got an average of 4.1. Following came topics related to *movies and television programmes* with a 0.5 decrease. *Songs and singers* and *studying/learning* got an equal average of 3.2. Topics related to *friends*, *family* and *news* got 2.9, 2.5 and 2.3 correspondingly. Interestingly, these results not only reflect the order of the interests of the participants, but they highly reflect the amount of English needed to discuss the concerned topics. The highly averaged topics mentioned above, especially those related to *technology* and *television*, require more knowledge of English than the less averaged ones such as *friends* and *family* topics. *News about world events* is an exception here because speakers need good knowledge of English to discuss such topics, but most children are not actually interested in them and do not indulge in discussions about them.

4.4.3.1 Code-switching in Different Topics of Discussion: Age Differences

In addition, the effect of age on the responses of the participants was studied. Graph 9 shows the results.

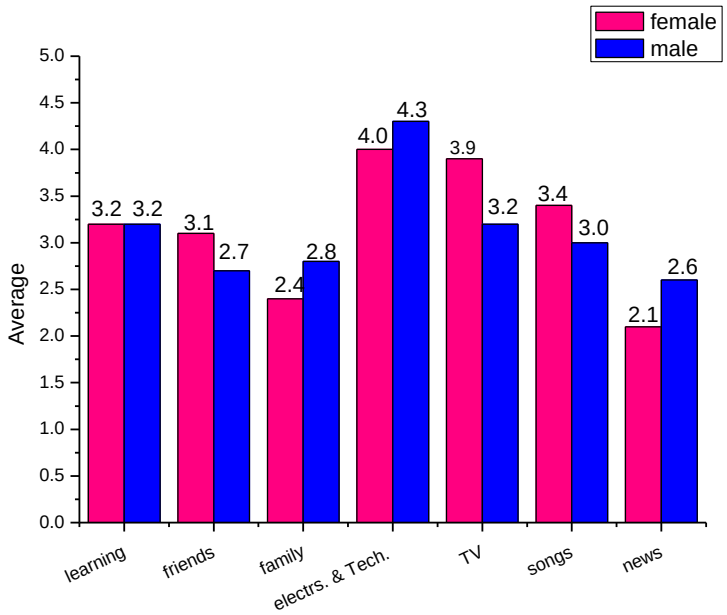


Graph 9. Average of code-switching in different topics of discussion: Age differences

Observing the graph shows that the responses of the two age groups are very similar. The only dramatic difference concerned the topic of *learning/studying*. The average of the responses of the 8-to-10 group for this topic was 4 and it came second in order after *electronic games and technology*. As for the 12-to-15 group, *learning/studying* was in the fifth rank with a 2.9 average. This result not only means that younger children code-switch more when they talk about *learning/studying* issues, it may also mean that younger children care more about them. Another notable result was related to *news about world events*. Though it ranked last by both groups, the average of the responses of the 8-to-10 group for it was 2.8 while that of the 12-to-15 group was 2.1. This result is especially interesting because this topic is not supposed to be an appealing one for young children and they are not expected to discuss world events. As for the other topics, they ranked the same for both groups with slight differences that varied between 0.1 and 0.4.

4.4.3.2 Code-switching in Different Topics of Discussion: Gender Differences

The effect of the gender factor on the results was also studied. The effect was presented in graph 10.



Graph 10. Average of code-switching in different topics of discussion: Gender differences

As shown clearly in the graph, the males and females gave similar responses with slight differences in the percentages. *Technology and electronic games* was graded first by both groups with a percentage of 4.3 and 4.0 for males and females respectively. *Learning/studying* came second in array for males but fourth for females with the same percentage of 3.2. The second in order for females was *movies and television programmes* with a 3.9 percentage, and it was the third for males with 3.2. As for females, *songs* came third with a percentage of 3.4, but they came fourth for males with a percentage of 3.0. As for *talking with or about friends*, females said they code-switched more than males did when they indulged in this topic with the corresponding percentages of 3.1 and 2.7. With *family issues* it was the other way round. This topic came fifth for males with a percentage of 2.8, but sixth for females with a percentage of 2.4. *News about world events* came last for all participants; males' responses graded 2.6 and females' responses graded 2.1.

If compared with the researcher's four children's responses, the similarity can be easily detected. Three of the topics of discussion were agreed upon by the participants and the four children as the ones that include more code-switching than other topics. They are: *technology and electronic games*, *movies and television programmes*, and *songs and singers*. This agreement is sensible because these three topics are interesting for many, if not most, children and because they often relate to the Western world. Another topic which was agreed upon by all, as being the least topic to use code-switching in, was *news about world events*. After all, children do not usually engage in discussions about *world events* and do not have great concerns about them.

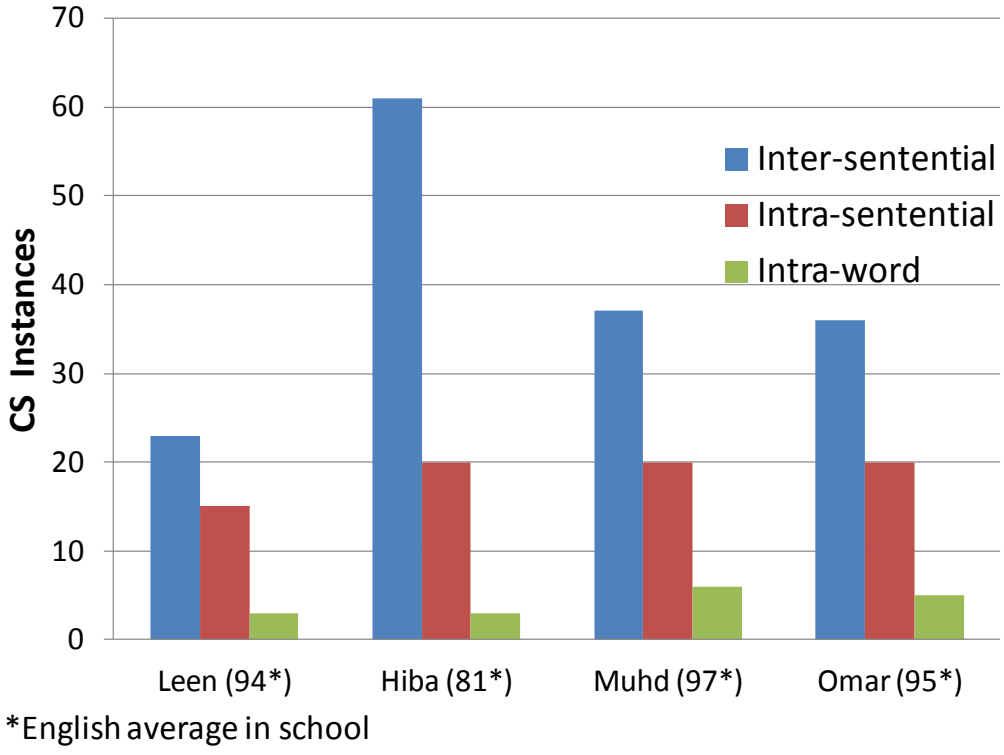
On the other hand, a difference was clear only about the topic concerning *Learning/studying*. It was ranked the third by the questionnaire respondents, but the sixth by the

four children. In fact, the topic got the same evaluation, 3.2, in the questionnaire as that of *songs and singers*. The average of the evaluation the four children gave was only 1.5.

The two topics of *friends* and *family* came correspondingly in the fifth and the sixth rank by the questionnaire respondents, but the other way round by the four children. However, the difference in average each group gave for the two topics was so slight, 0.4 and 0.3, that one can overlook the difference in the order between the two groups.

4.5 Code-switching Complexity and L2 Competency

This section of the chapter will address the third question of the study which is about how the competence of the researcher's four children in English is reflected in their code-switching practices. The instances of each child and of each type were calculated and results show in graph 11. The school average for the English language was the standard used to judge the children's competence in English.



Graph 11. The Code-switching Instances of the Four Children According to Their Type

The results show that all four children produced more inter-sentential code-switching than the other two types. This result is not surprising since this type is believed to be easier than intra-sentential and intra-word types (as presented in the literature review). However, if the number of inter-sentential switches each child produced is compared with that of the other children, Leen's number stands as a distinguished one because it was the smallest, 23 instances, and Hiba's as the biggest, 61. Muhammad and Omar's inter-sentential instances were 37 and 36 correspondingly.

Leen, being the eldest child, spent more years learning English and she had an excellent average in English, 94%. She was also the only child that read English stories excluding school requirements. The researcher asked Leen if she had an explanation for her being the least to code-switch among her siblings. Leen answered that she did sometimes avoid code-switching for two reasons. First, some of her colleagues in school criticized code-switching and considered it an act of showing off. Second, she did not want her friends who were less competent in English to feel bad because she herself experienced such a feeling when two of her classmates, who lived in the USA for a period of time and could speak English fluently, spoke with each other.

Hiba's production of the biggest number of inter-sentential code-switches, 61 instances may seem odd too when one observes the English average of the four children. Hiba's average was a very good one, 81%, but it was much lower than the other three children who got averages of 94% and above. Nevertheless, the use of 'formulaic sequences' in code-switching explains this result. (Wray, 2002) defined a formulaic sequence as:

> "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is … stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use,

> rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar." (p.9).

In other words, formulaic sequences do not reflect the speaker's actual grammatical competence in L2. They are stored as whole chunks and, when produced, they are not grammatically analyzed or generated. Gamal (2007) clarified this view by saying that:

> "there is substantial reason to believe that intersentential code-switching … will precede intrasentential code-switching in the development of bilingual speech. Intrasentential code-switching will be used by bilinguals only after the prefabricated chunks have been broken down and analyzed into smaller subcategories such as word classes." (p.142)

For children like Hiba and her siblings, this was the case at different occurrences. Their regular contact with sources of the English language, such as television and Wii games, resulted in acquiring such formulaic sequences and using them in their conversations. Why Hiba produced much more inter-sentential sequences than her two little brothers was probably because she spent two years learning English more than they did. When she was asked about it, she said that she does not like learning English in school. She added that she likes using it in her conversations because the English expressions "describe situations in better ways than Arabic" and because she finds it easier to express herself in English. Examples of code-switching instances involving formulaic sequences are presented below. In example 48, Muhammad was quoting a funny phrase from an American movie:

(48) Muhammad: "Not a goat, not a goat!"

At another instance, he was playing computer games and constantly commenting about what was happening. His comments went like this:

(49) “You should, yah man.”

“I win.”

“What you are doing?”

“Oh, no.”

“What should I do?”

“Oh yah, man.”

In example (37) that was presented earlier, Leen, quoted a sentence from a song to express her thoughts:

(37) “I will never say never.”

At another instance, Hiba asked her mother:

(50) “What am I gonna eat?”

In example (51), Omar asks his father proudly while playing Wii games:

(51) “Look at this, Dad.”

At another time, he used a famous sentence, used by a famous wrestler, to address his sister:

(52) “You can’t see me, woman.”

The second type of code-switching observed was the intra-sentential type and the results concerning it were as follows. Hiba, Muhammad and Omar produced 20 instances of this type while Leen produced 15. Following will be some examples. Omar’s mother asked him in Arabic once about the time his turn on the computer would end. His answer was:

(53) “I don’t see the saːʕa.”

“… clock.”

Leen, in a previously mentioned example, called out before going to bed:

(43) “tisˁbaħuː ʕalaː xeir everybody.”

"Good night …"

In example (54), Muhammad addressed his brother saying:

(54) "Why are you not msˤaddiʔniː ?"

"… believe me?"

Omar said to his sister in the following example:

(55) "naʔiːlek game; hajjo two"

"Choose a … . Here's … ."

And he said to his brother in example (23), mentioned earlier:

(23) "mħammad, please uːm min houn."

"Muhammad … move from here."

The children's mother was entering the house when Muhammad came and said while trying to check the bags:

(56) "What did you ʔiʃtareitiː"

"… buy?"

Hiba commented on something her brother said, while they were sharing a Wii game, using code-switching. It went like this:

(57) Muhammad: "anaː badˤalniː ʔamuːt."

"I keep dying."

Hiba: "leiʃ tmuːt, ʒarreb *not die*."

"Why should you die, try …."

The researcher found this specific instance interesting and asked Hiba about the reason why she did not use the Arabic equivalent for 'not die'. Her explanation was also interesting. She said that she was making fun of her brother's bad situation in the game.

The last type, intra-word code-switching, got the least instances. Leen and Hiba produced 3 instances; Omar produced 5 and Muhammad 6. This result is logical because if it is challenging to practice intra-sentential code-switching, then the challenge would be even bigger to code-switch within word boundaries, i.e. at the morphemic level, since it involves the morphology of the switched languages. Some of the children's intra-word instances are presented below. In example (3), presented at the beginning of this chapter, Muhammad (commenting on movie characters) said:

(3) Muhammad: "*uniform*-hom louno azraʔ ɣareːb."

"……-plural masculine possessive pronoun colour is strange blue."

Omar, in example 4, said to his sister while playing Wii games:

(4) "maː biddiː t-*help*-iːniː."

"I don't want you to-…-me."

In the same situation, Leen produced her only intra-word switch:

(58) "maː asˁɣar bubbl-iː!"

"How small the …-of mine is!"

Also in the situation of playing Wii games, Muhammad said:

(59) "hallaʔ bnaːxod il-warde w bin-*kill*-him."

"Now we'll take the flower and plural present-…-3PS object."

Hiba, talking about her day at school, said:

(60) "kaːnat sˤaːħibtiː waːʔfe ʕalaː i-*desk*."

"My friend was standing on the-…."

While playing Wii games with her brother, she said:

(61) "taʕaːl naːxod *up*-aːt."

"Let's take …-<u>feminine plural noun marker</u>."

Omar's mother asked him in Arabic to get her things she wanted. He answered in an interesting way:

(62) "Where-*<u>hom</u>*"

"…-<u>3PP object</u>?"

The above presentation of the results showed that the four children produced code-switched utterances of three main types: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and intra-word. The discussion explained the level of complexity of these types and how it is related to the children's competency level and years of learning English.

The number of instances of the three types each of the four children produced came on a descending scale from the less complex, i.e. inter-sentential code-switching, to the most complex, i.e. intra-word code-switching. However, it was expected that the two eldest children, Leen and Hiba, would produce more complex code-switching than the two younger children but the results showed the opposite. Hiba produced much more inter-sentential code-switching than the two boys, and the researcher believes that Leen would have done the same if she had not been constrained by the negative attitudes towards code-switching that some of her friends had. Nevertheless, it may be said that this result reflects the children's real ability to apply their linguistic knowledge of English, their foreign language, in daily casual interactions. Using whole

sentences, referred to above as 'formulaic sequences', is easier for them because it does not involve grammatical issues which are one of the problematic areas in language learning.

The discussion in this chapter revealed many similarities between the different types of the results. As presented in table 4 below, four of the motives and functions of the 170 children which got high percentages (highlighted in yellow) were also salient in the quantitative analysis. In addition, the number of children (out of four) who chose the functions and motives are pointed out in red. This presentation of results clearly points out the similarity between the interview results and the questionnaire results.

Table 4

Results for motives and functions in comparison with the results of the interview

High-percentage Results	**Medium-percentage Results**	**Low-percentage Results**
Responding to an English Utterance 80% **(4 children)**	Habitual practice 57% **(4 children)**	Showing off 31% **(0 children)**
Expressing happiness 76% **(4 children)**	Showing knowledge of technology 56% **(4 children)**	Expressing anger 29% **(0 children)**
Lack of vocabulary items 68% **(4 children)**	Exclusion of an interlocutor 45% **(3 children)**	
Discussing Western societies 62% **(3 children)**	Emphasis 43% **(2 children)**	

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Many people in the Palestinian society have negative attitudes towards code-switching practices between Arabic and English (which is learned as a foreign language). These attitudes may even extend to include code-switching between Arabic and Hebrew. Those who practice code-switching between their native language and a foreign language are usually accused of showing off and of having a cultural inferiority. However, these attitudes ought to be thought over because there is much more to code-switching than showing off. This research investigated this phenomenon among Palestinian children aged between 8 and 15. It sheds light on the communicative functions that they desire to achieve and the motives that encourage them to switch between Arabic and English, and it investigated the correlation between the complexity of the code-switched utterances the children produced and their competency level in English (which was judged by their school grades and the number of years they spent in learning English).

The research was both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative part analyzed data the researcher collected by registering the code-switching instances in the interaction of her own four children. The instances were then categorized according to the functions and motives which caused them to be produced. In addition, this data went through quantitative analysis to study the relation between the children's competence in English and the complexity of their code-switched utterances. The instances were categorized according to the type of code-switching involved, and then the instances of each type for each child were calculated. More data from school children of the same age range was collected through a questionnaire to be analyzed quantitatively. These results of the questionnaire responses were analyzed electronically, using Microsoft Office Excel 2007, and represented in graphs using Origin Pro 7.0.

The findings of this research proved that code-switching in an EFL context is not an action of showing off and that Palestinian children, who do code-switch, aim at achieving specific functions and have their own motives to do so. The qualitative analysis showed that they aimed at achieving three main functions and had three main motives. They aim at *compensating for the lack of vocabulary items*, *expressing their feelings*, and *clarifying something they said and/or emphasizing it*. They are motivated by a desire *to make a point*, *to show knowledge of the foreign language*, because it is the language of power and prestige, and simply *to practice a habit* they learnt from other individuals in the community.

On the other hand, when the children were interviewed, they agreed strongly upon three of the above mentioned functions and motives: *compensating for the lack of vocabulary items*, *expressing feelings*, and *habitual use*. They all disregarded *showing off one's knowledge of English* and they all agreed that they get motivated to code-switch when they *discuss Western societies*, *respond to a person who addressed them in English* and when they want to *show knowledge of technology*.

As for the questionnaire results, they supported the previous results. E*xpressing feelings* (especially happiness) and *compensating for the lack of vocabulary items* were the most dominant functions. The respondents agreed with the researcher's four children on *responding to an English utterance*, *discussing Western societies* and *habitual practice* as being major motives that trigger code-switching. They also agreed that *showing off* was the last motive they might have for code-switching. The factors of age and gender were studied and were not found to have a significant effect on the choices of the children.

In addition, the level of the switching complexity was not found to be influenced by the period of learning English at school. In other words, the two girls in the eighth and ninth grades

did not produce more complex code-switched utterances, i.e. including intra- sentential and intra-word code-switching, than the two boys in the third and fourth grades. Each child of the four children practiced code-switching of the inter-sentential type more than intra-sentential and intra-word code-switching.

This research will hopefully encourage more research on code-switching in an EFL context. It is highly recommended to conduct similar studies, both qualitative and quantitative, to reveal more about the communicative functions and the motives that cause code-switching in such a context. When considering future research, it is suggested that the following points be taken into consideration:

1. Interviewing children and their parents as well because this would not only provide data, but also explanations for unexpected quantitative results. For example, the researcher of this study wanted to ask parents who objected to their children's code-switching about their reasons for this objection, but she couldn't because the students' names were not required for the questionnaires. Interviewing the parents in such situations will provide explanations.
2. Observing children's interactions in settings other than family and house, such as playing yards, clubs, malls, etc.
3. Studying the code-switching practices of adult Palestinians and comparing them with those of children.
4. Studying other aspects of the children's code-switching, such as the morphological and syntactic ones.
5. Studying switching Arabic with Hebrew to find out if it has similar functions.

In relation to the educational domain, the present study brings to light the importance of 'period of exposure' to the foreign language as an important factor in the learning process. The four subjects in this study spent considerable time listening to native English speakers through different electronic media. Consequently, they acquired frequently-used English expressions and were motivated to switch English with Arabic in their daily interactions. Moreover, the results of this study may be related to the issue of learning through games and songs which have been studied as effective teaching and learning methods. Playing video and computer games enhanced the four children's learning of English and motivated them to use it outside the classroom setting. Therefore, the researcher recommends exploring and experimenting new educational methods that employ electronic games not only as tools of providing L2 input but as interactional partners.

Finally, this study paved the way for more research on code-switching in EFL contexts which seems to be a path rarely treaded and, hopefully, it will change some of the bad attitudes some people had about code-switching since it revealed its real functions and motives.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire in Arabic

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم

استبانة

هذه الاستبانة هي جزء من بحث لرسالة ماجستير هدفها البحث في ظاهرة خلط الطلاب الفلسطينيين للغة الإنجليزية في أحاديثهم اليومية خارج نطاق الدراسة. تعبئة هذه الاستبانة ستستغرق 10 إلى 15 دقيقة لذا أرغب منكم الإجابة على فقرات الاستبانة بصراحة وحرية، مع شكري سلفاً على ما ستقدمونه من معلومات وجهد ووقت.

(1) **املأ البيانات التالية:**

العمر:	الجنس:
عدد سنوات تعلم اللغة الإنجليزية:	

(2) **ضع دائرة حول (نعم) أو (لا):**

.1	هل تخلط اللغة الإنجليزية (كلمات أو جمل) أثناء حديثك مع أصدقائك؟	نعم	لا
.2	هل تخلط اللغة الإنجليزية (كلمات أو جمل) أثناء حديثك مع أفراد أسرتك؟	نعم	لا
.3	هل يستطيع أحد والديك أو كلاهماالتحدث باللغة الإنجليزية؟	نعم	لا
.4	هل يعارض أبواك خلطك للغة الإنجليزية في أحاديثك اليوميّة؟	نعم	لا
.5	هل تشعر بسهولة وراحة أكبر عندما تخلط اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في نفس الحوار؟	نعم	لا

(3) **ضع دائرة حول رقم الجملة الصحيحة بالنسبة لك:**

أخلط اللغة الإنجليزية في أحاديثي مع أشخاص لغتهم الأم هي العربية في الحالات الآتية:

1. عندما لا أجد الكلمة أو التعبير المناسب من اللغة العربية.
2. للتأكيد على كلامي و لزيادة قوته و تأثيره.
3. عند الشعور بالفرح أو الإثارة.
4. عند الشعور بالحزن أو الغضب.
5. للتباهي بمعرفتي باللغة الإنجليزية وبمهارتي في استخدامها.
6. عندما يكون الحديث عن المجتمعات الغربية.
7. لاستبعاد (أو إخراج) شخص لا يفهم اللغة الإنجليزية من الحوار.
8. إذا كان كلامي رداً على شخص بدأ هو بنفسه الكلام باللغة الإنجليزية.
9. لإظهار معرفتي بأمور تخص التقدم التكنولوجي والمدني.
10. هي مجرّد عادة اكتسبتها عبر الوقت.

---

(4) **احكم على كلّ من النقاط التالية، بما يتعلق بخلطك للغتين العربية والانجليزية، على مقياس من 1-5، بحيث يكون 1 هو الحد الأدنى و 5 هو الحد الأعلى.**

	قليل جداً أو معدوم	قليل	متوسط	درجة عالية	درجة عالية جداً
الدراسة	1	2	3	4	5
الأصدقاء	1	2	3	4	5
الأمور العائلية	1	2	3	4	5
الألعاب الإلكترونية وعالم التكنولوجيا	1	2	3	4	5
البرامج التلفازية والأفلام	1	2	3	4	5
الأغاني والمغنين	1	2	3	4	5
الأحداث العالمية	1	2	3	4	5

شكراً لتعاونكم

Appendix B: Questionnaire in English

In the name of Allah

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is a part of a Master's degree research which aims at investigating the phenomenon of code-switching among Palestinian students in their daily conversations, outside the learning context. Filling this questionnaire will take 10 to 15 minutes. Therefore, I would like you to respond to its questions honestly and freely. Thanking you in advance for the information that you are going to present and for the effort and time that you are going to spend.

(1) Fill in the following information:

Age:	Gender:
Years of Learning English:	

(2) Circle (Yes) or (No):

1.	Do you mix English, words or sentences, while talking with your friends?	Yes	No
2.	Do you mix English, words or sentences, while talking with your family?	Yes	No
3.	Can one, or both, of your parents speak English?	Yes	No
4.	Do your parents mind your mixing of English in your daily conversations?	Yes	No
5.	Do you feel it more comfortable and easy to mix English and Arabic in the same dialogue?	Yes	No

(3) Circle the number of the sentence that is true for you:

I mix English in my conversations with people whose mother tongue is Arabic in the following situations:

1. When I do not find the suitable word or expression from Arabic.
2. To emphasize my speech and to increase its strength and impact.
3. At times of happiness and excitement.
4. At times of sadness and anger.
5. To show off my knowledge and skills of using English.
6. When Western societies are being discussed.
7. To exclude a person who does not understand English from the conversation.
8. If my speech was a response to someone who started talking in English.
9. To show my knowledge of technological and cultural advancement.
10. It is just a habit that I acquired through time.

(4) Give your judgment on each of the following points in relation to your mixing of English and Arabic on a scale of 1-5, 1 being the least and 5 being the most.

	Very Little or Nonexistent	**Little**	**Medium**	**High Degree**	**Very High Degree**
Studying	1	2	3	4	5
Friends	1	2	3	4	5
Family Matters	1	2	3	4	5
Electronic Games and World of Technology	1	2	3	4	5
Movies and TV Programmes	1	2	3	4	5
Songs and Singers	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix C: IPA symbols used for the transliteration of the code-switching instances of the four children

Letter	Name	IPA	Letter	Name	IPA	Letter	Name	IPA
ء[3]	hamzah	ʔ	ش	shīn	ʃ	ه	hā’	h
ا	alif	aː	ص	ṣād	sˤ	و	wāw	w, uː
ب	bā’	b	ض	ḍād	dˤ	ي	yā’	j, iː
ت	tā’	t	ط	ṭā’	tˤ	آ	alif maddah	ʔaː
ث	thā’	θ	ظ	ẓā’	ðˤ~zˤ	ة	tā’ marbūṭah	a, at
ج	jīm	ʤ~g~ʒ	ع	‘ayn	ʕ	ى	alif maqṣūrah	aː
ح	ḥā’	ħ	غ	ghayn	ɣ	ال	alif lām	*(var.)*
خ	khā’	x	ف	fā’	f			
د	dāl	d	ق	qāf	q			
ذ	dhāl	ð	ك	kāf	k			
ر	rā’	r	ل	lām	l			
ز	zayn/zāy	z	م	mīm	m			
س	sīn	s	ن	nūn	n			

Appendix D: Code-switching Instances of the Four Children

1. Here's the first. / Here's the second. (Muhammad)

   (When asked to bring three garlic gloves.)

2. What's your happen? (Omar)

   (When I asked him what he meant by this question, he said: '*ʃuːr maːlak?*', i.e. 'What's wrong?')

3. Leen xudi il-*money* il-kbiːra (O)

   … take the-… the big one.

   (While playing Wii video games, talking about a big coin)

4. Ready to go to sleep. (Hiba)

5. Really cold. (H)

   (Talking about the weather during a night walk)

6. btiħlami kawabees, *bad dreams* (Leen)

   You'll see nightmares … …

7. Did you kill it? (H)

   (Talking to her sister about a spider)

8. What's this?! First thing, I'll have a shower. (H)

   (After entering the house at a hot day)

9. Can I watch TV? (M)

10. Whatever! (H)

    (Talking back to her sister who said: 'irriħla min tanðˤiːm mʕalimti' which means 'The trip is planned for by my teacher')

11. What happens? (O)

    (Talking to his mother who thinks he meant by this question: ‘What do you want?’ and not ‘What happened?’)

12. What's that's? (M)

    (While playing computer games)

13. Mmmm! It's so so so delicious. (M)

14. That's very dangerous. (M)

    (While playing Wii video games)

15. Not a goat, not a goat. (M)

    (A sentence from a film used here for amusement)

16. - I'll miss you (L)

    - I'll be back (H)

    - I feel bad (L)

    - Oh, my 'gosh' (2). (H)

    - I'm trying. (H)

    - What am I gonna do? *walaː ʔishiː bas* die (H)

      … … … … … … ? Nothing, just …

    - What is this? (H)

    (While playing Wii video games)

17. ʕamr muptadeʔ, maː ptiʔdar tilʕab maʕo *expert*. (M)

    Amr is a beginner, you cannot play with him ……

18. law ʔinnak fiː ‘Arabs Got Talent’ kaːn ʔaːluːlak: *did you eat a frog* ? (H)

If you were in … … … they would have told you: … … …… …

(Commenting on her brother's singing)

19. We finally arrived. (L)

(At stopping the car when getting home)

20. Everyday come! (L)

(A literal translation of the Arabic expression ‘ta9aalee kul youm’, meaning ‘you are welcomed every day’)

21. Yes, I did. Very much, indeed. (L)

(Responding to: ‘Saleiti?’ which means: ‘did you do your prayer?’)

22. She's talking to me. (M)

(Talking to his sister in a strong tone)

23. I'm feeling lucky. (M)

(Reading aloud what's on the computer's screen after clicking on ‘I'm feeling lucky’ icon on Google site)

24. Tabaxti azkaː akla, *thank you*. (H)

You cooked the most delicious meal, ...

25. Perfect (M)

(Commenting on the food)

26. I saw her. (H)

(Responding to her sister saying: ‘hay m9alemti’which means ‘there is my teacher’)

27. Oh, my gush! This is very bad. (H)

(Talking about a pair of shoes in a store / responding to her sister who said: ‘ʃuːfiː haːdaː’ which means ‘look at this one’)

28. Kind of. (H)

(Answering: ‘btiHkee ma9 Haalek ?!’ which means ‘Are you talking with yourself ?!’

29. Hi! How are you? fiʃ thank you (O)

… … … … … … no … …

(Talking to his mom)

30. _ You, stop talking. (H)

_ You, stop losing. (L)

(While playing Wii games)

31. It's bubbling. (L)

(Describing water on the cooker)

32. Ok. I'll shake myself and everything is all right. (H)

(While playing Wii video games)

33. _ ħiluː shaʕriː *curly?* (L)

Is my hair nice …?

_ taʕiː yaː *curly; you are curly*. (O)

Come you …; … …

34. This is nice. (O)

(While playing Wii video games)

35. What? (H)

(She answered when her brother called her from another room)

36. maː biddiː t-*help*-iːniː (O)

I don’t want you to to-…-me

(Talking to his sister while playing Wii video games)

37. w huwwe ʔaːʕed ʕal-kursiː bjiʕmal il-*twist* (M)

    While he's sitting on the chair he's doing the…

    (Talking about a sports' movement his brother was doing)

38. biddiː ʔaruːħ ʕa *world 6* (M)

    I want to go to …

    (Talking about Wii video games)

39. I'm very bad. anaː miʃ bas *very bad*, anaː kamaːn *very sad*. (M)

    …… . I'm not only … … …. I'm also … … …

    (Talking while playing Wii games)

40. _ I died! Kind of. (H)

    _ I'm a person too! ʔistanniːniː. (H)

    … … … … … … . Wait for me.

    (While playing Wii video games)

41. I will never say never. (L)

    (Quoting a song)

42. _ lḥiʔet titħammam ?! (L)

    Have you already finished having a bath?!

    _We don't believe you. (H)

    (Talking to their brother.)

43. Can you go? (H)

    (Asking Muhammad to leave her place on the sofa)

44. Did you see?! (M)

    (To Omar, because Muhammad didn't want to sit in Hiba's place but Omar wouldn't let him sit next to him)

45. My mum is dying! (M)

    (Commenting sarcastically at his mum's request for some water after drinking something that tasted bad)

46. Maybe jiʔbal (H)

    …… he will accept

    (Commenting on her mother's saying that a vet will not treat a cat without taking money)

47. maː biddiː il-*help* tabaʕek (O)

    I don't want the-…… of yours

    (Talking to his sister who wouldn't help him)

48. il-*high score* tabaʕiː aʕlaː min il-*high score* tabaʕek (O)

    the …… of mine is higher than the …….. of yours.

    (Talking to his sister)

49. anaː krihet il-*CD* min *level* waːħad.

    I hated the-… from … one.

    (While playing Wii video games)

50. Believe me! I believe me! (M)

    (Talking to his sister)

51. Wait a minute. (H)

    (Responding to her mum speaking to her in Arabic)

52. _ʔeimta bidhom jiːʒuː ? (H)

When are they coming?

_ They don't ħaddaduː (M)

… … … identify

53. I'm gonna die. (H)

(While playing Wii video games)

54. ʔaː, wallaː. *I love doing that*! *(*H)

Yes, by Allah's name. ……

(When winning a Wii video game)

55. sawweit ħaːliː *bubble* (H)

I made myself a …

(An option in the game by which the character can save him/herself by putting her/himself in a bubble)

56. What am I gonna eat? (H)

57. _ Muhammad! Be careful! (H)

_ I'm be carefulling (M)

(While playing Wii video games)

58. Look at this dad. (O)

(While playing Wii video games)

59. laʔanniː anaː *mister*. (O)

Because I am a ...

(Talking about his skill in playing, probably he meant 'master')

60. naʔiːlek game; hajjo two (O)

Choose a …; Here's …

(Talking to his sister about the selection of games)

61. _ leiʃ tmuːt, ʒarreb not die. (H)

Why should you die, try ….

(Commenting on Muhammad who said: 'anaː badˤalniː ʔamuːt' which means 'I keep dying')

62. _Don't tidfaˤiːniː (L)

… push me

_ isimhaː push me

It's called ...

63. _I'm just going up there. (H)

_Up there willaː down there. (L)

… … … or … … … ….

(She was being ironic because her sister's character in the game fell down and she lost.)

64. Someday! Somehow! I died.(H)

(Talking about her character in the game)

65. I died. I have no lives. (H)

(Talking about her character in the game)

66. Where is it? (M)

(Responding to his mother who said 'hajhaː itˤtˤajjara' which means 'There is the plane')

67. Yes, that's nice. Let's go to it. (H)

(Responding to her mother who said 'ʃuː raʔjikum tinziluː fi haːj il-birkeh?' which means 'What do think about going into this pool?')

68. Which tˤaːbeʔ (H)

… … floor ?

(At entering the elevator to go to a graduation party)

69. You don't have lives?! (H)

(Responding to her mother who said: 'ʔnaː mutet' which means 'I died')

70. Finally, I did something not wrong (H)

71. Why you are not msˤaddiʔniː ? (M)

… … … … … believe me ?

(Talking to his brother)

72. maːmaː ʔaʕtˤaːkiː ʕumar il-card ʔilliː ʕimlo ʔimbaːreħ ? (M)

Mom did Omar give you the-… that he made yesterday ?

73. ma anaː baʕraf, *technicolour*

I already know, … …

(Responding to his mother who said: 'bluuztak mish lab?a 9ala ilbanTaloun' which means 'Your blouse doesn't go with the trousers')

74. Hiba wrote on her mother's car: ʔiɣsiliːniː please.

: Wash me … …

75. Why should she do that? (H)

(initiating an answer when her brother asked: ‘maːmaː, Hannah Montana bitruːħ ʕalaː il-madrase’ which means ‘Mom, does Hannah Montana go to school?’)

76. _ I don't think you win. (L)

_ I don't seem (M)

(While playing Wii video games and M means: it does not seem so.)

77. I'm so hungry. (M)

(Talking to his mum)

78. Me too! (M)

(Responding to a remark his mother gave about the food in a restaurant saying: ‘ʔanaː maː ħabeit il-ʔakel bilmarra’ which means ‘I did not like the food at all’)

79. _ We’re just having fun. (H)

_ You’re teasing your sister. (Fth)

_ We’re just playing. (H)

(This conversation started when Hiba said something bad to her sister and her mother said: ‘haːda il-ħakiː miʃ ħiluː bilmarra’ which means ‘This talk is not nice at all’)

80. This is *magnifitic* fikra. (M)

… … … … idea

81. For the first time. I will bawasˁsˁel here. (M)

… … … … … … … … reach … …

(While playing computer games)

82. itħawwalat min ħjaːr kariːme la money. (M)

They transformed from gemstones to …

(While playing Wii video games)

83. taʕaːl naːxod up-aːt. (H)

Let's take …-feminine plural noun marker.

(Hiba gave an English preposition the form of the feminine plural noun.)

84. Thanks. (H)

(responding to her mother who said: 'xudiː yaː hiba' which means 'take, Hiba')

85. me too. (H)

(Responding to her sister who said: 'ʔanaː bidiː ʔaruːħ ʔanaːm' which means ' I want to go to bed')

86. You can't see me, woman! (O)

(Addressing his sister while playing Wii video games using a famous sentence a famous boxer always says in the matches)

87. maː asˁɣar bubbl-iː (L)

How small the …-of mine is!

(While playing computer games)

88. Sleeping. (H)

(Answering her father who asked: 'wein ʕumar?' which means 'Where's Omar?')

89. very much

(Answering his mother who said: 'ʃikilhaː zaːkye sˁaħ ?' which means 'It looks very delicious, doesn't it?')

90. yalla ya man. (M)

Come on …

(Repeated a lot when addressing O)

91. mħammad, please uːm min houn. (O)

Muhammad, … move from here.

92. Why? ʕaʃaːn sky is high? (O)

"… because …"

(Responding to his sister who said: 'aʕtˤiːniː il-bilifoun' which means 'Give me the mobile phone')

93. anaː *me too* ktiːr ʔiʃtaɣalet. (H)

I … … worked a lot.

(Responding to her sister who said: 'anaː ktiːr ʔiʃtaɣalet' which means 'I worked a lot')

94. hallaʔ bnaːxod il-warde w bin-*kill*-him.

Now we'll take the flower and plural present-…-3PS object."

(While playing Wii video games)

95. Awesome ʒad awesome. (M)

… really …

(Repeating the word after hearing it when he won a computer game)

96. anaː sˤiret ʔaːʕed laħaːliː fil-madrase, *but there's a problem*, kariːm ʔaːʕed waraːy. (M)

Now I sit alone in the desk in school, … … … … … …, Kareem sits behind me.

97. This is you, mum. (O)

(Giving his mother something she has asked for / He means: ‘Here you are’)

98. No, No, No. Of course no. (O)

(Answering his mother who asked him: ‘ɣlitˤet nafs il-ɣaltˤaː, sˤaħ?!’ which means ‘You made the same mistake, didn’t you?’)

99. Very much. (M)

(Responding to his mother who said: ‘mħammad, diːr baːlak ʕalaː ʃantˤitiː’ which means ‘Keep an eye on my handbag’ / Trying to assure his mum that he'll do what he's asked to do)

100. Here is it. (M)

(Responding to his mother who said: ‘ruːħ ʒiːb ʃantˤitak’ which means ‘Go get your bag’)

101. Yes, it is. (M)

(Answering his mother who asked: ‘fiː wasaːʕ fi-ttalaːʒe?’ which means ‘Is there any space in the fridge?’

102. What did you ʔiʃtareitiː (M)

… … … … … buy ?

(Asking his mother when she entered the house while trying to check the inside of the bag)

103. kaːnat ktiːr huge. (L)

It was very …

(Commenting on a sentence Hiba said: ‘kaːnat iʃʃaːʃe ktiːr dˤaxme’ which means ‘The screen was so huge’)

104. This is your. (O)

(When giving something to his mother)

105. _ Don't walking, Leen. (O)

_ fiʃ ʔiʃiː ʔismo don’t walking. (M interfering)

There is nothing called … … …

106. He is freezing. (L)

(Interfering when her mother said to Omar: ‘maː bti?dar tiʃrab haːdaː il-ʕasʕiːr’ which means ‘You can’t drink this juice’)

107. Come and look this. (O)

(Addressing his father to show him something in a magazine full of ads of laptops, iPads and iphones)

108. Oh, my gush. (H)

(Expressing her surprise while watching a series in English on TV)

109. _ Mum, I will not ʔaːxod kaʕke. (O)

… … … … … take a cake.

_ Why? (Mth)

_ Because I will not ʔaːkulhaː. (O)

… … … … … … eat it.

(Talking about the school snack)

110. Leen, shut up. (M)

(He wanted to sleep and she was singing loudly in English)

111. Don’t you know ?! (H)

(Answering her sister who asked her: ‘ʔeiʃ biddek tilbisiː?’ which means ‘What are you going to wear?)

112. kaːnat sˁaːħibtiː waːʔfe ʕalaː i-*desk*. (H)

My friend was standing on the- …

(Talking about school)

113. There are nothing ʕibriː. (M)

… … … … … … Hebrew.

(Responding to his mother who asked: ‘yalla ʔaʃuːf ʃuː ʕaleik draːse’ which means ‘Let’s see what you have to study’)

114. anaː xallasˁet il-watˁaniyye I’m in il-madaniyye. (H)

I finished the national studies … … the civil studies.

(Telling her mother about her progress in studying without being asked)

115. Do you will take this? (O)

(Initiating an offer to give his mum something)

116. _ The twice (M)

_ Both of them (L correcting M)

(Interacting with their father who asked: ‘ħilwe haːy ilkundara, willa albes ittaːnje’ which means ‘Is this pair of shoes beautiful, or should I wear the other one?’)

117. Do you want this? Take. (O)

(Offering a piece of fruit to a duck in a park)

118. Leen, naːwliːniː xubze please. (H)

Leen, hand me a piece of bread …

119. Cool (O)

(Answering his mother who asked him about his studying: 'ʃuː wadˁʕak' which means 'How are things going with you?')

120. I don't know. (O)

(Responding to his mother who said: 'leiʃ ʔinta ʃaːtˁer bil-ħisaːb' which means 'Why? You are good at maths' / He wanted her to stay next to him / He meant *I know* that I'm good at maths)

121. Me yes. (O)

(In the market, answering his father who asked: 'miːn biddo yruːʔ ʕal-ħammaːm' which means 'Who wants to go to the bathroom?'

122. Do you finished? Do you will give it me? (O)

(Speaking to his father who was working on the computer / He wanted to play computer games.]

123. anaː baʔuːl il-ħaʔiːʔa *not to* ʔakzeb. (O)

I'm saying the truth … … lying

(Speaking with his mother)

124. _ My dad come, my dad come. (O)

(Shouting at the arrival of his father)

_ My dad came, my dad came. (M)

(Joining his brother in shouting, but in an attempt to correct his mistake)

125. Give it to me woman. (O)

(Addressing his sister, wants the i-pad)

126. laʔ, hadoul sˁiʕbaːt; hadoul il-*easy* (L)

No, these are hard; those are the-…

(Talking about the i-pad games to her brother Omar)

127. Where-*<u>hom</u>* (O)

… -<u>3PP object</u>?

(Responding to his mother who said: 'ʕumar ʒiːb-li il-ʔaɣraːdˤ' which means 'Omar bring me the things')

128. _ I don't see the saːʕa. (O)

… … … clock.

(Responding to his mother's question: 'ʕumar, ʔeimtaː bixallesˤ dourak ʕalaː il-kumpjuːter' which means 'Omar, when does your turn on the computer end?')

129. _ tˤajjeb I don't care. (O)

Ok … … ….

(Responding to his father who said: 'ʔiza biddak tiːʒiː maʕiː, btuʔʕud ʕalaː il-maktab w maː btitħarrak' which means 'If you want to come with me, you must sit on the desk and don't move')

130. I want to ʔaːxod break. (O)

… … … take a …

(Addressing his mother, far in the kitchen, to say he's going out to play)

131. tisˤbaħuː ʕalaː xeir everybody. (L)

Good night ...

(Calling out before she went to bed)

132. _ Such a beautiful day. (H)

_ ʃuː batfalo (M)

What made it beautiful?!

(Muhammad gave the English adjective ‘beautiful’ a form of Arabic verbs ‘faʕʕala’)

133. The story is finish. (O)

(Calling out happily at the end of an Arabic story he was listening to on the computer)

134. uniform-hom louno azraʔ ɣareːb. (M)

…….-plural masculine possessive pronoun is in strange blue.

(Commenting on an Arabic TV programme)

135. il-muʃkile inno I can see. (L)

The problem is that …

(Commenting on an execution scene on television after saying ‘I can’t see’ and covering her face with a scarf)