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Code-Switching as an Evaluative Strategy: Identity Construction among Arabic-English Bilinguals in Manchester

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Manchester Metropolitan University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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List of abbreviations

AoA	Age of Acquisition		**Attrib**	Attribute
CA	Conversation Analysis		**Nomi**	Nominalised
CS	Code-Switching		**Circum**	Circumstances
CM	Code-Mixing		**Epith**	Epithet
CofP	Community of Practice		**Phr**	Phrase
DA	Discourse Analysis		**Prep**	Preposition
IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics		**Interj**	Interjection
L	Line		**Proso**	Prosody
L1	First language		**A**	Authorial
L2	Second language		**NA**	Non-authorial
LA	Linguistic Anthropology		**Incli**	Inclination
SC	Speech Community		**Happi**	Happiness
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics		**Sec**	Security
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar		**Satisf**	Satisfaction
VS	Variationist Sociolinguistics		**Comp**	Composition
			Val	Value
			React	Reaction
*APPRAISAL Model			**Imp**	Impact
			SS	Social Sanction
			I	Invoked
AFF	AFFECT		**T**	Token
APP	APPRECIATION		**Prop**	Propriety
JUD	JUDGEMENT		**Ver**	Veracity
Ar	Arabic		**SE**	Social Esteem
En	English		**Norm**	Normality
Pr	Process		**Cap**	Capacity
Ment	Mental		**Tenacity**	Tenac
Materi	Material		**Adv**	Adverb
Relati	Relational			
Behav	Behaviour			
Qual	Quality			

Abstract

Code-Switching as an Evaluative Strategy: Identity Construction among Arabic-English Bilinguals in Manchester

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Manchester Metropolitan University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

Hanan Ben Nafa - 2018

This is an ethnographic study investigating the code-switching (CS) practices of a friendship group of five adult, female, non-UK born, Arabic-English bilinguals based in Manchester. By viewing CS as an evaluative stance and a tool for negotiating identity, the aim is to examine the ways in which the participants' CS is utilised as a linguistic resource to perform interactional identities. The main evaluative strategy explored is 'attitude' and the way it is expressed through the participants' individual and relational CS moves.

Through carrying out a moment-by-moment analysis of recordings of a range of naturally-occurring data, such as peer-group interactions, this study investigates how variability in the participants' CS instances is used to shift speakers' evaluative stances and attitudinal positions. By deploying the APPRAISAL model (Martin & White, 2005) to systematically analyse the different CS moves the participants make, the thesis has the additional aim of utilising an unconventional methodological tool in the CS field.

The analysis showed a marked tendency among the participants to switch into English to specifically take up (positive) evaluative stances and create different interactional effects. This is particularly the case for expressing emotions (through AFFECT), making compliments (through APPRECIATION) and engaging in banter (through JUDGEMENT). Expressing these attitudes is therefore regarded as the triggering force behind the participants' CS instances. This thesis argues that the high frequency of evaluative English code-switches the participants exhibit is partly explained by the attitudinal shifts these bilinguals make when switching between both languages. These shifts are considered to be partially triggered by the difference in the cultural values the participants associate with each language group (Libyan/Arabic vs. British).

The thesis ends with a discussion of this study's implications for the APPRAISAL theory and providing some directions for future research where areas of APPRAISAL and CS can be combined more fruitfully.

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1: Introduction

1.2 About the study

This is an ethnographic study that investigates the code-switching (henceforward CS) practices utilised in the informal interactions of five adult, female, Arabic-English bilingual friends, who are part of the Arabic-speaking minority in Manchester, England. The aim of the study is to examine the ways and the extent to which the CS instances deployed by these bilingual participants are utilised as a linguistic resource in positioning themselves and negotiating their identities. In doing so, the study explores the indexical relationship between the CS stylistic variability that members of this group exhibit and their negotiation of certain aspects of their interactional identities (defined in section 2.2.4). The specific identity aspects explored in this thesis are the participants' evaluative stances, particularly those of 'attitude', and how they may be expressed through the participants' individual and relational CS moves.

To investigate identity-related issues of CS, the study analyses the subjects' CS patterns at a local level and from a stance viewpoint to conduct an examination of the individual (personal) and interactional (interpersonal) dimensions of the speakers' CS instances. A moment-by-moment analysis of informal interactions between the participants is conducted to examine, through adopting the APPRAISAL[1] model (Martin & White, 2005), how these bilingual speakers make a range of CS moves while taking up different evaluative stances and positioning themselves during peer-group interactions.

It is hypothesised that CS is a resourceful means through which speakers negotiate aspects of their interactional identities. The cumulative stance-taking acts taken up by the study's participants, through their CS instances, are expected to be found to function as a significant tool through which the participants are linguistically able to express their attitudes and therefore negotiate and manage their identities while

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[1] Based on the conventions followed in the appraisal literature, the word 'appraisal' will be capitalised throughout, to distinguish it as an analytic tool.

interacting with each other.

The study investigates the following research questions:

1. How do members of this bilingual group utilise CS as a tool for self-presentation and for negotiating both their individual and relational identities?

2. How can variability in the participants' CS patterns be explained in relation to the different evaluative stances they take and the attitudes they express?

3. What are the communicative effects speakers achieve through the evaluative stances they take and their interactional management of CS?

The thesis is structured as follows. The remainder of this introduction discusses the rationale behind the study and its potential contribution to knowledge. The final section of the chapter offers a brief account of the research context and the history of the Arab presence in Manchester. The two literature review chapters provide a comprehensive review of the three main concepts in this thesis: CS, identity, and stance, and highlight the ways in which these concepts are interlinked. While the first part of the literature review focuses on the way CS/language choice and identity are linked, the second part of it highlights the indexical role of stance in mediating between language use and linguistic variation, and identity re-construction. This chapter ends with a detailed overview of the study's main analytic tool, the APPRAISAL model, and a justification for adopting it as a tool for analysing the participants' attitudinal positions realised through their CS moves. The chapter also includes a detailed discussion of the extent of the role played by culture in accounting for (bilingual) speakers' attitudes. The methodology chapter describes the main methodological frameworks that informed the collection of the study's data and the process of analysis. This chapter also discusses in detail the way in which the current thesis draws several theories and analytic approaches from different practices within Sociolinguistics, such as Interactional Sociolinguistics (henceforward IS) and Systematic Functional Linguistics (henceforward SFL), developing links between study areas such as APPRAISAL and CS. The results chapter focuses on the

participants' identity-related CS instances and their evaluative significance. The next chapter provides a detailed discussion of these identity-related CS instances and the three main attitudinal positions the participants express (AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT) through their evaluative CS moves. The discussion chapter ends with a section discussing the main contribution this study makes and its implications for the APPRAISAL theory as well as the study's limitations regarding its application of APPRAISAL. The conclusion chapter provides a summary of the research questions of this thesis and the way in which each has been answered. It also ends with suggestions for possible directions for future work and collaboration between the study areas of CS and APPRAISAL.

1.2 The study's rationale and contribution to knowledge

In a move away from traditional approaches, where bilinguals' identities were viewed as tied to dichotomous associations with either language (e.g. Arabic vs English), many recent CS studies have incorporated 'stance' as an analytic approach (Jaffe, 2009). Such studies address how different CS moves are used to shift speakers' stances and (re)construct unique bilingual identities. However, one specific communicative purpose for which CS is deployed which still has not been examined in the existing studies of CS and that is linked to negotiating bilingual identities, is that of performing evaluation and expressing attitudes through CS. In my Master's thesis (Ben Nafa, 2013), one of the emerging CS patterns exhibited by the group (the same group of participants as for this PhD study) is its preference for utilising English to express emotions and promote self-image. Therefore, the main aim of this PhD thesis is to investigate this further and examine the way in which these bilingual participants utilise CS to express their attitudes and negotiate their interpersonal identities.

This thesis is attempting to make a number of contributions to the area of CS, in addition to its evident additions to the field of Sociolinguistics in general. By investigating the linguistic construction of identity through CS instances occurring at a high or discourse level (i.e., beyond the utterance level), the current study first endeavours to enrich the body of knowledge already existing on negotiating identity, which mainly focuses on lower-level (phonetic and morphosyntactic) variables. In doing

so, it also adds to the emerging area of research into CS from an identity-related perspective (Pérez-casas, 2008; Chen, 2008); an area where studies such as the current one tend to be scarce.

Although there is a scarcity in such studies across different language pairs, the gap in the research area of Arabic-English CS is particularly noticeable. The second contribution for this thesis is, therefore, filling this gap in the research existing on Arabic-English CS by exploring how this group of Arabic-English bilinguals 'do' identity work and re-construct aspects of their identities. In addition to the overall 'lack of a theoretical foundation for discussing code switching behaviours of English-Arabic [and Arabic-English] bilinguals' (Al-Rowais, 2012:23), hardly any research has been done on the identity-related issues of Arabic-English CS practices. Apart from the few studies that have approached CS from a sociolinguistic/pragmatic point of view, the focus has usually been confined to exploring a pre-existing set of practical functions behind the participants' act of switching (Abalhassan & Alshalawi, 2000; Abu Mathkour, 2004; Othman, 2006; Mohammed et al., 2015). Even when reference is made to identity negotiation, it is either very brief, describing basic CS instances (Al-Hourani, 2016; Mkahal, 2016), or the participants' identities are only viewed in terms of a set of macro-level variables such as age, gender, and level of education (Hafez, 2015).

Another contribution of this project is focusing on a bilingual group - late bilinguals[2] - that has not been investigated as much as the other groups (early bilinguals). The CS patterns exhibited in the speech of adult sojourners[3] or late bilinguals belonging to a range of minority groups are hardly studied in the literature of CS (The term 'sojourner' will be discussed in more detail in section 1.3.3 below where I also show how it is different from that of 'immigrant'). Conversely, the CS patterns of early bilinguals - regardless of the language pair they speak - have been well covered (e.g. Jørgensen, 1998; Al-Rowais, 2012; Gardner-Chloros & Finnis, 2004).

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[2] It is generally believed that late bilinguals are those who acquired their L2 after the age of 10 or 11/12 (Luk, et al., 2011:588, 590; Kim et al., 1997:171-4, respectively). However, this 'cut-off age' is considered by many, such as, Yow & Li (2015:2), to be 'somewhat arbitrary'.

[3] Someone who has chosen to live abroad for a specific period of time, short or long (Block, 2014:38).

The final and most important contribution of this study, which is methodologically-related, is the adoption of the APPRAISAL model as an analytic tool that systematically investigates the evaluative stances behind the CS moves the current study's participants deploy. The exploration of the evaluative (attitudinal) potential of the participants' CS moves was only possible and examined effectively through the incorporation of the APPRAISAL system in my analysis of the participants' evaluative CS practice. The APPRAISAL model was utilised in developing a theoretical framework that I proposed (see section 3.2, chapter 3) in order to examine the attitudinal stances inferred from the participants' CS instances. The main benefit of incorporating APPRAISAL was apparent in its ability to identify the linguistic choices (lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic) that the bilingual participants exploit to take up attitudinal stances. Through using a text-based parsing tool such as APPRAISAL, the study proves how this model allows for a refined analysis of the interactional and attitudinal motivation behind the CS practice of the participants. To the best of my knowledge, very few studies (Bock, 2011; Baumgarten & Du Bois, 2012; Smith-Christmas, 2013) have adopted the APPRAISAL framework to investigate bilingual interactions and the way participants experience their reality and react to it through their CS moves. Therefore, the current study is one of the very early and very few CS studies that utilises the APPRAISAL model in examining the evaluative potential of CS and its role in negotiating and re-constructing interactional bilingual identities. The introduction of the APPRAISAL framework, which is a model that is conceptualised within the area of SFL, could lead to developing useful links between the two fields - CS and SFL - in future works.

1.3 Context of the study

This section gives an overview of the context in which the study is carried out - a minority Arabic community in the city of Manchester. It first provides an account of the status of Arabic in Manchester and the role it plays in shaping its multilingual landscape. Then, the section reviews the history of the migration of Arabs to England and Manchester. In doing so, it provides general remarks on the linguistic and social situation of the Arab communities in England/Manchester, focusing on the main reasons behind their presence, both as expats and students, in the UK as a whole. In some parts, the following

section focuses specifically on the Libyan community, as five of the study's participants, including me, are from Libya. It is worth drawing attention to the social atmosphere and context in which the study's participants find themselves, thus indirectly giving insights into their world views and linguistic practices.

1.3.1 Multilingual Manchester

Manchester is currently home to a large number of ethnic minorities and immigrant communities whose two hundred languages make it the 'most linguistically diverse city in Western Europe' (Brown, 2013:online). For over sixty years, Manchester has been the target of endless waves of immigration from different parts of the world (Multilingual Manchester, 2013:1). As many of these communities tend to maintain their heritage languages, it is not surprising to know that almost half of the young population of Manchester is either bilingual or multilingual (*Ibid*).

According to research carried out regarding the language profile of Manchester, Arabic is the second most spoken community language in the city (Multilingual Manchester, 2015:4). It is mainly spoken in certain areas in south Manchester, such as Hulme (Multilingual Manchester, 2013:2) and the Cheetham Hill area in North Manchester. As a way in which they can maintain Arabic, most Arabs are keen to send their children to Arabic schools at weekends in Manchester (Othman, 2006:70) as is the case in most other cities in England. In addition to maintaining their heritage language, many Muslim, first generation Arab immigrants utilise the Arabic schools as a means of making sure their children are literate in Arabic and have access to an environment where Arabic is the main medium of instruction and interaction. Furthermore, many Arabs regard Arabic schools as a significant means through which they help their children retain their cultural and religious identity, which is tied, to a great extent, to Arabic, the language of Islam and the Quran.

1.3.2 Arabs in England and Manchester

The presence of Arabs in the UK, particularly England, dates back to 1945, with the beginning of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (McRoy, no date). England was one of the

main countries to which many Palestinian refugees fled after the state of Israel was established. The decades after this (1960s-1990s) witnessed more immigration from different Arabic countries, including Yemen, Syria, Sudan, Iraq, Libya, and Morocco (Seddon, 2012:16). The majority of Arabs who immigrated around this period were either seeking political asylum or better employment/educational opportunities (Seddon, 2012:17). According to the 2011 UK census (cited in The National Association of British Arabs, 2013:6), around '366,769' first and second generation Arabs are currently settled in London, rendering them the largest Arabic community in England. Second to London, Manchester is home to the largest Arabic community (around 9,500 residents), which makes up 1.9 % of its total population[4] (Manchester City Council, 2015:28-29). Classified as 'residents from the 'other' broad ethnic group' in Manchester, this 'Arabic subgroup [is] now the 6th largest in England and Wales (Manchester city council, 2015:29). This number/percentage, moreover, is likely to have risen since 2011 (the year of the most recent UK census) when the recent arrival of many Syrian and Libyan refugees is taken into account. For example, more than five thousand Syrian refugees have recently arrived in the Greater Manchester area; a number that is likely to rise over the next few years, according to UK officials (Williams, 2016).

1.3.2.1 Libyans in Manchester

Although there are some claims for North London to be 'home to the UK's largest expatriate Libyan community' (Barford & Chrystal, 2011), there is a very strong sense that the Libyan presence in Manchester is in fact larger (Wilson, 2012), with around 5000 residents (O'Neil & Norfolk, 2017). It is even widely claimed that the Libyan community in Manchester is the 'biggest one outside Libya' (Seddon, 2012:17), and not just in the UK. Because of this presence, some would also go as far as calling Manchester 'Libya's second capital' (Smith & Yeginsu, 2017:online). The start of the Libyan community in Manchester was marked by the arrival of many Libyan political activists and asylum seekers, some of whom were prominent opponents of Gaddafi. They were impelled to migrate in the 1980s and early 1990s to escape his regime at its most brutal.

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[4] This percentage is based on the most recent UK census, that is 2011 census (ONS).

This makes the Libyan community one of the very few Arabic communities with an established presence in Manchester, alongside the Syrian community and the Yemeni community in Eccles, which dates back to the 1950s (Seddon, 2012). Similarly to other communities in the city, the Libyan community runs two Libyan supplementary schools: the 'South Manchester Libyan school' in Old Trafford and the 'North Manchester Libyan school' in Cheetham Hill where the Libyan curriculum is taught and everything is totally managed by members of the Libyan community. Based on personal observations, I noticed that it is essential for many Libyan parents to send their UK-born children or those with low level of fluency in (colloquial) Arabic to the Arabic school, in order to prevent them from being stigmatised by their peers and the elders in the community, inside and outside the UK. Another possible reason is that many of those parents are expats who intend to return to Libya eventually; thus, they carefully socialise their children to embrace Libyan and Arabic values. Apart from supplementary schools, there are a number of mosques run by Libyans, in addition to other (barber) shops and restaurants in Moss Side and Rusholme. Despite being well-integrated into English society, most Libyan households tend to be socially conservative, adhering to the cultural practices and traditions of the Libyan society back home. Many of the families maintain (if only through obligation) social contacts with the rest of the community, such as exchanging regular visits and attending different social occasions in other Libyan households.

Since the Libyan revolution in 2011, the structure of the Libyan community in Manchester has changed slightly with many more refugees, as opposed to 'political asylum seekers', having arrived in England. These consist of a range of young people and families who migrated in search of a better life, away from the instability caused by the ongoing civil war that broke out after the death of Colonel Gaddafi in 2011 (Whitehead, 2011). Unlike the very nationalist rhetoric and sentiments espoused by members of the Libyan community before and during the Libyan revolution in 2011, almost anti-nationalistic sentiments have spread recently among many Libyans as well as Arabs. Some of the hopeful Libyan exiles and expats, who returned to Libya to settle there after the end of the revolution, have recently made their way back to Manchester, particularly after the start of Libyan civil war in 2014.

1.3.2.2 Government sponsorship of Libyan students in the UK

In addition to the Libyan exiles and refugees settled in Manchester, Libyan students, who are the focus of this section, comprise a large proportion of the community, most of whom are fully sponsored by the Libyan Government. Apart from the relatively large group of Libyan students in Manchester, the city, with its three high-profile universities, attracts a large proportion of the total number of international students coming to study in the UK (Shepherd, 2008). It was also ranked the tenth most popular student city in Europe, third only to two other UK cities: London and Edinburgh (TopUniversities, 2014). Overall, there are around 350,000 students around the Greater Manchester area, 85,000 of whom can be found within the city (Manchester.com, no date). Although Libyan students do not constitute a large percentage of these figures, they were classified in 2011 as the UK's 'largest student community' (Davies, 2011:Online). The 2400 sponsored Libyans in the UK were also considered Libya's largest student community abroad (Dyer, 2014). After completion of secondary school or a first degree, high-performing Libyan students are awarded full scholarships to study abroad in order to complete their educational attainment and develop the appropriate skills needed in an ever-competitive job market. As international students, Libyans have been particularly sought after for enrolment in the UK higher education institutions as their tuition fees can reach up to three times higher than the fees UK universities charge for their Home and European students (Before the rise in tuition fees for UK home students in 2015/2016), particularly at postgraduate level. However, the number of Libyan students has dramatically decreased because of the political disruption in Libya and the increasing inability of the Libyan cultural bureau in London to cover the tuition fees and life expenses of students who are in most cases accompanied by at least one of their family members.

Due to the current political situation in Libya, and the lack of rules that may bind these students to go back to Libya and work there, many of them have recently started to make attempts at extending their visas and scholarships, and make long-term career plans to be able to stay legally in the UK. It could be that for some Libyan students and others from different nationalities, settling in England, specifically in a multicultural city such as Manchester, can ease the process of integration. According to Berry (2005:705),

'integration' or 'acculturation' refers to the process of retaining one's heritage culture while at the same time being able to harmoniously interact/co-exist with members of the host country and other groups. Interestingly, the unique multicultural atmosphere of Manchester, where diversity and what Berry & Kalin (1995, cited in Berry, 2005:704) call the 'positive multicultural ideology' dominate, can be very encouraging for the city's inhabitants to integrate and develop a sense of belonging to the place. In the chapters to come, I argue that this is largely true for the study's participants and that this has implications when it comes to discussing the expressive stances speakers take up while switching to English.

The reason I prefer to use 'integrate' and not 'assimilate' is that while integration implies being open to and accepting two world views - that of home and the host country, assimilation often means rejecting the heritage culture and adhering to the new culture instead (Berry, 2005:705). Although integration may involve changes in one's attitude towards their original culture (2005:698-9), I do not think this is the case either for the majority of members of the Libyan community or the study's participants, for many reasons. Some of these are the large social and cultural gap between Libyan and British society, making it difficult for the former to fully integrate or assimilate, specifically in terms of cultural practices and lifestyle choices (i.e. going to the pub), rather than ideologies and mental framework (or what I refer to as 'culture' later in section 3.3.1). Also, I think the secular nature of English society and the freedom granted to many communities in practicing their religion and embracing their communal values remove some of the pressure that could be otherwise placed on these communities to assimilate, leaving them the space to freely choose whether to integrate or not.

1.3.3 Sojourner vs. Immigrant

To provide more information about my participants and further classify them, I would like to draw attention to two concepts; those of the 'immigrant' and the 'sojourner', which are generally used to describe two different groups of people when migrating or moving to another place. While an 'immigrant' is somebody who moves to a place with the intention of permanent settlement, a 'sojourner' is someone who has chosen to live abroad for a specific period of time, short or long (Block, 2014:38). Different from an

immigrant, a sojourner is expected to go back to their home country, at least for a short period of time while an immigrant is not. Moreover, and due to the temporary nature of the sojourner's stay, one is not expected to be able to appreciate and integrate into the host society and identify with its values as much as an immigrant is (Eshel & Rosenthal-Sokolov, 2000; Tseng & Newton, 2002). Also, some sojourners are more likely to operate within a 'dual frame of reference' (Reese, 2001) where the individual living abroad considers the host country's culture and values something to be shed and only focuses on the materialistic benefits which can be gained from it, such as access to a better quality of life and education. However, this is not the case with the study's participants, which is another point that is discussed in section 5.2.3, chapter 5 below, in relation to their stances and what these stances tell us about their social and ideological orientations as well as their experience in the UK.

According to these definitions and the high level of integration the current study's participants achieved and the cultural transition they have gone through, it seems difficult to rigidly classify the participants under either of these labels. Instead, they seem to occupy a middle ground between the two, especially if we regard current immigrants as sojourners who have later become immigrants. However, my sample members are different from immigrants in the sense that they did not initially intend to extend their stay or plan to stay permanently in the UK 8 or 9 years prior to the study. This decision came later after realising that they had subconsciously and willingly integrated into the society, but this decision was by no means something they had planned or expected to occur when they first arrived in the UK. That said, regardless of their level of integration, these speakers are legally classified as 'international students' or 'sojourners' who stay for a limited period of time on a student visa.

To conclude, this chapter first provided an account of the thesis and the main research questions it seeks to investigate. As previously stated, this thesis is an investigation of how a group of female, Arabic-English bilingual friends utilise CS in positioning themselves and negotiating aspects of their interactional identities as a group. In doing so, this study adopts the APPRAISAL model to examine the participants' evaluative (attitudinal) stances they take up through their CS practice as well as the

communicative effects achieved through these stances. This chapter also outlined the structure of the thesis before commenting briefly on its main implications and contribution to knowledge, particularly in relation to the utilisation of the APPRAISAL theory as an effective and unconventional analytical tool in the CS field. The chapter ended with an overview of the Arabic community in the city of Manchester, where the study is carried out.

Since this study examines the CS acts of a group of bilingual speakers from an identity perspective, the next chapter, which is the first part of the literature review, focuses on the two concepts of CS and identity. The second chapter mainly reviews these two concepts, and discusses how they are linked and how identity negotiation could explain the linguistic variation exhibited by bilingual speakers, in particular.

2: Literature Review (A)

For the first chapter of the literature review, I discuss the two main concepts in this thesis, those of CS and identity, and the ways in which they are interlinked. The first half of the current chapter (section 2.1) reviews the notion of CS and its significance as a research topic and explores some of the most renowned theories and models that deal with this linguistic phenomenon. In doing so, an emphasis is placed on those approaches that examine identity-related issues of CS. The second half of the chapter (section 2.2) gives a comprehensive overview of the notion of identity and the role it plays in accounting for linguistic variation across the different sub-disciplines within Sociolinguistics. This section ends with a discussion of the extent to which the process of language choice can be utilised as a tool for negotiating or enacting the identities of bilingual speakers.

2.1 Code-Switching

CS is one of the most evident ways in which a speaker's bilingualism can be manifested. As a widespread feature of bilingual speech, CS is considered 'perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research' (Milroy & Muysken, 1995:7). Garnder-Chloros (2009:9) rightly points out that the influential works of Gumperz and co-authors (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz & Hernandez, 1969), carried out more than four decades ago, are the ones most widely credited for initiating a real interest in bilingual communication and CS in particular. CS has long been considered an idiosyncratic way of speaking; for instance, Labov (1971:475) considered CS to be a random and 'irregular mixture of two distinct systems' that does not seem to be rule-constrained. However, studies by Gumperz and others gradually helped to rule out some misconceptions about it and render CS a systematic and a structurally-governed way of speaking.

CS is an established linguistic practice that is commonly developed by simultaneous bilinguals, i.e. speakers who grew up in stable bilingual societies where two languages concurrently operate and are officially spoken. CS is also an ordinary

channel of communication for members of minority language groups (Gumperz & Hernandez, 1969:2). This is usually the case for (young) second generation immigrant groups whose families have long settled in inner cities and urban centres, where a majority language is widely and natively spoken by a vast number of people. The CS patterns exhibited by the latter group, such as Turkish-German bilingual children (Jørgensen, 1998) and Greek/Cypriot-English adult bilinguals (Gardner-Chloros & Finnis, 2004) are well-established. Nevertheless, CS also characterises the speech of recent and adult immigrants: 'consecutive' or 'late bilinguals', such as immigrant students, workers and professionals who belong to a wide range of minority language groups, particularly from Commonwealth and developing countries. As a linguistic choice, CS mostly occurs when it is used (consciously or not) to serve both a referential and an indexical function, or more importantly, an identity-related function. For instance, CS is almost exclusively produced in peer group interactions and is utilised as an in-group identity marker, often indicative of certain ideologies and experiences that members of a particular group share.

Before discussing the area of CS any further, I first closely consider the notion of bilingualism, how it has been differently conceptualised over time and the implications this has for how CS is currently viewed.

2.1.1 Bilingualism: Definitions and Perceptions

One of the most cited definitions of bilingualism is that by Haugen (1953), who describes it as the 'point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (1953:7). In spite of it being a broad and an inclusive definition, the word 'complete' implies that this definition was mostly produced with an image of an 'ideal' or a 'perfect' bilingual speaker in mind. This definition is in line with other traditional views on bilingualism that were widespread in the first half of the twentieth century. Similarly, Bloomfield (1933) considers bilingualism to be a result of 'perfect foreign-language learning [that] is not accompanied by loss of the native language' and results in a 'native-like control of two languages' (1933:55-56). As correctly argued by Romanie (1995:5), this way of measuring a speaker's bilingualism, and using words such as 'native-like' and 'balanced' not only marks these types of bilingualism as different from

others ('late' or 'non-balanced'), it also attaches some negative connotations to the latter types by suggesting that they are less bilingual.

The perception of bilingualism and the forms it is usually expressed in, such as CS, as inadequate and deviant, is perhaps a remnant of the political ideology of nationalism that dominated Europe in the nineteenth century. The one-to-one relationship between one's nation and language was a crucial pre-requisite for the rise of independent nations and homogenous groups of speakers. One is required to function in a monolingual and a monocultural mode in order to be legitimately accepted as part of a nation. Heller (1999:5) rightly draws attention to this point by commenting that bilingualism has been mistakenly and mostly considered a mere extension of monolingualism or a 'parallel monolingulism' where two linguistic codes are used separately, but not combined or intermixed. Although such critical views of bilingualism are not as common as they were before the start of the immigration waves to Europe in the latter half of the twentieth century, these have not completely disappeared (Pujolar, 2007:78). In a recent study, Moyer & Rojo (2007), for example, report the derogatory treatment that immigrants have suffered in their encounters with professionals in schools and health centres in Spain in which they are rendered 'other' and 'deficient' for not being able to carry out monolingual conversations (2007:155).

The above mentioned traditional perceptions of bilingualism may have helped in triggering negative attitudes towards CS around that time, such as those of Labov and others. These mainstream ideologies have also generated what Grosjean (2010) calls 'myths' around bilingualism. For example, CS has been widely misconceived as a practice that bilingual speakers exploit in order to compensate for their inadequate competence in either code. Despite it being true that CS is heavily used by most bilinguals to fill a lexical gap or a linguistic need for a specific word or an expression that either code lacks, such a practice does not necessarily designate a lack of proficiency on the bilingual's part.

Another myth that Grosjean (2010) refers to is that of the notion of a 'balanced' bilingual. Bilinguals, unlike translators, rarely use one language as an identical substitute

for the other. Grosjean (2010) coins the notion of 'Complementarity Principle' to refer to this idea that bilinguals usually use both languages in a complementary manner due to the different environments they acquired each one in. Therefore, each language choice is triggered by different situations or contexts to convey different communicative functions. Interestingly, Grosjean (2010:36-7) claims that bilinguals mainly switch languages because they constantly need to adapt their linguistic resources to the situation they find themselves in and to the different linguistic abilities of their interlocutors. Thus, instead of thinking of a bilingual speaker as a perfect monolingual of each code, Grosjean advises that she is to be perceived as a speaker who smoothly moves along a 'language-mode continuum', functioning more sometimes at either 'monolingual' end, but also functioning in the middle ground (2010:42).

Many researchers in the area of bilingualism no longer view bilinguals as inadequate monolinguals, but rather as speakers who can efficiently harness their linguistic abilities to adjust to different situations. This is reflected in the current definitions dominantly found in research on bilingualism, definitions that I am adopting for the purpose of this study. Wei (2000), for example, defines a bilingual individual as a speaker who 'possess[es]' two languages, one who can operate in both languages and uses them to communicate with others and carry out conversations (2000:7). This is also the position of others, such as Romanie (1995:19) and Grosjean (2010) who consider bilingualism to be a practical activity that is manifested through bilingual forms of speech, such as CS, and is not a matter of fluency that is abstractly and rigidly measured. Along the same lines, Auer (1988) asserts that bilingualism can only be demonstrated through actual use and performance (1988:191). Building on this idea of the use of both languages, Mackey (2000) adds another layer to our understanding of bilingualism, that is, its 'message' or the purposes this phenomenon is used for (2000:26). Grosjean also adds that bilingualism does not necessarily apply to someone who speaks two completely different or 'official' languages, but it could also include alternating between different language varieties and dialects (2010:4). Thus, bilingualism can be best thought of in terms of degrees since bilingualism commonly refers to a wide range of bilingual speech forms used for different purposes by different groups of people and whose level of proficiency is relative and is dependent on many factors (Mackey, 2000:27).

2.1.2 Code-Switching: Definitions, Patterns and Conceptualisations

CS is quite a vague and relative term that is defined and used differently in different studies about forms of bilingual speech (Gardner-Chloros**,** 2009:11). This stems from the fact that the word 'code' is a technical yet a broad one, which is not confined to languages, but can even sometimes be used to refer to varieties, dialects or accents. The second half of the term, 'switching', is not straightforward either, as it is sometimes used interchangeably with the act of 'style shifting' or using different styles, e.g. formal vs. informal, in different situations by monolingual speakers. For the purposes of this study, however, CS means the 'juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of (...) speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (Gumperz, 1982a:59). Therefore, it is the process of using two languages, in this case Arabic and English, in the same utterance or conversation. Structurally, it refers to the successive occurrence of lexical - and sometimes grammatical - units that belong to different languages/codes. These units can be of any size, ranging from a pronoun or a content word to a long sentence. It is worth pointing out that the variety of Arabic that the participants speak is not Modern Standard Arabic, but the colloquial Arabic of Libya and Syria.

Some scholars, such as Fuller (2012:3), choose to use the term 'Bilingual Discourse' instead of CS as a way of avoiding confusions of terminology in reference to the same linguistic phenomenon addressed in this above quote by Gumperz. However, CS is the term to be used in this study due to its convenience and dominant use in bilingualism research (Gardner-Chloros, 2009:13).[5] CS is usually a unique, linguistic practice that is restrictedly yet casually used amongst members of a small peer group or a family who mostly belong to a minority group (Gumperz, 1982a:64). This is probably due to the tendency of bilingual speakers to prefer CS to be mutually practiced by them and their interlocutors. Another factor that seems to elevate the level of their CS is their agreement on the appropriacy of the use of a particular code in a particular context, in addition to their evaluation of the norms and values usually indexed by each code.

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[5] I am aware of the on-going debate regarding the use of different terminology other than CS and code-mixing, such as 'Translanguaging' (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with this discussion and to explore the possible differences claimed to exist between CS and such a term. Rather than considering these as synonymous, I stick to using CS as defined in this section and the previous ones to describe the bilingual linguistic practice investigated here.

There are two types of patterns that tend to occur in the speech of bilingual speakers when switching between two languages, and these are 'Insertion' and 'Alternation'. These are used to refer to any CS instances to be mentioned in the remainder of this study. Muysken (2000:1-3) refers to insertion as the process of embedding simple, lexical constituents from one language into the sentence structure of the other language. This is also referred to as 'Intra-sentential' CS, i.e. switching within the boundaries of a sentence (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:4-5), where the inserted item belongs to the 'embedded language' while the rest of the utterance designates the 'matrix' or the 'dominant' language. The other type - alternation - refers to the switching of longer and more complex units, outside the sentence boundaries (Muysken, 2000:4-5). Switched units in alternation are often made up of both lexical and grammatical constituents as some may together take the form of a phrase, a clause or an (in)dependent sentence, simple or compound.

Example 2.1 below illustrates a number of instances of insertions and alternations. The English independent clause produced by Fadia, one of the study's participants:[6] `I think he's funny`, for example, alternates with the Arabic sentence preceding it 'أنـا بـاسم يـوسف نـتفـرج عليـه'. Then, the Arabic subordinate clause 'بـس مش كل حاجـاتـه تـضحكنـي' alternates with the independent English clause just mentioned. There is also the English phrase I use in line 3 `up to a point`, which then is alternated by the Arabic adverb 'إيـه'. An example of insertion would be that of the English noun phrase in line 4 `sense of humour`, which is embedded into the sentential structure of Arabic. This is an instance of switching to this English noun phrase after the Arabic definite article 'الـ', creating a definite noun phrase: `The sense of humour`. Then, the Arabic definitive adjective 'الـمصري' is switched to after the insertion of the English noun phrase `sense of humour` where the latter becomes a part of a longer noun phrase `The Egyptian sense of humour`.

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[6] See section 4.2 and 4.4 on the study's research population and data collection.

Example 2.1⁷

1 Fadia: (.) أنـا بـاسم يـوسف(.) نـتفـرج عـليه(.) **I think he's funny**(.)
    (*I watch Bassem Yousef. I think he's funny*)

2   بـس مـش مـش كـل حـاجـاتـه تـضحكنـي /مـنعـرفـش علاش
    (*but I don't find all things he says funny, I don't know
    why*)

3 Hanan: **U/. up to a point** إيـه
    (*Up to a point, yeah*)

4 Fadia: الـمصري **sense of humour** لا (.) أنـا نـحس. لان الـــ
    (*No, I think, because the Egyptian sense of humour*)

5   **I don't get it much**

2.1.3 Code-Switching vs. Code-Mixing

Although these two patterns usually fall within the scope of CS, the difference between their use and that of what it is called 'Code-Mixing' (henceforward CM) has been much debated. For example, Muysken (2000) uses CM to refer to both insertion and alternation. However, Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) use CM to refer to instances of insertion and CS to refer to those of alternation. While those studies provide some structural accounts for their terminological decisions, Auer (1990) attributes the importance of addressing such a difference to the characteristics that usually mark bilingual speech used in a certain group/society (1990:82-5). While he similarly uses CM to refer to the speech of bilingual communities where insertions are more common, he uses CS to refer to instances where each language is separately used in different life domains and rarely combined in one situation or one setting. This difference is relevant in places where there is a case of language conflict or a marked difference in the official status of two languages usually spoken in one place e.g. Canada, Catalonia, Corsica, etc.

Another reason for distinguishing between CS and CM is to do with the surface

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⁷ The word 'Example' is used throughout to present 'language-data', i.e. interactions that include CS instances under discussion or CS instances that are categorised and quantified or being analysed directly.

meaning of the verb 'switch'. Boeschoten (1997:17) points out that while 'switch' implies the process of alternating two similarly complex units from two languages, it does not entail the process of embedding a single unit within the boundaries of a sentence. As a result, Boeschoten suggests the use of 'code choice' instead of 'code-switching'. While all these possibilities make sense, I choose to use CS to refer to both insertions and alternations to avoid unnecessary confusions that may often arise from using different terms to refer to what can be broadly viewed as the same process, which is switching between two languages. Furthermore, the dominant use of CM implies that two linguistic systems are no longer independent, but converged into what Myusken (2000:53) refers to as the 'third' code or grammar, which is more often the case in switching between languages of a 'linguistic kinship' or 'morphosyntactic similarity'. Since it is not the case here, the term CM will not be of use. CS is simply used here in the sense of constantly moving between or combining two languages, regardless of the size of the switched unit, its function or any external factors.

2.1.4 Functional vs. Structural CS

CS is usually studied from a structural as well as a functional point of view. According to Gumperz, bilinguals are more interested in the pragmatic effects of their switches than the syntactic structure of these switches (1982a:81). In other words, whatever the syntactic form of CS they produce, whether insertion or alternation, CS is essentially used to fulfil a social function. It is also argued that CS patterns are mostly governed by a number of social factors, both internal and external. On the one hand, the internal factors may include a modification in the conversational setting, such as a change in topic, setting or interlocutor. On the other hand, Gardner-Chloros (2009:42-3) importantly notes that an inevitable external factor of bilinguals' CS patterns are the linguistic orientations of bilingual speakers and their attitudes towards each code and its users. This may also refer to the status of each language/variety and the power usually associated with its speakers (2009:42).

It is also attested by Gumperz (1982a) that bilinguals mainly and unconsciously switch between two codes in order to make a communicative effect that is dependent on the sum of the structural units of the two switched codes (1982a:61). Gumperz's

consideration of CS as an unconscious process may be attributed to the 'self-reports' of the bilingual participants whose CS patterns he studied (1982a:62). It was repeatedly found that there is a disparity between what speakers thought about the intensity of their CS and their actual performance. When shown transcripts of their conversations, most speakers disapproved of the high level at which they tend to code-switch. Predictably, the unfavourable evaluation they made of their CS can be associated with the negative perception of CS at the time Gumperz started to systematically study it. Although partially true, it is not always the case that bilingual speakers are completely unaware of their CS (as is discussed later in chapter 5).

Structural studies of CS investigate the structural CS patterns exhibited by a specific group of bilinguals, and the grammatical constraints that govern the switching mechanism between units of a certain language pair. Such studies also explore which language these constraints are derived from and the level of syntactic or morphological congruency between the two codes (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980). These studies tend to be of a quantitative nature, and they commonly investigate the sites at which CS can occur besides what is and what is not acceptable. For example, it is not usually acceptable to switch between a subject and a predicate where each belongs to a different linguistic system, particularly when the subject is a pronoun and is not a noun phrase (Gumperz, 1982a:87). However, such studies have long been criticised for being 'inductive' and for failing to consider exceptions that are demonstrated in other studies, which investigate different language pairs (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:24). An argument that has been perpetuated in such studies is one that addresses the structural similarity between insertions and instances of 'nonce borrowing'. Such works of Poplack (1980) and Sankoff et al. (1990) argue that all insertions of content words, which are integrated into the grammatical structure of the dominant language, are not examples of CS, but of borrowing and thus are called 'nonce borrowings'. Although it is not quite clear what the difference between 'borrowing' and 'nonce borrowing' is, it is worth making clear that I consider all of the English insertions in my data as examples of CS and not nonce borrowing. Although a large number of these words are morphologically integrated into the Arabic sentence structure, such as the way the noun phrase 'sense of humour' above is incorporated after the Arabic definite article to make up a noun phrase (`The sense

`of humour'`), these words are not nonce borrowings, and are only integrated on the surface.

One reason is that there is no change in the noun phrase's original inflection or a change in its phonology i.e. it is not phonologically adapted as loan words usually are. Another reason is that this insertion and many others are mostly used by bilingual speakers and are not used by monolinguals like other borrowed ones, such as email /ime:l/ and bus /ba:s̲/. These two words are technical terms that are culturally recognised and are used by many Arab monolinguals speaking different dialects. Such words are found in the data here, but are not considered instances of CS and are not transcribed in English, but in Arabic instead. One helpful criteria that Fuller (2012:4-5) suggests the use of is a focus on the purpose for which such insertions are used. Insider knowledge of a community of speakers can provide information about the status of a word/concept and whether it is only used for referential functions, which is mostly the case for monolinguals, or if it is used for both referential and indexical functions e.g. constructing identity, which is also a reason why bilinguals may use it.

2.1.5 Code-Switching and Identity: Approaches and Models

2.1.5.1 Macro Social Approaches: We/they Code

The 'We/they code' model theorised by Blom and Gumperz (1972) is undoubtedly the most significant, yet most criticised, model that raised some initial identity-related issues around the use of CS. This model is based on a study that the co-authors carried out in a Norwegian village where the two mainly used dialects, Bokmål and Ranamal, are considered the high and low varieties, respectively. When investigating the purpose each code was used for, it was found that there is an important difference between the conversational, functional role that each plays. While the high variety was dominantly used as an out-group identity marker, the low one signals an in-group identity marker. The use of each calls into play two distinct frameworks of social values and cultural patterns that belong to two separate contexts in which each dialect is mainly used. For example, the high dialect tends to be associated with formal situations, such as school and university settings, whereas the low dialect is utilised in informal settings e.g. family

gatherings or in a circle of friends. Later, Gumperz applied this model to explain the CS patterns found in other bilingual societies, such as India. While the 'we' code was used to reinforce national identity and address more personal issues, the 'they' code was used for more neutral ones and is mainly associated with speakers of the other code: English.

In this model, speakers' code choices were seen as tools that maintain the wider sociocultural structure: a model which considered speakers' use of language a mere reflection of the given, static elements of their social identities, such as ethnicity. This model was heavily criticised for its correlation, made at face value, between speakers' language and ethnicity, which was later questioned in several studies on CS in different social and linguistic contexts (Stroud, 1992; Sebba & Wootan, 1998). Gafaranga (2005) also argues against this rigid view and comments that 'social structures and therefore social identities, are not fixed (…) objects out there waiting to be correlated with linguistic objects' (2005:293). In spite of initially harbouring an element of doubt about linking a code to an external factor, such as ethnicity, and stating that such CS patterns do not necessarily represent actual practices of CS (Gumperz, 1982a:66), Gumperz does not build on this argument in his following works.

A number of scholars questioned the validity of the associations speakers are believed to make between a code and certain values: assumptions which seem to be analyst-imposed (Wei, 1998) and are not based on background knowledge of the norms and beliefs of members belonging to a specific community. Stroud (1992) is one of those who first called for an ethnographically-based research of CS in order to explore whether the 'intentions and meanings we assign to switches [are] in fact (…) intended by a speaker or apprehended by (…) her interlocutor' (1992:131). Although it is usually taken for granted that, for instance, the code speakers use to express their emotions is the 'we' code, Pavlenko (2005, cited in Pavlenko, 2006) found that this is unlikely to be the case, especially for late bilinguals who feel more comfortable using taboo words or expressing their emotions in a second language (henceforward L2). This can be linked to their high fluency in their L2 or being born in a culture where people are encouraged to restrain their emotions. Therefore, it is important to investigate how they locally make

sense of their lives and what codes they use for meaning-making and self-representation (Stroud, 1998:322). This can be achieved through paying attention to the conversational interactions of a specific group of speakers, and examining how their interactions and linguistic orientations conform to or subvert wider social norms (1998:323).

Cashman (2005:305) likewise emphasises the significance of investigating the interactional level of CS and calls for an approach that addresses how speakers perform group membership and social identities, not only performing who they are. In their study of the CS patterns of British born Caribbean teenagers in London, Sebba and Wootan (1998) found that the use of two different codes does not necessarily generate two rigid social identities for the speakers: British vs. Jamaican. Instead, speakers often utilise these resources to highlight multiple aspects of their identities, which are not rigidly based on the inherent cultural styles in either language. Contrary to the 'we/they code' model, it is realised that these teenagers do not use each code separately, but these codes are regularly mixed and used as an 'unmarked' or 'we' code in most of their interactions to construct an in-group identity for a 'Black British' community of speakers (1998:264). Similarly, a group of Turkish-German bilingual teenagers studied by Jørgensen (1998) tend to exploit both codes in their everyday interactions, mainly to seize power and accelerate arguments they have with their peers (Jørgensen, 1998:249). It is also used to negotiate a unique bilingual identity for themselves, separating themselves - linguistically and culturally - from adult monolingual speakers and young, recent immigrants in the case of the group of Dominican bilinguals in Bailey's work (Bailey, 2007:344-6). For such groups of speakers, CS can be considered a linguistic practice through which they challenge the linguistic and social status quo that can be maintained by monolinguals of each code: Turkish and German (1998:249).

The dynamic and fluid nature of bilingual speakers' identities was also supported by findings from psycholinguistic research exploring the interrelation between bilinguals' linguistic practices and their identity. Pavlenko (2006) found that most participants in her study reported a feeling of a change in their character when switching from one language to another. From a constructionist point of view, it can be argued that switching codes is a means through which speakers can adopt or highlight different,

partial roles, yet not necessarily contradictory or 'schizophrenic' ones as was commonly believed to be the case. Current findings from psycholinguistic studies suggest that it is ordinary, and perhaps inevitable, for bilinguals to experience such a change. Schieffelin et al. (1998) similarly claim that these changes are ideologically-driven as language does not take place in a vacuum; instead, speakers choose a particular code at a particular point to temporarily adopt a world view or a way of thinking, which they associate with that same code. However, this does not necessarily mean that speakers, for example, perform 'Arabness' when speaking Arabic or that they are claiming an English identity when they switch into English.

2.1.5.2 Situational vs. Metaphorical CS

As an elaboration of the 'we/they code' model, a distinction between 'situational' and 'metaphorical' CS was made. This is based on Gumperz's notion of 'contextualisation cues' (1982a) where interlocutors consider a speaker's choice of a specific code as a contextual reference that can help them derive the meaning behind the speaker's choice. In situational CS, a code shift signals a change in the setting, topic, or interlocutor (Blom & Gumperz, 1972:409). It refers to the way in which two languages are differently assigned to different life domains e.g. home, school or work. Being an extension of the 'we/they code' model, Gumperz's conceptualisation of situational and metaphorical CS was also widely questioned. The one-to-one link made in the former, between a code and a setting is a false extension of Fishman's (1967) account of a diglossic society (Romanie, 1995:121; Gafaranga, 2005:290). This tightly made division between the function each code fulfils is usually expected in a case of diglossia where a high and a low variety are differently used in a range of situations. As it was rightly pointed out, the context where the concept of 'situational CS' was developed is in the diglossic Norwegian village where two varieties are differently used (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Moreover, situational CS does not reflect the CS patterns that emerge in the bilingual speech of late bilinguals, such as immigrant students or immigrant elites whose languages are not acquired in completely different contexts e.g. the first language (henceforward L1) is exclusively used at home while L2 is exclusively used at school (Auer, 1984b:91). When situational CS is utilised, it is often demonstrated by bilinguals whose acquisition of both languages occurred hand in hand, in different social

environments (Pavlenko, 2006:18).

In metaphorical CS, however, a change in code does not bring about a shift in situation. A switch in code represents the extent of a speaker's (personal) involvement or her attitude when using that code in contrast to her (impersonal) involvement when using the other. A switch into a certain language marks a change in the sociocultural context in which that language is dominantly used. Similarly to his view in the 'we/they code' model, Gumperz considers the two codes to be functionally contrastive to each other. CS in this sense is used as a 'discourse contextualisation' tool where two codes are coherently combined to achieve a stylistic effect: one of which is highlighting a 'quotation' and separating it from the current speaker's own words (Gumperz, 1982a:75-80). Also, it was suggested that a speaker may often use her L1, Spanish, to compose the main message while she would use L2, English, for a filler 'you know' as shown in the example below:

Example 2.2

'*Pero como* (but how) **you know** *la Estella y La Sandi relistas en el telefon*'
(*Stella and Sandi are very precocious on the phone*)

<div align="right">Gumperz (1982a:78)</div>

Metaphorical CS had generally gained more acceptance than situational CS did due to its applicability and the way it explains how an interpretative framework can be evoked through the use of a specific code, which in turn explains the utilisation of CS to adopt different conversational roles. However, Alvarez-Caccamo (1998:37-41) argues that these evaluations need not be antagonistic ones: an argument he supports by asking why monolinguals usually style-shift even though they are still functioning within a single framework with a more or less single/unified, and not contrasting, set of cultural values (1998:37).

2.1.5.3 The Sequential Approach

The works of Auer (1984a, 1984b, 1988) and Wei (1992 et al., 1995, 1998) and their 'Sequential Approach' to CS can be considered the main counter theory of the macro social level theories of Gumperz (1982a) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, discussed later in section 2.1.6). Similar to others, Auer and Wei question the straightforward, restrictive link Gumperz makes between speakers' language choice and social identity as well as that made between one code and the situations it can be used for or the lists of functions it fulfils. These associations are considered problematic, and difficult to apply or duplicate in other bilingual contexts (Wei & Milroy, 1995:283). Instead, Auer suggests that the way CS moves are interpreted should depend on how they are locally made and negotiated by interactants. In developing this approach, Auer adopts 'Conversational Analysis' (henceforward CA) as an analytic method that assists analysts in carrying out a detailed analysis of the sequential order of speakers' (bilinguals') utterances and code-switches. Thus, the sequential approach mainly looks at how speakers' code switches, taken at a particular point in a conversation (e.g. in a preceding turn), can affect the code choice interlocutors make in their following turn(s) (1984a:5). In other words, understanding of CS mechanisms can be gained by paying attention to 'how' a speaker structurally and coherently builds upon or responds to another's code choice across turns rather than 'why' a code-switch is made, which is of a secondary importance to the analyst (Wei, 1998:163).

Unlike the role the external social context plays in accounting for the CS practices of speakers in Gumperz's approach, the sequential approach does not consider a context as given, but as interactionally constructed by participants themselves (Wei, 1992 et al.:64; 2005:375). From a CS perspective, the interactants' social identities cannot be assumed to be relevant to or determinant of the speakers' linguistic choices unless they are explicitly mentioned or interactionally developed by these interactants (Schiffrin 1994:10). Auer (1984b:4) acknowledges that it is not always the case that the structural organisation of code choices 'imply that macro dimensions are irrelevant' to arrive at a comprehensive understating of speakers' CS. His investigation of the CS practices of a group of (second generation) teenage Italian-German bilinguals, for example, was facilitated through utilising the social norms and linguistic orientations of their

community, rendering the macro social norms valuable. Nevertheless, Auer suggests that carrying out a sequential-oriented analysis is of more significance than an ethnographic one as background information need not be further sought unless referred to in the conversation (1984b:7).

By building on Gumperz's metaphorical CS, Auer (1984b) uses the term 'Discourse-related CS' to refer to instances where a change in a code provides an element of coherence to the message, yet this is not achieved through necessarily emphasising a contrast between one code and another. Instead, a code-switch highlights a parallel change in the speaker's footing or stance in one part of a sentence from the other (1984b:17). He also uses the term 'Participant-related CS' to explain how a speaker may strategically switch codes to demonstrate her attitude towards a particular interlocutor or their words (1984b:6, 21). CS can be further used by a speaker to orient her choice to the interlocutor's linguistic preference or ability. In Wei's & Milroy's study (1995) of the intergenerational practices of CS managed by three groups of a Chinese community living in Britain, grandparents, parents and grandchildren, it was found that a momentary code choice is usually used to initiate a repair or organise a linguistic preference (Wei & Milroy, 1995:281). As it is expected that speakers from different generations (First vs. third generation) will have different linguistic orientations (Chinese vs. English), speakers from different generations choose a specific code at times and not another to reinforce social harmony with members of another group (Wei & Milroy, 1995:286). For example, repairs are usually made to prevent potential disagreements or clashes that may arise from using the inappropriate language with an interlocutor, whose linguistic preference it may not match. In the example below, the mother (A) first uses English to ask her twelve-year-old son (B), who is 'playing with a home computer' (1995:288) whether he did his school work. After two seconds of silence, the mother probably realises that her son may not prefer her use of English due to the authoritative connotations it has in a school context. As a result of her anticipation of such a disapproval, the mother switches to Chinese: 'Steven, yiu mo wan sue?' which finally triggered an answer from the boy, which was, however, a 'dispreferred one' (Wei & Milroy, 1995:287-290) as it generated a contrasting code, English: 'I've finished'.

Example 2.3

A: Finished homework?

B: (2.0)

A: Steven, *yiu mo wan sue*?

   (Want to review (your) lesson)

B: (1.5) I've finished

<div align="right">(Wei & Milroy, 1995:288)</div>

The son's use of a different choice to that of his mother in the preceding turn may not always be a sign of rejection or disalignment. The boy's choice of English in response to his mother's question formulated in Chinese here may be purely based on his linguistic preference for English over Chinese. It may also be argued that a response made in the same code does not signal alignment, but disalignment. A mere focus on the code used does not tell us anything about the message a speaker is trying to convey, for a same code response can also be used to challenge the prior speaker's knowledge instead of aligning with them. Gafaranga (2005:298) suggests that such preferences can be ideologically rather than structurally determined. The sequential approach can also be criticised for being an audience-oriented approach where speakers' agency is denied as any code choice they make is mainly perceived as an accommodative step to their interlocutors' code choices and preferences. Moreover, the CS patterns exhibited by these groups may not be shared by other bilingual communities where a group of friends, for example, are likely to share experiences and linguistic orientations towards each code.

2.1.6 CS and Agency: Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton's 'Markedness Model' (1993a) was established as a response to previous models, particularly the Sequential approach (Auer, 1984b) and its failure to acknowledge the role social norms play in accounting for interactants' code choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:95). Although carrying out a turn-by-turn analysis of speakers' code choices helps to understand how speakers interpret these choices, wider social

forces can also determine the level of acceptability of code(s) when used in some specific situations, and not others (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:109). The main argument behind the 'Markedness' model lies in the recognition of a set of 'rights and obligations' that are commonly associated with a particular language(s) spoken in a specific society. These rights and obligations (RO) can be defined as an 'abstract concept, derived from situational factors, standing for the attitudes and expectations [interlocutor's have] towards one another' (1993b:84-85). These abstract concepts can be thought of as a set of rules that govern a speaker's choice of language in a specific setting, with a specific interlocutor.

Depending on the situation a language is used in, a linguistic code can be considered either 'marked' or 'unmarked'. A code is unmarked when its use is both expected and 'accepted' and one that complies with and reinforces the social norms or the linguistic practices of a community (1993b:75). In contrast, the marked code is the least 'safe' code a speaker may choose, as opposed to the unmarked one, for it subverts and defies the social order established within a community (1993b:85). For instance, a low variety that a speaker uses to address close family members is an unmarked code, however, it is considered a marked one if used to address a university lecturer. It is not necessarily the case, however, that speakers make contrasting evaluations of two codes, instead, two codes can be constantly switched between in peer group interactions, rendering CS the 'unmarked' code for such groups of bilinguals (1993b:119).

In a later work, Myers-Scotton modifies her model and calls it the 'Rational Choice' (RC) model instead (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001). She claims that speakers' choices are not necessarily determined by social norms, but are 'motivated' by them. Speakers are regarded as 'rational' agents who can make choices based on the benefits they may gain in choosing an unmarked code, and the costs they may pay when choosing a marked code (1993b:110). Despite the potential costs, the use of a marked code is a deliberate act that speakers may commit in negotiating a given social identity and constructing a new one(s). Thus, they can weigh costs and rewards in order to successfully achieve their interpersonal goals. Although speakers seem to have some control over their code choices in the way this model is conceptualised, their choices

always need to be measured against an acceptability scale, defined by outside forces. Myers-Scotton later makes an attempt at adding more emphasis to the significance of the role of agency, rather than rationality, in accounting for speakers' code choices. She claims that a 'selection of choices is located with the individual, not outside forces' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:207). The choice of a marked code is most importantly a means of asserting and constructing one's identity, regardless of the cost and the interpersonal damage that may be caused by choosing a marked code instead of an unmarked one (2002:205). One may argue that one drawback of Myers-Scotton's third version of her Markedness model is the asymmetry found between the role a speaker's agency and the role external social norms play in accounting for or determining a speaker's code choice. While she started with a model that overemphasised the significance of wider social norms, she ends with a counter one that is, to a great extent, speaker-oriented.

2.1.7 Alternative 'Dynamic' Approaches

2.1.7.1 'A whole conversational' model

For a more effective approach to studying identity-related aspects of CS, Gafaranga (2005) suggests the need to pay attention to both the 'linguistic' and the 'non-linguistic'. He uses 'linguistic' to refer to language as a process or a social, agentive action which can contribute to the creation of a social order outside the world of the conversation, and yet be created and affected by the wider context. Thus, 'social' here does not only mean the social norms of the wider context, as was believed in previous theories, but also those created - interactionally or ethnographically - on a local level, which is what he calls the 'non-linguistic'. The 'whole conversation' model as he calls it, which is also advocated by Cashman (2005), aims to explore how 'the identities that [speakers] do in interactions rely on the social structures that have been talked into being' (2005:311). Thus, instead of only focusing on specific aspects of CS e.g. sequential, social, etc., it is important to 'demythologise' traditional approaches taken towards CS: approaches that have been so far antagonistic, carrying either a macro or micro level analysis (Gafaranga, 2005:283). Instead, an 'all-inclusive' approach, or what Heller refers to as 'dynamic' or 'interactional', is needed for a deeper and a more comprehensive understanding of CS (Heller, 1988:3, 2007:13).

Gafaranga (2005) calls for an approach that does not trivialise one aspect in favour of another. Therefore, a complex model can emerge. He adds that although 'such an approach is currently unavailable', it can be achieved through considering the way in which micro and macro level analyses of a conversation can be combined and made sense of when interacting with an ethnographic or an interactional approach (Gafaranga, 2005:298). An approach that potentially captures the 'micro', 'macro' and 'interactional' aspects of CS could be the stance-based approach that Bucholtz and Hall suggested in their 2008b work (discussed in next section, 2.2). To elaborate on a suggestion he made in his (2005) article about developing a model where CA and RC can be combined, Wei (2011) takes a dynamic approach to CS: 'Moment analysis and Translanguaging Space'. His approach regards the 'structural/conversational' and 'interactional/social' aspects as starting points to explore how bilingual speakers exercise their agency and fulfil personal and interpersonal goals though exploiting CS strategies (2011:1228-9). By studying the CS patterns of a group of young Chinese men living in Britain, it is found that these bilingual participants regard this linguistic practice as an interactional and momentary medium of change and meaning-making. Their perception of the wider social context and social norms or values can only be made relevant in their peer group interactions as interactions are the space where they demonstrate the extent to which they conform to wider social norms and some aspects of their 'given' social identities or subvert them and forge 'new' identities (2011:1223-4).

2.1.7.2 Metaphorical CS and Crossing

Metaphorical CS is the starting point Rampton takes to highlight the relevance of his concept of crossing (1995) to the concept of CS. As argued, metaphorical, rather than situational CS, captures the central meaning behind the phenomenon of crossing: a linguistic performance through which an individual exploits another's code to exercise agency (Rampton, 1995, 1998). Metaphorically, a speaker's act of switching or crossing can be considered an ideological practice through which a speaker's momentary code choice both evokes new contexts and constructs or negotiates new/multiple realities (1998:302-3). In this regard, crossing can be claimed to be a pattern or an instance of metaphorical CS since both practices involve a speaker using a code that belongs to an

outside-group e.g. an L2 (1998:305). While it is mostly members of the majority group - white English teenagers - who utilise a language belonging to a minority group e.g. Punjabi or Creole, it is the majority language - English - that minority group members, such as immigrants, switch into. The code that a speaker chooses can index specific values that are usually expressed through that code, a process that takes place as a particular mental framework is activated through the use of a particular code; consequently, the speaker's utterances can be best interpreted with a consideration of that mental framework (1995:286).

Crossing to another group's language, as described by Rampton (1995:280), can provide the crosser with the ability to downplay dominant white authority and challenge ethnic boundaries between majority and minority groups. In contrast, it can be argued that by switching to the language of the majority, an immigrant can add to her voice an element of credibility and authority. This analogy Rampton (1998) makes between the voice of a bilingual and the code she switches to is based on his utilisation of Bakhtin's notion of 'double-voicing' (1981). Similar to the idea behind double-voicing, CS is a form of speech where half of the utterances a bilingual produces belongs to somebody else or another group (Bakhtin, 1984:189).

Based on Bakhtin's double voicing, Heller (1988) is probably one of the first to apply it and view CS as a resource that a speaker may utilise to adopt two voices: her own and that of another (1988:93). She suggests that CS enables a bilingual to 'take refuge in the voice of the other (...) without having to take on the responsibility associated with full membership in [either]' (1988:93,87). Thus, it is as if switching codes here is similar to wearing a mask through which a speaker can 'switch off' a facet of her identity and 'switch on' another, and in turn adopt different and multiple roles. Whereas crossing is used as a means to challenge ethnic boundaries, bilinguals can use CS to transgress linguistic boundaries. Through the practice of CS, language is turned into a commodity that a 'fluent' bilingual can freely consume, particularly in a postmodern context where 'centres of authority are hard to find' (Rampton, 1999:425). One can further argue that the CS of highly fluent bilinguals may provoke questions about linguistic ownership and highlight the blurry boundaries between some problematic

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terms, such as 'native' and 'non-native' speaker.

If viewed within the double-voicing frame, the act of crossing and the functions it is used for, mocking and targeting a source of authority, imply that a speaker's two voices are more distant than they would be in CS. In crossing, another code is mediated or stylised to sound like that of somebody else (1995:278). However, CS is often an unmarked, everyday code that is used in peer group interactions. Thus, I would argue that both crossing and CS are forms of 'stylisation', yet the level of a speaker's appropriation of the out-group code in each differs. The reason behind such caution in considering CS an instance of stylisation is the definition usually used of stylisation in literature: an 'exaggerated representation of linguistic varieties that lie outside [speakers'] habitual repertoire' (Rampton, 2013:361). This understanding of stylisation is similar to that of Bakhtin's 'Vari-directional' voicing where one uses another's code differently to how it is originally used, mostly in an attempt to use for another purpose e.g. sarcasm and playful performances. As this is closer to the meaning of crossing, CS can be seen as occupying a middle ground between one's voice and another's, or a 'milder-version' of stylisation as it is defined here. Bakhtin's 'Uni-directional' voicing is also relevant here as it refers to the case where a speaker's utilisation of (an)other's words does not greatly differ from the way they are originally used (Bakhtin, 1984:193). Instead, the voice of the borrower and that of the original greatly overlap and cannot be easily distinguished. This is also the perception Snell (2010) has regarding stylisation as she rightly claims that stylising is not 'an attempt by speakers to lay claim to "other" identities or to project an image different from their "usual" self' (2010:648).

The following section builds on the discussion of identity in the current section and gives a broader overview of the concept and the different ways in which it has been conceptualised over the years.

2.2 Identity

Language and the notion of identity have been, to different degrees, linked together ever since the early days of sociolinguistic studies, particularly those carried out in the Labovian/Variationist tradition. Over the years, and across disciplines whose main aim

was to investigate language from a socio-cultural perspective, the significance attributed to social meaning and identity as explanatory tools of linguistic variation, communicative competence and self-presentation in interactions varied and changed (Bucholtz & Hall (2008a). Within each sub-discipline of Sociolinguistics, Variationist Sociolinguistics (henceforward VS), IS, and Linguistic Anthropology (henceforward LA), different conceptualisations of identity have been identified. I start by giving an account of the role identity plays in these fields and focus on areas where the relevance of the concept of identity to linguistic behaviour and the way it was utilised in studying language have or have not been shared by these disciplines. The last part of this section is dedicated to discussing identity investigation within a bilingual context, focusing on studies where CS is utilised as a tool for performing or negotiating bilingual identity.

2.2.1 Macro level categories as identity labels

As an interdisciplinary field, Sociolinguistics' initial goal was to explore the intersection between language and society i.e. investigating language from a social point of view by exploiting theories from Sociology. Studies in the variationist wing took the form of roughly three waves: a classification that Eckert (2012) suggested as a way of identifying the different degrees to which identity plays a role in accounting for speakers' linguistic behaviour. First, Labov's variationist early studies (1963, 1966, 1972), which dominated the field of sociolinguistics in those early days, relied on the 'sociolinguistic interview' to collect data which is then quantitatively analysed. The sociolinguistic interview is a means by which formal and informal speech registers are obtained. For example, interviewers ask interviewees to read passages, lists of minimal pairs and word lists in order to evoke a formal register. In contrast, more informal speech is elicited by asking interviewees to recall some incidents which are likely to trigger strong emotions in them, which in turn helps them to pay less attention to their speech and produce more vernacular speech. Studies within this approach mainly focused on linking linguistic patterns and variations among speakers to macro social categories, such as ethnicity, race, sex and social class. In other words, a speaker's identity at this stage was viewed as a simple and an automatic marker of their membership in a particular ethnic or socioeconomic group to which they were assigned at birth.

In Labov's ground-breaking study on 'social stratification' (1966), which launched a whole series of other similar studies, he considered speakers' phonetic articulation of post-vocalic /r/ in words like 'fou<u>r</u>th' and 'floo<u>r</u>' correlated with their social class i.e. working, middle or upper class. Speakers belonging to a specific category were seen as constituting one homogenous speech community and thus were expected to have one, or a very similar, way of speaking. For example, in pronouncing the variable /r/ in 'fourth floor', clerks from the more expensive and prestigious store (Saks) showed a higher tendency for pronouncing it as a rhotic sound than those in the less prestigious store (Klein's). However, Macy's (the middle class store) clerks' rhotic pronunciation of /r/ was only more frequent when they were asked to repeat the same phrase. The study showed that variations among speakers of a speech community can often be attributed to social and structural changes within the society, such as class. For example, the higher level of rhoticity exhibited by some of the middle class speakers compared with others from the same class was explained by the formers' high level of attention paid to their speech and their seeking of upward social mobility and prestige.

Unlike the studies carried out within the *first wave* framework, the *second wave* of VS generated some illuminating observations regarding identity-related issues of variation. Instead of looking at abstract mappings between one's linguistic production and a macro social category, the focus was on associating speakers' similar use of a group of variables to strongly-tied local groups they are part of, such as peer groups, friends and social networks. This change in perspective was mainly a change in methodology and treatment of individuals' social identities. Group affiliation, emotional bonds and shared personal qualities between group members are seen as more important factors in forming speech communities than an automatic belonging to a social category is. This approach to identity was closely based on Tajfel's (1978) psychological theory of social identity. Milroy (1987) argues that a group of people, for example, a working class group of men in Belfast, who form a closed 'tight-knit social network' and share the same beliefs and views, tend to have a similar speaking style (e.g. vernacular, non-standard variety). For instance, a working class group of men usually use the vernacular, non-standard variants of specific variables, such as /ai/, /a/ and /th/.

Besides relying on the sociolinguistic interview as a means of data elicitation, there was an initial use of ethnography as a way of observing local communities (e.g. adolescents in the case of Cheshire's study in 1982 and high school pupils in Eckert's 1989 ethnographic study) and their linguistic behaviour at a local level. Scholars who take this approach interview and observe subjects to find out about their linguistic backgrounds, attitudes and their take on large social categories to have some insight into how speakers relate to them in everyday interactions. Introducing the element of ethnography to the field was a step towards subject-informed explanations for linguistic variation among certain groups of speakers e.g. 'jocks' and 'burnouts'. Ethnography was also introduced as a means to investigate the social meanings and norms behind these variations (Eckert, 1989) without totally ruling out the analyst-imposed ones. Still, speakers are not ascribed much control over their linguistic production since individuals are often recognised as part of a larger social aggregate and as adapting to the linguistic style of their group with little room for linguistic variations.

2.2.2 Local/Micro level categories as identity labels

The second wave of VS and its take on identity in relation to language variation was partly - given differences in research aims and methodology - in parallel with those of another branch of Sociolinguistics: IS. Both disciplines tend to explain the local use of linguistic variations among speakers through linking them to wider societal norms, in addition to their utilisation of ethnography as a research approach. IS is closely associated with Gumperz who elaborated on the influential work of Hymes (1974) and his 'ethnography of speaking' model. Taking discourse analysis (henceforward DA) as its main analysis tool, IS focuses on naturally occurring data in the form of spoken discourse and how interactants use specific linguistic varieties for meaning-making and effective (intercultural) communication in urban areas (Gumperz, 1982b). One prominent area of Gumperz's work is that on strategic CS: a verbal contextualisation cue by which speakers and recipients linguistically and interactionally construct and negotiate meanings and identities (1982a).

As a reaction against utilising macro social structures in IS to account for linguistic choices made by individuals, conversation analysts - who use CA as an analytic method

- focus on social meaning as it emerges through local organisation of interactions. Scholars such as Auer (1984b, 1995) and Wei (1995) argue that the meaning of utterances is contextually and interactionally constructed through interlocutors' strategic and mutual meaning production and that this sequentially unfolds in conversations. Unlike previous approaches, CA practitioners reject any 'brought along' associations between speakers' utterances and their social categorisation, such as ethnic identity (Auer, 1992). Instead, only 'brought about' associations or those that interlocutors draw on in their talk actually matter, such as a direct reference to their ethnic group (*Ibid*).

2.2.3 Criticism and alternatives

Regardless of the different methodologies and research questions of VS and IS, the approach adopted in each received much criticism for its treatment of identity as a static or a fixed entity. In calling for 'demythologising' and 'unabstracting' VS studies, Cameron (1990) and Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) problematised how language was viewed as a direct reflection of wider societal structures: a view in which speakers are stripped of agency and expected to live their lives constrained by and passively accepting a group of social categories imposed upon them. Instead, language is a social behaviour that should be regarded as being as crucial as other social categories in the role it plays in constructing individuals' identities (Cameron, 1990:90). Similarly, the macro and micro level approaches within IS, along with its antagonistic conceptualisation of identity, were criticised (Coupland, 2001; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Although Gumperz's studies of language in use and interaction were focused on the social meaning of language, which is one aspect that the first wave of VS studies lacked, speakers in the CA and DA approaches, or what Coupland (2001:10) calls 'social-action perspective', were not regarded as agents in producing this social meaning. Instead, speakers' linguistic choices were less regarded as intentional, and more as strategic and adaptive to their interlocutors (Coupland, 2001:11-12). The communicative effect of speakers' linguistic choices was trivialised in the CA approach and more emphasis was placed on technicalities, such as the speakers of specific utterances and the order in which these utterances were made. In this regard, Bucholtz

& Hall (2008b) suggest that a combination of CA and DA approaches is necessary, as studying language at the interactional level has to be complemented by considering ethnographic and sociocultural aspects of the community (2008b:154). Despite the local level at which interactions were investigated, those working in the IS paradigm share with the first and second wave variationists a one-dimensional, static conceptualisation of identity, mainly grouping speakers on the basis of their macro sociological labels.

2.2.3.1 Identity construction

Sociolinguistic studies carried out roughly prior to the third wave had left a gap between the linguistic and the social and the only way to bridge this gap and overcome the way in which language had been abstracted from its social meaning was through viewing the former as a 'linguistic practice' (Eckert, 2000). Eckert suggests that speakers do not only use language to communicate and accomplish social purposes, but they are also 'doing' social moves through language (2012:88). To explore how language is used in practice, Eckert emphasises the significance of ethnography and the role it plays in facilitating the examination of what particular linguistic features mean to speakers on a local and a personal level, in their everyday interactions. Furthermore, ethnography can assist in investigating how speakers utilise the social values traditionally invoked by specific linguistic variables as well as how these meanings are contested and re-constructed in interactive speech. Based on the adoption of this perspective in other sociolinguistic studies, Eckert (2012) marked this as the beginning of a 'third wave' of VS studies. In addition to direct social meanings established through use of some linguistic variables, speakers index new social meanings and ideological views by exploiting the very same linguistic features differently, and in different contexts.

2.2.3.2 Indexicality

The process of non-artificial and indirect linking of a linguistic variable to a social meaning is best illustrated through the term 'Indexicality' which is mainly associated with the influential works of Silverstein (1976, 2003) and Ochs (1992, 1993). The importance of this term stems from the way it makes examining identity construction and negotiation through language feasible. Indexicality was first introduced by

Silverstein (1976) as a non-referential property of speech in contrast to the referential, direct link between some linguistic features and their functions (1976:14-17). An indexical value, or what Silverstein (2003) calls 'indexical order' 'n-th', is the multiple social meanings that could be constituted by using linguistic feature(s) in a particular context. Ochs (1992) developed the concept further by introducing 'stance' (discussed in detail in chapter 3), a means by which a linguistic form becomes indirectly associated with a social meaning in interactions, and later with a social category - gender - or persona. The process by which a linguistic variable and a social meaning are first related is through direct indexicality (n-th), that is the 'non-exclusive' and the more general or main social meaning that a linguistic variable conveys (1992:340). Next, another (indirect) level of indexcality can be evoked (n+1st) by the same linguistic variable(s) through 'affective' interactional stances that are usually taken by specific speakers or individuals (1992:363-67). At a later stage and through communicative practices and repetitive performances, some cultural ideologies are socialised and promoted. Therefore, it is through exploiting specific linguistic variables, which are ideologically-informed, that some social meanings and stances become generalised, and a typical way of speaking is associated with speakers from a particular social category. Thus, and as Silverstein (2003) clearly states, it is only through indexicality that interactional linguistic practices or conversational moves at a micro/local level can be linked to macro level categories.

An illustration of this is the way in which gender, for example, was indexed in mainstream European societies and the association of the use of tag questions with women's talk (Lakoff, 1975). Although the initial and more direct meaning conveyed by this linguistic feature is a request for confirmation, it became interactionally conventionalised as associated with a stance betokening a lack of confidence and uncertainty. Since it was statistically realised that women are the dominant users of this feature in specific contexts, the feature, as well as its stances, are considered typical of women's speaking style (Lakoff, 1975; Ochs, 1992).[8] This illustrates that an indirect

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[8] It is important to mention here that Lakoff's work has been widely critiqued for lacking an empirical basis and mistaking a feature that it is more to do with power (or lack of), with gender. For a detailed discussion on each argument, see Harres (1998) and Ng and Bradac (1993), respectively.

indexical value of a linguistic variable, which is achieved through an interactional stance in a particular situation, can undergo erasure, or be generalised and used independently of the context in which it was originally constituted (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Although Labov's studies clearly fall under the first wave rubric, Eckert uses Labov's Martha's Vineyard study (1963) as an example to illustrate this idea of the indirect social value or meaning of language due to the way this study foresaw some of the patterns that have emerged in a later wave, implying that the classification of the three waves is by no means fixed. In this study, the use of exaggerated vernacular variables by rural Vineyarders and the choice to refrain from using more standard ones is not a simple marker of a sense of passive belonging to the Martha's Vineyard community (Eckert, 2012:88-9). Instead, it is an instance of identity work or an act of resistance through which this group of Vineyarder fishermen challenge the norms of those inhabiting the mainland. This way of approaching language implies a sense of agency on the part of the speaker; a speaker's linguistic style is an outcome of an act of internalising macro social labels in order to achieve interactional, social ends. This idea of appropriating social structures is a borrowed concept from social theory, one that is based on Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice, particularly the notion of 'Habitus'. To apply this to language, it could be argued that it is through linguistic variables that speakers express whether/how they relate, conform to or challenge social categorisations. This practice, in turn, generates a way of speaking with which speakers can potentially induce changes in the social order. Then, macro social labels of identity neither exist prior to language nor does language simply reflect society, as was believed to be the case in early sociolinguistic studies. Rather, language and identity are co-existing forces and mutually affect each other.

2.2.4 A comprehensive model for exploring identity

Following the significant amount of research devoted to investigating identity through language across many disciplines, Bucholtz & Hall (2005) proposed a model that approaches identity in a more effective and comprehensive way than it had been previously approached. In doing so, they introduced the term 'Sociocultural Linguistics' as an attempt to draw on different research lines on identity that are scattered across

Sociolinguistics and LA (2005:585-6). As they argued, both disciplines failed to dedicate a central place to language in their research, with sociolinguistics focusing on documenting variation on a large scale and LA using language only as a means for exploring social and cultural beliefs. To revive the interdisciplinary practice each of these disciplines originally aimed to work within, Bucholtz & Hall take the broadly similar ways these study areas examine identity as their point of departure. Therefore, by combining methodologies from VS, IS & LA and by reflexively drawing on concepts from social/psychological theory, linguists working within the confines of these disciplines are better equipped to analyse the multi-layered construction of identity (2008a:405-7). Bucholtz & Hall (2008b) call these levels the 'interactional', 'ethnographic' and 'sociocultural' (2008b:158-9).

In order to fully study identity, micro vs. macro approaches to identity need to be reconciled, as identity cannot be explored without examining how the latter is manifested/contested at a local level i.e. in interactions. In addition, LA can enhance analysis of identity through its ethnographic approach and data elicitation method of 'research interview' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008a:404-8). These approaches help to give speakers an interactional opportunity to self-classify in relation to macro social categories and express their linguistic and cultural orientations. More importantly, this approach focuses on indexical processes, such as stance-taking and ideologisation (Irvine & Gal, 1995) to explain the way identity is indirectly and discursively constructed.

The efforts of Bucholtz & Hall to integrate these different approaches tally well with those of other scholarly work, such as Eckert's (2000, 2012) theory of 'language as a linguistic practice'. Coupland (2001:2-18) also calls for an 'Integrationist' approach and points out the importance of a fruitful incorporation of concepts from social theory into the study of language or what Woolard (1985:746) called 'sociologically informed readings of Sociolinguistics'. CA practitioners, particularly Gafaranga (2005), also call for a 'whole conversation approach' to capture how meaning and identity are constructed in bilingual interactions on a micro, macro and an interactional level.

Bucholtz & Hall (2005) identify four more non-linguistic processes, besides

indexicality, by which identity construction through language occurs. These are:

1. Emergence: Identity is emergent, in contrast to earlier theorisation of it as being the static psychological entity of a person. A speaker's identity only emerges in interactions, conceived as the medium through which identity is constructed through the linguistic choices she makes, and the extent to which these choices match those of her social categorisation.

2. Positionality: It is through language and their ideologically-driven linguistic choices that speakers subjectively express how they are oriented in regard to the current interaction. Through habitual interactions, these temporary acts of stance gradually develop to constitute the speaker's identity. From a 'Psycho-socio-linguistic' approach, Davies & Harré (1990) also used the term 'Positioning' or 'Discursive Practice' to depict how speakers can - through language - take different, contradictory positions to achieve temporary social ends. Thus, it is natural and inevitable that speakers have dynamic, multiple identities, which they negotiate and perform in different situations.

Another conceptualisation of identity that goes along with how identity is defined here, as well as the idea of considering language a 'linguistic practice' or a social move, is that of 'Interactional Identity' (Tracy & Robles, 2002). By taking a social constructionist approach to identity, it is argued that 'who people are is created through the actions they choose, particularly their expressive choices' (2002:20). Unlike what is called macro or 'Master' identity, interactional identity is regarded as multifaceted and is considered to be (re)created through interactions and through the 'specific roles that people take on in a communicative context with regard to specific other people' (2002: 22). Therefore, what is referred to as 'expressive choices' here can be thought of as the number of evaluative stances taken up by the study's participants and the attitudes they express. It is important to mention that what is referred to as 'roles' here is formulated at the level of a number of interactional/communicative effects that are implied from the participants' evaluative stances or what I call 'macro-level' stances (see section 4.6.5 below). I will get back to this idea of interactional identities in chapter 6, where I discuss the communicative effects that are created as a result of the participants' attitudes

(AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT), which they express through their CS instances.

3. Relationality: This principle depends on the notions of 'self' and the 'other' or 'reflexive' and 'interactive' positioning, to borrow terms from Davies and Harré (1990:48). A speaker's identity is interactionally, not solely, constructed through the 'other' speaker/interlocutor. Without interacting with the other, it is not possible for a speaker's (inter)subjective position to be taken or perceived. Through linguistic and interactive positioning, a speaker's given or claimed identity can be accepted or denied, authenticated or denaturalised. An example of the latter which Bucholtz & Hall (2005) use is that of Bailey's study (2001) about identities of Dominican Americans. Having a hybrid identity due to their mixed heritage (African and Dominican), the language these speakers use does not match essentialist associations that directly map one's ethnicity onto her language or culture. Thus, these speakers code-switch between different varieties in specific situations to highlight multiple dimensions of their identities. When speaking in Black American as an act of resistance to white American racists, they authenticate part of their ethnic identity - African - and establish out-group boundaries with white Americans. However, they denaturalise this ethnic identity by speaking fluent Spanish to claim a Spanish social identity and disassociate themselves from 'Black' African Americans. Therefore, it is mainly through interacting with speakers from similar/different identities that identity is activated.

In relation to this thesis and the current study, the principle of relationality is particularly prevalent in the analysis. Relationality is manifested in the study's bilingual participants' interactional management of CS and the choices they make as members of a friendship group. As will be shown later, many of the identity-related CS instances taken by the participants (what is later called 'evaluative stance') are taken in response/in relation to each other rather than individually. In many cases, a participant's CS instance is given more meaning and significance when echoed and reacted to by the rest of the participants. As a relational practice, CS may also demonstrate the participants' (extent of) agreement regarding the social meanings and values they associate with each language and culture and the way they view themselves in relation

to members of both language groups (Arabic vs. British).

4. Partialness: identity can be an aggregate of two contradictions where one does not rule out the other, thus it is subjective but relational, intentional but also habitual. This is due to the fact that even in a local level interaction, individuals are inevitably engaging with and are partially affected by macro social categories. However, speakers' ability to re-construct and negotiate their identities entails partial, rather than total, agency.

2.2.5 Identity in a multilingual context

The complexity of identity construction and negotiation is even more salient when considering identities of speakers who live in multilingual or multicultural hubs and the language they use. The intricacy of the linguistic practices of those groups can be well captured if the notion of identity is approached within a poststructuralist context (Bauman 1992; Giddens, 1991). It is a framework that acknowledges recent changes in social structures, globalisation, and the huge influx of people, particularly immigrants from post-colonial nations in pursuit of better life styles (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:2). These are some of the changes that characterise the postmodern society, or an era of late modernity, one that is dynamic, far from homogenous, defined by the waning of traditions, multiple sources of authority and blurred categories (Giddens, 1991:5, 44). These changes have led to emancipatory effects as individuals are given more choices in carrying out their lives, and thus are less constrained by the control which used to be exercised by rigid social structures. The high level of choice and the freedom people are offered as a result of these changes is what Bauman termed as 'self-assembly' (1992:36), or 'self-identity' in Gidden's terms. The shift from a modern to postmodern society was reflected by some adaptations made in social theory and the increased number of connections made between linguistic and social disciplines. Interestingly, Gal & Irvine (1995:696) make a symbolic link between the essentialist ideologies that placed boundaries between these disciplines and those made between language and social meaning. Such ideologies advocated 'linguistic differentiation' or a rigid correlation between a speaker's language/culture and her ethnic identity.

A prevalent feature of postmodernity is negotiating or redefining identities

through language, such as speakers' 'crossing over' to languages or varieties used by other groups that they do not ethnically belong to (Rampton, 1995). However, having multiple identities - multilingual/bilingual identities - means that individuals have to negotiate these in everyday life in order to accommodate their different selves and levels of identification with different groups. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) point out that this process of negotiation, such as negotiation through code choice, is a critical one due to the social values associated with particular languages i.e. that of the majority or minority group (2004:3). The social or political context in which, for instance, a group of immigrants are situated, and the symbolic power of each language affect the CS practices of these speakers and the way they negotiate their identities accordingly. Languages then are not arbitrarily exploited, but they are a means by which speakers can resist an imposed variety, gain access to power (Bourdieu, 2006) or show alignment with speakers of the majority language. Now that the bilingual/multilingual repertoire of minority and marginalised groups in multilingual contexts is becoming a key area of study, attention is being paid to the way identities are linguistically constructed, based on the choices available to speakers in a particular context (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:10-13).

2.2.5.1 Exploring bilingual identity in CS studies

There are very few studies that have incorporated the indexical relationship between language and identity (or what is denominated as the tool of 'stance' - a concept that is discussed thoroughly in chapter 3) for investigating CS patterns and the way these are exploited by bilingual speakers as meaning-making strategies (Jaffe, 2000, 2009, 2007; Cromdal 2004). Adopting a stance-based analytic approach in relation to CS helps to examine how speakers utilise two codes to position themselves in interactions and enact their identities. A relevant question that could be asked here is: Do speakers' different acts of stance-taking correlate with variations in their code-choice patterns? In other words, do bilinguals vary the way they code-switch as well as the intensity level of their CS depending on the interactional situation they find themselves in and the conversational goals they wish to accomplish? To answer this, it is important to explore where CS instances occur in an interaction and how the communicative effects of those instances can be achieved through speakers' sequential and interactional management

of those instances. For example, Cromdal (2004) notes that a different code produced by a subsequent speaker in relation to another code produced by a prior interlocutor can be a stylistic resource for upgrading or downgrading the intensity of an argument. These different codes usually correlate with oppositional stances a group of English-Spanish bilingual children takes. Such stances can be identified by paying attention to how the interaction gradually unfolds and by examining the content and the form of sequential turns.

CS designates a higher level of variability, which is variation at the level of language or language variety. The patterns of insertion and alternation can be considered 'discourse level' or 'higher-level linguistic' variables, as opposed to the 'lower-level' phonological and morphosyntac variables investigated within VS. Insertions and alternations could be regarded as linguistic variants that occur both at/within the sentence level and above the sentence level, respectively. Unlike lower-level variables, insertions and alternations as variables are never the same and do not take a fixed form or occur at a certain syntactic point (Pichler, 2010:588). Instead, they can be seen as different realisations of insertions and alternations or variants of these two patterns, in broad terms. More importantly, the form, syntactic position, and the functions these variants perform are highly context-dependent.

Furthermore, CS is considered an intermediate or an indexical process which speakers exploit to linguistically construct and negotiate their identities. Jaffe is one of the main scholars who approached CS from a stance-based perspective. She emphasises that a stance-taking act is most effective and notable when it is taken through deploying two codes (Jaffe, 2009:120). She adds that bilinguals have an 'added stance resource' if compared to monolinguals as the particles used by the latter to take stances could have a less salient effect than the effect of contrastive codes in bilingual settings (*Ibid*). If a group of bilinguals produce some CS patterns to take habitual and similar stances which are based on certain ideological associations they all share between one code and its social significance, CS can therefore be considered an in-group identity marker (Jaffe, 2009:18). Above all, instances of CS must be studied at both a micro and a macro level to gain a comprehensive view of how their use contributes to identity construction.

In addition to investigating how CS functions at the local and interpersonal level, considering the wider cultural and political context in which the two codes operate is of great importance (Woolard, 1995; Jaffe, 2007, 2009). This is because the CS behaviours of many bilingual groups in different societies differ according to the status and hierarchal relations between the two languages concerned. The CS practices of speakers of linguistic minorities who were brought up in their country of origin where their first language is subordinated to the other (official) language may be quite different from those of immigrants (Heller, 1988). For example, the CS patterns of many immigrant communities, particularly those living in developed countries, are quite established, structurally and functionally (Gardner-Chloros & Finnis, 2004; De Fina, 2007; Al-Rowais, 2012). Also, the current study's participants' CS practice (into English) occurs frequently and is often attributed to - as will be shown in the analysis - the (positive) social meanings that participants associate with English, triggering the evaluative stances they take up when switching into English. However, it is not a convention in other bilingual communities to switch between the two codes as usually believed. In Catalonia, for example, speakers refrain from switching between Catalan and Castilian as a way of challenging traditional linguistic ideologies in Barcelona. Native Catalan speakers' refusal to speak (choice not to speak) Castilian is a form of activism and a call for recognition of Catalan as an independent language and for an autonomous government in Catalonia. Although stance is not explicitly mentioned by Woolard as an explanation, the idea of keeping two languages/codes separate can be considered an act of stance-taking which reinforces the tensions between the two codes. In Catalonia, CS is considered inappropriate and socially discouraged unless one's interlocutor cannot speak Catalan, otherwise Catalans do not feel the need to switch into Castilian. As Woolard argues, this is the case for most Catalans as they do not regard Castilian as useful or a switch to it to be communicatively effective (Woolard, 1987:117-8).

2.2.6 Performativity as a means of negotiating identity

Scholars who take a social constructionist approach to identity aim to give a voice to groups whose language is often underrepresented in mainstream sociolinguistic studies due to its inauthenticity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:3-4). In this regard, Duranti (2004:454) explains that the 'performative' aspect of language used in the postmodern

world is what used to be considered bad, unrepresentative data. However, performativity is an inseparable aspect of speakers' agency, and their freedom to position themselves in interactions as linguistic self-presentation, particularly when used as an act of resistance or transgression, in the postmodern context is a means of 'ego-affirming' (Duranti, 2004:455). Speakers do not only use language to communicate meaning, it may also be a way of constructing who they are or a means of showcasing and taking pride in their linguistic competence or affiliation and making themselves perceivable to their interlocutors.

Having more than one identity and being able to negotiate multiple identities in different situations is made similar to selecting different clothes to wear on different occasions (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:17). The analogy made between the two acts evokes agency, performativity and a display of a particular way of being that is suggested by the negotiation process. By using the 'fashion' metaphor or that of a 'clothes market', Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:17) emphasise that linguistic negotiation of identities is far from random and is an ideologically-informed linguistic decision or a stance-taking act. Jaffe (2009) suggests that stance can also be adopted as an analytic approach to explore the social reasoning for some speakers' exaggerated speech by claiming that 'every performance is (…) the performer's ''take'' on stance' (2009:19). Her suggestion corresponds with that of Bauman and Briggs (1990) who argue that despite being 'aesthetic', performative language is certainly communicative in the way it embodies the user's social and local concerns as well as her orientation in the wider social and political context (1990:59-61). However, it may differ from language used every day in the way that it is not only used to convey meanings, but also to attract attention to its form, to impress and to be evaluated by listeners/interlocutors.

It is worth mentioning here that performative speech is not only utilised to negotiate identity in a bilingual context, but also a monolingual context. For example, in investigating the performative speech of a speaker from Ocracoke, Schilling-Estes (1998) finds that the phonological variation patterns in the interviewee's 'self-conscious speech' are as systematic and predictable as the other patterns identified in his everyday language. The speaker's exaggerated realisation of one distinct variable of the local

dialect, that is the rising and blacking of diphthong /ay/ in 'tider' to sound like /ɔy/ in 'toider', is attributed to the pride he takes in being a local speaker of the dialect and an original inhabitant of the Ocracoke Island. In a similar study, Johnstone (2007) finds that speaking a local Pittsburgh dialect is a vital means through which her interviewee can negotiate a local identity and project what it means to be a Pittsburgher. Unlike the previous study, Johnstone clearly accounts for the performative style of her interviewee in the epistemic acts of stances she takes. The interviewee utilises her 'internal' knowledge of the Pittsburgh dialect as well as her fluency in speaking it to justify her entitlement to be perceived as an authentic Pittsburgher. One could argue that this is a case where language is not solely used as a means for social ends e.g. conveying social meaning, but it is an end in itself. This speaker's deliberate and exaggerated use of the Pittsburgh dialect is an indirect way in which she can express her sense of belonging and what it means to be a Pittsburgher.

2.2.6.1 Performing a bilingual identity: hybridity and fragmentation

It is important to note that unlike traditional conceptualisations of identity, speaking two languages - taking into account the cultural connotations associated closely with each language - does not necessarily entail a speaker of 'dual' or contradictory social identities. Bhabha's term of 'cultural hybridity' (Rutherford, 1990: 208-213), which refers to individuals of minority groups who are torn between two different cultural systems, is relevant here and can be applied to bilingual/multilingual groups. The term rejects the myth of 'cultural diversity' which implies that individuals can harmoniously live in two cultures. Through CS, speakers are not entirely identifying with one culture at a time, instead, they occupy a third place and are thus positioned in the margins rather than at the centre of either (Giampapa, 2004). Thus, when switching between two languages, bilinguals do not necessarily move between two contrasting, antagonistic selves.

In her 1999 study, Woolard rejects this essentialist or 'binary' perspective towards the process of identity negotiation in bilingual interactions (1999:17). Through examining CS within Bakhtin's dialogism framework (1981), Woolard argued that the two linguistic codes are in a simultaneous coexistence, as if they are continuously

engaged in a dialogue. In this respect, switching between two languages is seen as an ongoing conversation between two voices that respond to and complement each other. Although these voices are not necessarily competing, an important aspect of this dialogue is the different or interchangeable positions or stances associated with each voice/language, which activate the dialogue. Similarly to Bhabha's idea of 'third place' (Rutherford, 1990), Woolard (1999:17) uses the metaphor of 'jumping on a third foot' rather than switching between two feet to capture the indexical value of CS and the dialectic relation between the two languages. If anything, this metaphor highlights that the 'hybrid' or 'third place' is not a stable place where the difference or the tensions between the two voices is dismissed. Instead, it is a common ground of continuous negotiation and survival.

Within a bilingual context, the practice of CS can often be a deliberate act through which a particular stance is taken up. It is through an empirical exploration of the local stances speakers take (through ethnography) that their orientation towards/challenge of the wider political context and the language hierarchies between two languages can be made sense of. A good example to illustrate such stances is Jaffe's study (2009) of the CS practices exploited by teachers in Corsican bilingual schools. Corsican language teaching has been recently allowed in schools after a history of governmental bans and the marginalisation of the Corsican language in schools. Jaffe (2007) investigates how the use of a mixed code - French and Corsican - and the 'conscious' deployment of Corsican by self - motivated bilingual teachers acts as a gesture defying normative linguistic ideologies in Corsica (2009:121). This is translated in the teachers' 'conscious' use of Corsican and the management of the class activities in a way that promotes Corsican as a code of authority, contrary to the subordinate role it plays in real-life contexts as opposed to French (2007:60). Those teachers do not only code-switch with an intention to take individual stances, instead they are encouraging students to take similar stances in the future by carefully using Corsican or a mixed code in taking positive stances (2009:121). Since they are bilingual individuals, the teachers' behaviours, CS practices and their conduct is an example of 'imagined future adult identities' that students should strive towards (2009:123). CS and the Corsican language are plainly and keenly promoted by those bilingual teachers through the positive

affective stances they take and the code(s) such stances are formulated through.

Public comedy performances are also another medium through which similar stances to those made by the Corsican bilingual teachers, such as the promotion of a hybrid identity and the call for a harmonious or a simultaneous use of two languages, are taken (Woolard, 1987; Jaffe, 2000). Comedians in Catalonia as well as Corsica exploit the tension between the two codes and produce live comedy shows where CS - or what is usually thought of as 'promiscuous mixing' in those societies - is deliberately deployed (Woolard, 1987:108). According to Jaffe (2000:39), the violation of the division between French and Corsican is the comedian's tool to 'validate mixed language practices and identities' which have been long resisted or repressed. In order to draw the audience's attention to the way the two languages can be effectively utilised, the comedian in both situations associates a shift in stance with a shift in the language used. To do so, the comedian strategically uses direct reported speech to introduce the words of an imaginary character who speaks a different language from him. Example 2.4 below illustrates how the comedian highlights the different, but complementary usage of the two codes. He uses Catalan to frame the character's words in Castilian: 'he says to him' 'he says' and uses Castilian to report what he said word by word: 'listen' 'I'll sell you a watch'. The example also shows how the comedian's single voice is used to embody two voices by adopting the animator and the principal roles in one sentence. Although the audience may notice that he is only speaking one language and not two, using the reported speech blurs the distinction between the two characters and renders the comedian a bilingual individual (Woolard 1987:114).

Example 2.4

Li diu, diu, ''<u>Oiga</u>'', **diu**, ''<u>le vendo un reloj</u>. ''
'He says to him, he says, ''Listen", he says, ''I'll sell you a watch. '' '

(Woolard, 1987:113)

Throughout the performance, the comedian makes sure that his attention is on his audience since sounding natural is not the aim of the comedian (Jaffe, 2000:42). Instead,

the performance is designed to make a clear statement about the linguistic divisions in Catalonia/Corsica and challenges the norms which created these divisions. The stances that the comedians take are symbolic of what linguistic practices they believe real-life people in Catalonia and Corsica should adopt and how they should sound.

To conclude, this chapter - with both of its sections (2.1 and 2.2) - has discussed the two main concepts of this thesis; the CS practice and identity, and how they were/have been theorised and conceptualised in the literature. Throughout, the chapter discussed the role identity plays in explaining linguistic variation in general, with an emphasis on CS and how bilingual speakers' utilisation of it can be regarded as a process of identity negotiation. The chapter ended with a demonstration of the indirect way in which CS acts can be deployed to mark a shift in bilingual speakers' stances. To elaborate on this and discuss the indirect link between language use (code choice in the case of this study), and identity, the following chapter - chapter 3 - is dedicated to the concept of stance. The chapter mainly focuses on how speakers' CS acts could be used as a tool for taking up evaluative stances and expressing attitudes as these speakers are managing their interactional identities. The next chapter then introduces the APPRAISAL model as the approach through which the evaluative force behind the participants' CS practice can be examined. Chapter three finally discusses the role culture and socialisation potentially play in helping us understand some of the specific social positions speakers take when switching to a particular language.

3: Literature Review (B)

In the second part of the literature review, the main focus is the indirect links between language, identity and culture. The first section of the chapter is dedicated to the concept of stance, discussing how the act of stance-taking is regarded as a mediating tool between speakers' linguistic variation and their negotiation of identity. This section also gives an account of the term 'evaluation' and how it is linked to that of 'stance', as understood in this thesis. It also focuses on how stance can be approached from a functional perspective, which is the approach taken in this thesis. The second section introduces the APPRAISAL model as an appropriate analytic approach to the evaluative stances taken up by the bilingual participants in this study. The final section discusses the potential role of culture in investigating or accounting for the attitudinal shifts bilingual speakers make when switching between languages.

3.1 Stance

Bucholtz & Hall (2008b) proposed the concept of 'stance' as a suitable tool that caters for the 'analytic delicacy', which is essential in examining the way identity is locally and linguistically constructed and negotiated in interactional settings (2008b:153). Since there is no straightforward link between individual speakers' patterns of linguistic variation and enduring social categories ascribed to these speakers (Ochs, 1992), an instance of interactional stance-taking can be considered a mediating tool between speakers' language use and identity enactment/construction. Bucholtz's & Hall's (2005, 2008a, 2008b) advocacy for this approach tallies with a recent tendency in different areas within the field of Sociolinguistics to utilise stance in interpreting patterns of linguistic choices made by individual speakers. They argue that 'identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles', and that it is through stance that we can understand how language and identity are interlinked (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:585). Stance has been considered a useful analytic method for investigating the pragmatic effects of 'conversational acts' and how speakers vary their language - at all linguistic structural levels - to perform and enact their identities (2005:597). In this

section, I focus on the notion of stance, and how it has been widely theorised and exploited in exploring speakers' moment-by-moment, discursively emergent self, which is the starting point for arriving at a comprehensive understanding of identity construction at a local and at a broader level.

3.1.1 Early use of 'stance' in relation to language

The concept of stance was first alluded to in the seminal work of Goffman (1981) on 'footing'. Footing is seen as a general term that covers speakers' 'change of gears' or their different acts of *alignment* including stance-taking instances in conversational interactions (1981:126). When it first emerged, the term footing was used synonymously with the notion of stance to acknowledge a change in the roles speakers temporarily inhabit in the world of conversation or a change in terms of their participation framework. The term footing was then taken up by many scholars, such as Ochs (1992), where it was generally considered to be an indexical means through which an understanding of the way speakers are socialised through language can be gained. It was in her following work (Ochs, 1993) that stance as an independent analytic tool was formulated and considered as a mediator between the language used by speakers and the specific social identity or social roles they adopt and transform. In Goffman's terms, stance can be taken towards speech that one is reproducing or reporting, depending on how far one commits to it. One may change their participation role or status in a conversation from simply being an 'animator' or the 'sounding box' of an utterance to being the 'author' of this utterance or the 'principal' (Goffman, 1981:144-5).

An *animator* refers to the person or the medium through which some utterances are composed or transferred; this might be a newspaper page on which utterances are typed or a human being/speaker who is reading a newspaper column (composed of somebody else's words) aloud to a friend. Next, an *author* is a speaker who merely produces the words, but is not held accountable for them. For instance, an author is the person who is writing a report to a colleague about the utterances made by the manager at the previous meeting, which that colleague did not attend. The manager in this example is what is called a *principal* if those utterances were hers and if they also represent a personal point of view which she can be held responsible for. For instance,

an estate agent who is advertising a property online may only be the author if designing and posting the advertisement is part of her job. The webpage in this case is the animator as it is the means through which people can receive the content of the advertisement and read the words of the author as well as the principal. The principal is the agency manager for whom the agent works and the one who specified the content of the advertisement. This estate agent can also adopt two roles simultaneously by being both the author and the principal if she is also the agency manager as well as being the one responsible for posting advertisements.

The terms mentioned above help to illustrate the different extents to which a speaker engages with the utterances she produces as well as those produced by others. In other words, identifying a speaker's stance through such terms can assist us in recognising the different degrees to which they commit to those utterances produced within a particular context. Thus, stance can be defined as the change in a speaker's current footing and the way she takes either a 'momentary' or an 'enduring' attitude towards the content of her utterance(s) and towards those of her interlocutors or the interlocutors themselves. In addition to words, one can mark a change in her footing by showing different levels of *orientation* towards her interlocutors' utterances. Recipients can achieve this through switching their linguistic code, using specific paralinguistic and prosodic features, or changing their participation status, such as changing one's role from a ratified listener to a bystander or a subsequent speaker. Therefore, a change of footing can be realised in one's own linguistic and non-linguistic production or in that of a co-participant as well as in the utterance's content and/or form.

Later, Biber's & Finegan's quantitative study (1989) marked the first attempt to explicitly and systematically utilise stance as an analytic method: a study that examined how English speech styles are encoded in a number of texts. As an analytic approach, they first defined stance as 'the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message' (1989:192). These grammatical and lexical particles are linguistic markers of stance which are classified into two types: 'affective' stance (Besnier, 1993), to refer to speakers' attitudes and feelings, and 'evidential' or 'epistemic' stance (Ochs, 1993;

Finegan, 1995), to refer to their knowledge and level of certainty.

Ochs (1993) further conceptualises stance as an essential means through which attitudes towards members of a social category or particular personas are made. It is through habitually taken stances and conventionally adopted roles, which are evoked through particular linguistic features, that ideologies are instantiated. 'Stance accretion' is the term Rauniomaa (2003:presentation) coins to refer to the process through which temporary acts of stance, which are locally and interactionally produced and repeated over time, accumulate and thus become accreted and naturalised. Even in the context of everyday life, it can be said that we recognise each other as individuals by how often or how regularly we carry out certain actions - linguistic practices. This take on stance illustrates the link between language and identity; if a linguistic stance is repeated often enough, that stance becomes part of, or associated with, the identity of that particular speaker.

In this manner, Ochs argues that speakers can change or reconstruct aspects of their identities through changing their stance and the linguistic styles or expressions that normally mark them (1993:290-8). She also adds the social meanings associated with some stances vary cross-culturally. For instance, being a mother in the mainstream United States of America entails using a particular type of caregiver-child speech and taking certain stances, such as high linguistic accommodation to children, which are different to those taken by Soman mothers whose level of linguistic accommodation to children is relatively low (Ochs, 1992). Hence, a stance that is stereotypically taken to index a particular social role or category can lose its normative meaning and acquire a new one when the linguistic item associated with it is used differently. Likewise, Jaffe (2009) contends 'stance is intimately linked and situationally separable from styles and identities' (2009:17). As a result, it can be argued that speakers can have multifaceted, fluid and dynamic identities to project and negotiate in some interactional moments, rather than having constant or fixed ones.

As we can see in figure 3.1 below, the link between one's given identity categories, such as ethnicity, sex, social class etc., and the way they index identity is

complexly vague and is far from direct (Stage A). It is through stance, however, that this relationship is embodied (Stage B). The speakers' specific use of language in a given situation can determine what aspects of their identity they believe to have currency or relevance to them and which thus need to be enacted. Then and only then can a stance or a speaking style be linked to a social group of a certain category (Stage C).
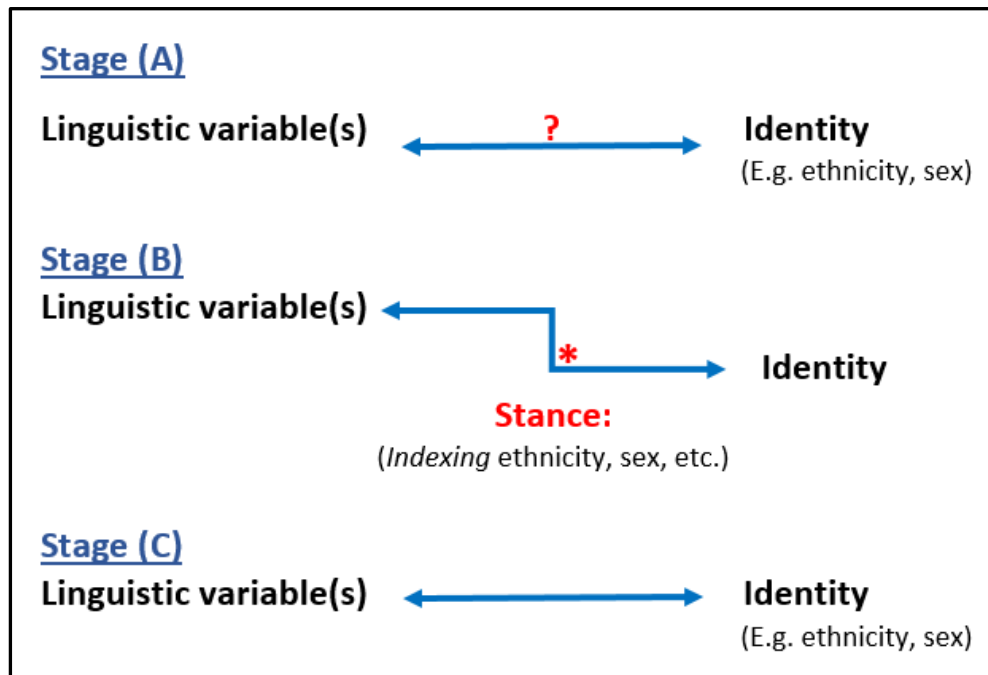
Figure 3.1: Language and Indexicality

Undoubtedly, language is a crucial medium through which speakers are able to stress their agency and position themselves in conversations. It is socialising through language that enables speakers to make sense of their identities, reproduce meanings and maintain their self-image. This idea of agency can be expressed through the term 'subjectivity': a term that is linked to the notion of stance and the speaker's ability to express her views through discourse. For Finegan (1995), subjectivity is the speaker's strategic use of linguistic expressions - mainly grammatical features - to communicate affective and epistemic meanings (1995:1-5). In achieving this, the form and the content of an utterance are two important dimensions that speakers consider. Another term which also has some connection with the concept of stance and which is relevant to the linguistic construction of identity is that of 'Strategic positioning' (Harré & Van

Langenhove, 1991:401). Similarly to the notion of stance, where a speaker can both identify herself and her interlocutor, the act of *positioning* also evokes the idea of positioning oneself and the possibility of being positioned or positioning others and projecting stance onto them. Harré & Van Langenhove (1991) use the term 'deliberate self-positioning' to refer to the speaker's conscious use of language to express her views and feelings, and to present herself as a speaker with a unique character (1991:400).

3.1.2 Definition and Conceptualisation

The broadness and the adaptability of stance render it a prominent analytic tool that has commonly been used by many different sub-disciplines of Sociolinguistics to pursue their interest in the way language functions. Regardless of their varied approaches to language and the different structural levels at which they explore it, linguistic anthropologists, variationists, interactional sociolinguists, and functional linguists have all exploited the notion of stance (Englebreston, 2007:1-2). The different and growing interests in stance have taken the shape of a number of recent edited volumes dedicated to the topic. These volumes address stance from different angles, ranging from functional (as adopted in this study, using the APPRAISAL theory) (Hunston & Thompson, 2000) to discourse (Englebreston, 2007) and sociolinguistic perspectives (Jaffe, 2009). Most of the works in the other volumes stress the point that stance can be best studied through conducting a corpus-based analysis or examining natural data as it locally and interactionally occurs. This has the potential to give linguists a glimpse of how speakers manipulate language and how stance operates in real-life interactions (Englebreston, 2007:3). This perspective in investigating stance is called the 'usage-based' approach, a way in which linguistic expressions at all variation levels, i.e. phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, pragmatic, etc., can be sequentially examined (2007:11-4).

With regards to Jaffe's edited volume about stance (2009), one may easily notice that what all of the studies have in common is their adoption of a 'stance-based sociolinguistic analysis' approach (Jaffe, 2009:3). It is an approach that places the individual speakers centre stage, exploring the indexical relationship between the stylistic variability they exhibit in their linguistic production and their social identities. According to Jaffe, stance is what speakers are primarily concerned with when speaking.

She goes on to contend that any form of linguistic production is inevitably an instance of stance-taking; the act of not taking a position is itself considered a position/stance (*Ibid*). Although a stance-based approach can be used to analyse meaning-making through language use and linguistic variability at all levels, the notion has been mostly revived and productively exploited within the variationist paradigm (Kiesling 2005, 2009; Bucholtz, 2009; Johsnton, 2007, 2009). It is important to mention that what these studies do not address is the functional aspect of stance and how speakers utilise linguistic variability to create meaning, make sense of their surroundings or manage relationships, from an interpersonal perspective. The functional or interactional motivations behind linguistic variability on a higher level (a discourse level), as is the case with the participants' CS instances here, is scarcely studied: a gap that this study aims to fill. However, before progressing into the functional aspects of stance proposed in my study (section 3.1.4 below), I first give a brief review of works where stance is addressed and utilised as a tool for explaining linguistic variability within the variationist paradigm of Sociolinguistics, particularly at the phonological level.

3.1.3 Stance as an explanation to phonological variation

Stance has recently been considered 'the main explanation for patterns of sociolinguistic variation' (Kiesling, 2009:172). According to Kiesling (2009:178), 'Interior' indexicality is the basic level at which a stance-taking operates. An example of this is the process through which a linguistic variable(s) is deployed to formulate a speaker's inter/personal stance or index a social role, which she temporarily adopts in that particular situation. It is at the 'exterior' level of indexicality that a stance that is regularly taken by particular speakers is 'short-circuited' and generalised to become naturally associated with these speakers and deemed characteristic of their linguistic style.

The relation between 'stance' and 'style' is bi-directional in the way that a style that is originally associated with a group of speakers - together with the stances associated with it - can be adopted and taken by speakers of a completely different identity/group. This can be achieved through what is called 'stance transfer', the process of mobilising a stance from one context to be used in another (Bucholtz, 2009; Kiesling, 2009). In this regard, Jaffe (2009:17) rightly argues that 'stances [are] both intimately

linked to and situationally separable from styles and identities'. It is important to note that stances that are transferred or mobilised are often ones that are firmly established and ideologised.

3.1.3.1 Stance: the motivation behind stylistic variations

An example of stance transfer is one that is based on Kiesling's study of the speech of a group of men in a college Fraternity (1998, cited in Kiesling, 2009:181-183). In investigating the reason behind the variation in the men's realisation of the alveolar variant of ING, he finds that it is a particular group of speakers who adopt the non-standard variant /ɪn/ more often than others. In accounting for their exaggerated use of the variant, it is found that its use correlates with a particular group of stances these men take. This group of men builds upon particular stances, such as 'solidarity' 'hard-working[ness]' and 'casualness', which are stereotypes associated with working class men, and use them as a means to construct their identities. Thus, the stance is not only transferred from one group to another, but is also modified as the group from the college fraternity do not, for example, necessarily share a social class status with the original group. However, they strategically use a ready stance and adopt it as a part of the linguistic style that they exploit to accomplish specific interactional goals. Similarly, Bucholtz explores the deployment of the slang/address term 'güey' - a slang term that is similar to 'dude' (Bucholtz, 2009:152) - among a group of young Mexican immigrants. Her work illustrates how stance, style and identity are intricately linked at the interior and exterior levels of indexicality or what she calls 'bottom up' and 'top down' indexicality. She argues that the indexical significance of this term stems from the way it is interactionally used by these teenagers to index stances of cool and casual youth identity. Over time, these stances are turned into 'metapragmatic stereotypes', i.e. they are ideologically associated with a specific group of a certain race, gender and age (Bucholtz, 2009:148). This act of generalisation makes such stances easily transferrable and they are consumed in the media to generally depict masculine cool solidarity.

It has been illustrated that stance often proves to be the most plausible motivation behind speakers' stylistic variation occurring on different structural levels. One might then argue that if adopted as an analytic approach to account for

intraspeaker variation in some previous studies, stance may yield some illuminating results. In Coupland's study (1980) of the style-shifting patterns in the speech of a travel agent, named Sue, from Cardiff, it is found that the agent's shifts to the vernacular cannot be explained by the informality of the situation nor to the lack of attention she pays to her speech. Although some instances of variation correlate with a number of changes in situational factors, such as the topic, participants or setting, these factors did not successfully account for all the style-shifting patterns, such as those where variation in her style occurred within the same topic (1980:10). After close attention to the data, it was found that some variation patterns are to do with Sue's accommodation to the speaking style of some of her clients as well as her level of orientation towards them or the subject matter. Although neither 'attitude' nor 'stance' were explicitly mentioned as motivations behind variation, it can be deduced that Sue's positive affective stance towards her clients played some role in her convergence to their styles and her alignment with them.

One could argue that the function behind language use and variation within these studies is not considered as central as the variation in the form itself (e.g. the choice of a specific variant over another). As the focus in this thesis is the investigation of the identity-related meaning behind the study's bilingual participants' CS moves, I take a functional approach (see section 3.1.4 below) to explore the participants' language choices and possible reasons (stances) behind such choices. In the next section, I go back to giving an account of the way in which stance is examined in IS and SFL, that is investigating the role of stance in explaining linguistic variability at an interactional and a discourse level.

3.1.4 Stance: from a functional perspective

The Functional approach I adopt in this study is based within SFL, a field within Lingusitics that was first developed by Halliday. In SFL, meaning - or what is also called 'function' within SFL - is the 'starting point' when it comes to analysing language use (Thompson, 2014:7) and the 'primary driving force in language use' (Fontaine, 2013:5). Although the examination of the function of language use or variation is the main goal behind language analysis in SFL, it is particularly through analysing form or the structural

organisation of language that this examination is possible (Fontaine, 2013:3). As an approach that views language as a goal-oriented practice, investigating the choices speakers make in a specific context is a vital step in examining the social meaning behind language use (Thompson, 2014:8). Consequently, the investigation of speakers' choices requires a grammatical analysis of language at the word level (and above) in order to

> uncover […] the meaning-wording options that are available in the language system and the factors that led the speaker to produce a particular wording rather than any other in a particular context

> (Thompson, 2014:8)

What is particularly useful about adopting SFL to investigate the identity-related motivations behind the participants' CS instances is its focus on the *interpersonal* aspect of language use and on speakers' interactional management and negotiation of meaning (relational stances). This is useful in terms of the language/linguistic items (discourse level variables) expected to be used by members of a friendship group as is the case with the sample of this study. The next two sections discuss a specific aspect of motivation behind speakers' use of language as they are creating meaning and making sense of their world, that is, performing evaluation.[9]

3.1.4.1 Stance as evaluation

The 'evaluative' dimension of stance is considered the most significant, an aspect that is shared and attended to by most scholars working with stance as an analytic approach within IS and SFL. In fact, Hunston & Thompson (2000:5) consider *evaluation* to be a

> broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about

With regard to affective and epistemic stances, Hunston & Thompson argue that

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[9] It is important to mention here that this study is not an SFL study. The study only touches on SFL superficially and gives a brief background to help the reader understand the reasons behind the deployment of an SFL tool (APPRAISAL model) in a CS study.

speakers are necessarily taking a somewhat evaluative act or an attitudinal perspective. For affective stance, a speaker gives her opinions about an 'entity' - a person or an object - assigning a value to it and expressing whether she likes it or approves of it. For modality or epistemic stance, a speaker assesses the credibility of a proposition and the level of its probability. In other words, it is the sources of information or knowledge a speaker or her interlocutor has in taking an authoritative stance or making an evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 1-5). As a result, it is claimed that taking evaluative stances, i.e. ascribing values (positive or negative) to individuals and statements, may be customarily adopted to classify people and categorise them into social types, thus, actualising ideologies over time. Hunston & Thompson (2000) focus on a group of lexical expressions in their investigation of how evaluative acts of stance can be realised in language, that is the choices speakers make at the lexicogrammatical levels. Some of these are verbs, adjectives and nouns preceded by modifiers, such as 'only' and 'just' (2000:16-17).

In a relevant study, Jaworski & Thurlow (2009) examine the elitist stances - stances of superiority and distinction - taken in some newspaper articles to find that such stances are achieved through subtle acts of evaluation. Such acts or judgements, which may appear to be 'innocuous moments of stance-taking', are likely to develop into 'collective ideologies' (2009:221). Below is an example from a newspaper extract that Jaworski and Thurlow discuss:

Example 3.1

> I hate arriving somewhere to find a horde of barbarians who've had that operation to weld a camera to their eyelids: they don't <u>really</u> see things, they <u>just</u> photograph them ... My car got broken into in Tunisia, and the policeman was so chatty, he ended up inviting us to supper at his home. What a nice idea, I thought: but we arrived to find a really <u>grim</u> police barracks, where he was cooking up <u>vile-looking</u> goat stew <u>over a Bunsen burner</u>.
>
> (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009:201)

In addition to the series of negative 'adjectival opinion markers' (2009:201), e.g. 'grim' and 'vile-looking', which are used to make a negative evaluation of this specific group of tourists, it is argued that there is a general, but subtle, disapproval of this group and their inadequate (seeing/photographing and cooking) practices as well as the objects related to them. Through this negative evaluation process, the authors/journalists are promoting and positively evaluating an opposite group of tourists (the elites) and their ways of being while negatively evaluating others and 'stylising them' or exaggerating their way of being (2009:202,221). According to Du Bois (2007:156), such instances of stance-taking are implicitly evoked and need to be deduced in order to be accurately interpreted (Du Bois 2007:156).

3.1.4.2 Stance triangle (Stance in interactions)

One of the most referenced scholars in relation to stance is Du Bois and his 'stance triangle' model (2007). Du Bois (2007:163 *emphasis added*) defines stance as an act that

> is achieved *dialogically* through *overt* communicative means (…) [to] *evaluat*[*e*] objects, *position* subjects (…) and *align* with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field

The main aim of this model is to introduce a toolkit that can assist in identifying and interpreting instances of stance-taking as well as providing essential terminology for commenting on them and analysing their most fundamental constituent elements (2007:162). Du Bois views stance as the process by which linguistic forms are *interactionally* used and differently deployed to convey speakers' communicative positions at a micro level i.e. their stances. In taking up a stance and orienting themselves to an entity or an idea, speakers evoke, respond to or subvert the 'sociocultural values' existing in the wider context (2007:141). Thus, acts of stance must be located within a particular context in order to be correctly interpreted and for conclusions to be drawn from them.

Two important, interrelated dimensions of stance are 'dialogicality' and 'intersubjectivity'. With 'dialogicality', Du Bois builds on Bakhtin's work (1981) to

emphasise the idea that a subsequent speaker's act of stance-taking is a rejoinder to other people's prior words, whether they were present co-participants, absent or only imagined voices (2007:140). The meaning of intersubjectivity is implied in 'dialogicality', meaning that one's stance is often taken in relation to a stance that was previously and subjectively taken by the speaker or somebody else. Stances that are 'sequentially juxtaposed' or dialogically taken are usually structurally analogous (2007:159).

Du Bois develops the idea of a 'diagraph' or what he calls the 'triple sets' (Du Bois, 2007, 163 - see figure 3.2 below) to clearly represent the components of stance-taking acts and analyse how two or three instances of stances may relationally operate or interact. The following example illustrates the role of the first triple set or the three basic actors/entities (Subject 1, 2 and the object) in most instances of stance-taking. It also explains the other triple set, that is, the three main processes (evaluation, positioning and alignment) necessarily implied in instances of stance-taking. Here, Kathy '**Subject 1**' is conversing with Joseph and later she comments on a shirt and positively **evaluates** the shirt - the '**stance object**' - using the verb 'like' to take an AFFECT stance.

Example 3.2

 1 Kathy:[10]   I like that shirt
 2 Joseph:[11] Oh I don't like it[12]
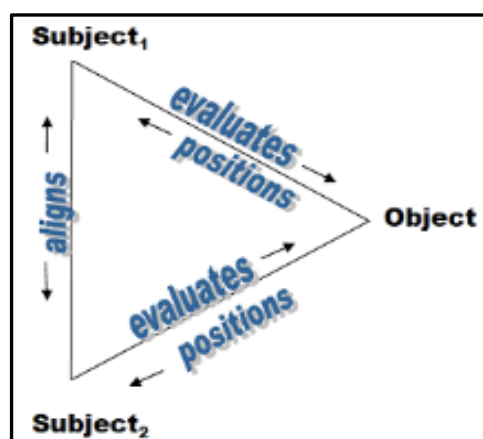
Figure 3.2: The two 'triple sets' of stance,
(Source: Du Bois, 2007:163)

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[10] Subject 1.
[11] Subject 2.
[12] Object 'that shirt'.

In taking this stance, Kathy uses the first-person subject pronoun to **position** herself and be perceived as an individual who has the right to express herself. As an equal co-participant or '**Subject 2**', Joseph chooses to use Kathy's stance or what is called the 'lead stance' to take a 'follow' one. Joseph happens to think differently of the shirt and takes an opposite **position** (negative evaluation) to that of Kathy. His stance or position is realised in the negated affective format of the verb that Kathy first used: *like* vs. *don't like*. Joseph here chooses not to **align** with Kathy/Kathy's utterance by showing disagreement. Unlike this stance-taking instance, stance components are not always easy to identify. Du Bois (2007:144-145) points out that an act of stance cannot always be found in one utterance or a turn; instead, it can be inferred from following the prior utterances that were dialogically produced by both interactants across turns.

As alluded to in the previous example, speakers do not only align with each other by showing agreement but they also do so through disagreeing with a prior stance or negotiating it. In this regard, Haddington (2007:285) describes alignment as 'an appropriate act or preferred next action, which fulfils the expectations raised by the previous action'. By examining the 'alignment' and 'positioning' processes as two important aspects of stance-taking, Haddington (2007) explores the interviewee's reactions, or following acts of stance, when he is being positioned by a prior speaker: the interviewer. Interestingly, speakers neither accept being incorporated into others' stances, by an institutional figure, in this case, (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991; Jaffe, 2009) nor simply refuse to align. In looking at the morphosyntactic, lexical as well as the prosodic features the speaker takes his stances through, Haddington (2007:283) combines methods from both IS, such as CA, and Functional Linguistics to study how a stance is realised and interactionally organised and developed across turns. In instances of controversial questions, the CNN interviewer - Larry King (IR in the transcript below) - does not directly ask the interviewee for his opinion but implicitly attributes a stance to him and puts words into his mouth (See example 3.3 below). Before asking the question in line 5, the interviewer refers to the 'public's' stance - lines 3 and 4 - towards bombing Bin Laden out. By doing so, Larry implies that Brian - the interviewee (IE in the transcript below) - should agree with the public and take a similar stance to that of 94% of the American people who already voted for a military intervention in Afghanistan.

In answering the question, the interviewee adopts a vague stance where he neither agrees nor disagrees. Instead, he strategically modifies or 'paraphrases' the message proposed by a previous instance of stance attribution (Haddington, 2007:290). Another means by which the interviewee 'recycles' the interviewer's prior stance is through taking a subsequent stance that is structurally parallel, yet slightly different.

Example 3.3

1 IR: Brian,

2   could you

3 → well *I guess* the public,

4 → would look at this simply,

5   Could you bomb him out

         (…)

7 IE: I d-

8 → *I don't know* that *you could* bomb him out

9   I mean,

10   I I think that,

11   uh,

12   .. the magnitude of this operation,

13   is going to call for,

14   a qualitatively different response

(Haddington, 2007:291)

In order to sound less biased or less responsible for taking the stance in the example above, i.e. bombing Bin Laden out, the interviewee gives neither an affirmative nor a negative answer. Instead, he, as Haddington (2007:293) argues, 'treats the third-party stance [bombing Bin Laden out] as doubtful or even hypothetical'. To further convey this stance, he hedges by adding 'I don't know' and using the generic pronoun 'you' instead of the subject pronoun 'I' (2007:289). In a different context, however, utilising 'generalisations' that come in the form of subject noun phrases, such as 'everybody' or 'the people' are utilised to upgrade rather than downplay one's epistemic acts of stance (Scheibman, 2007).

The interviewee in the example above also changes the format of the verb 'bomb' by adding the modal verb 'could', which is initially used by the interviewer, to make the proposition sound milder, therefore, he is not held accountable for the interviewer's suggested stance, but he is also not totally against it. Similarly, speakers may exhibit lack of commitment through taking ambivalent stances, which can be reflected through some metalinguistic cues, such as hesitating, pausing and slow construction of narratives (McIntosh, 2009). Nevertheless, disaligning turns do occur through what Keisanen (2007) calls 'sequential or interactional positioning' (2007:276). In spite of the desirability of consequent supportive and shared stances, subsequent speakers may object to a claim made through the prior speaker's stance. In doing so, the authority of a previously taken stance can be contested and negotiated through deploying wh-questions as well as yes/no questions (2007:254-263). These strategies are means to demand more information or clarification from the prior speaker or to point out her lack of evidentiality in taking a particular epistemic stance. Evidential markers, such as 'they say', 'I heard' etc., may provide a sense of authority to speakers' utterances as they imply that such speakers have some evidence for taking such a stance and are therefore more reliable. However, it is argued that zero-marking, or lack of use of evidentials, by using 'unmarked first positions' or 'declaratives' is far more effective (Fox, 2001; Heritage & Raymond, 2005:19).

This section discussed how linguistic variation, particularly on a discourse level, can be best addressed using a functional approach that helps to explain speakers' choices and the way they are interactionally utilised to create meaning and fulfil social roles, at an interpersonal level. As discussed above, a more specific way of addressing the function or meaning behind language variation is 'evaluation' (section 3.1.4.1 & 3.1.4.2 above) and the way speakers use language to respond to their surroundings. To uncover the evaluative potential behind speakers' CS instances, the current study is adopting the APPRAISAL model as an additional tool to examine the function of the study's bilingual participants' language choices: Arabic vs. English. The next section of this chapter provides an overview of the APPRAISAL model: an analytic tool that I adopt in this thesis in order to carry out a systematic, detailed analysis of the evaluative stances the participants take up through their CS practice.

3.2 Analysing stance: the APPRAISAL model

APPRAISAL is a text-based model (which is discussed in detail in section 3.2.1 below) that is proposed by Martin & White (2005) and is the model I adopt here to analyse instances of stance (see section 3.1.2 above) or what can be called stance-taking strategies. The concept of APPRAISAL here is approached from an SFL perspective. SFL equips those who work on it with specific linguistic (lexicogrammatical) features in order to examine how APPRAISAL is realised in the text and elicit the (interpersonal) social functions fulfilled by such linguistic features. White (2001:1) defines the process of APPRAISAL as an

> approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships

Before I introduce the APPRAISAL model in full and outline the main categories that fall under it, I first explain how it fits what has been discussed so far in chapter 2 and 3 (section 3.1), particularly in relation to CS and stance and the role they play in negotiating and reconstructing identity. In doing so, and for the purpose of this study, I propose a theoretical approach (visually represented in figure 3.3 below) where I show how I incorporate APPRAISAL into the analysis I conduct of evaluative CS in this thesis (translated into step 4 in the figure below).
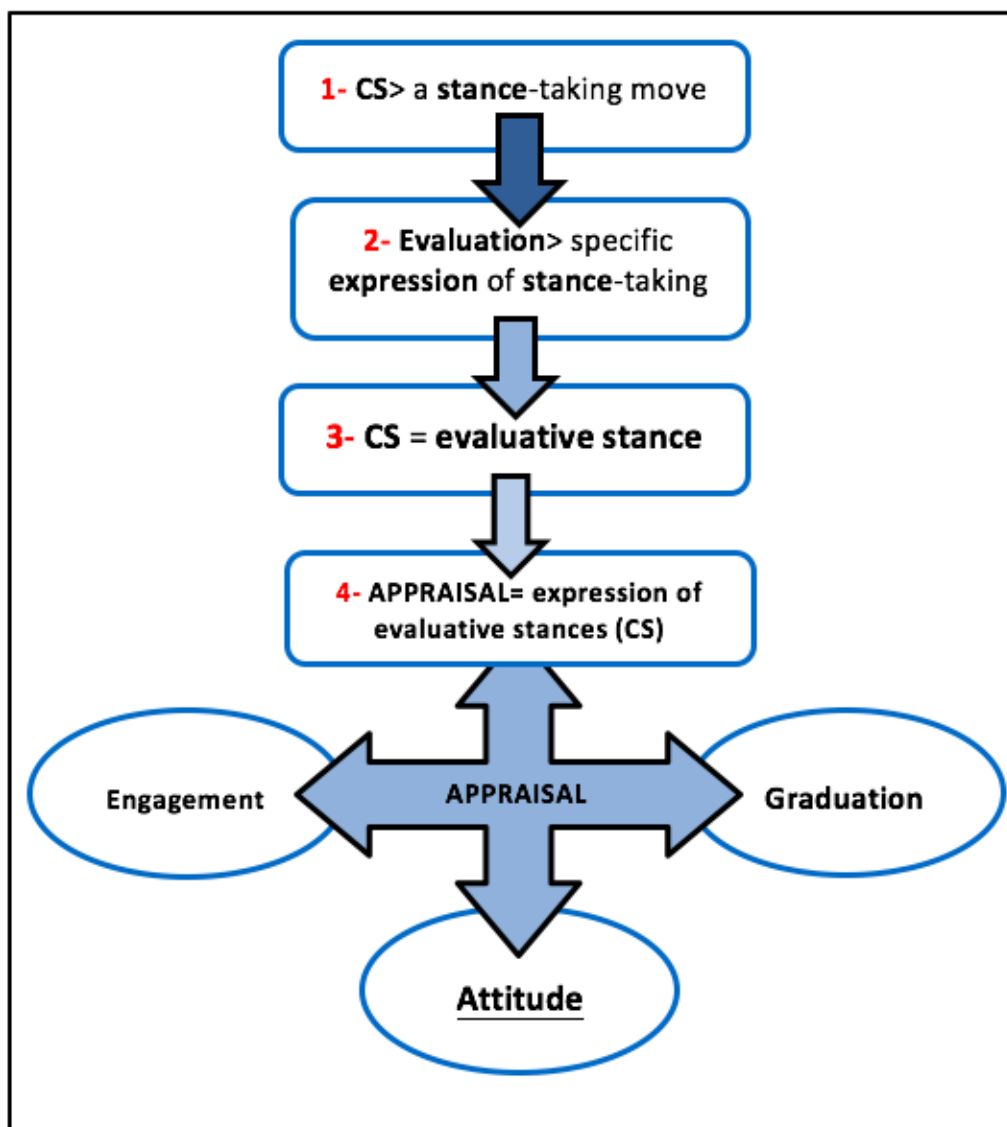
Figure 3.3: The model I propose for the study of evaluative stances, taken up through CS

The purpose of proposing this approach is an attempt to envisage a holistic approach to examining the evaluative (attitudinal) stances inferred from the participants' CS instances. I now discuss the three steps that come before this conclusion (illustrated in *step 4*) and that led to the adoption of APPRAISAL. Throughout chapter 2 and section 3.1 of the current chapter, I have so far introduced the concept of CS and how it - as a text-level linguistic variable - can be utilised as a tool for taking up a stance and negotiating aspects of speakers' identities. This point is visually represented and translated into *step 1* of the proposed theoretical approach: 'CS> a stance-taking move'.

Stance, according to Hunston and Thompson (2000), can be expressed or realised through an instance of evaluation. To revisit their understanding of evaluation (discussed earlier in 3.1.4 above) and how it can be linked to stance, I here quote their words again where they argue that 'evaluation is the broad cover term, for the *expression* of the speaker or writer's attitude or *stance*' (Hunston & Thompson, 2000:5 *emphasis added*). Therefore, evaluation can be regarded as a type of stance or a means through which a stance is expressed. This relationship between the two concepts is illustrated in *step 2* of the theoretical approach I am proposing: 'Evaluation> specific expression of stance-taking'**.** For the sake of highlighting this link between the two terms, 'evaluation' and 'stance', I use the term 'evaluative stance' to describe (and comment on) CS instances that participants utilise to perform evaluation or the CS instances that can be classified as inherently *evaluative*. The conclusion arrived at in this last point, 'APPRAISAL= expression of evaluative stances (CS)', is demonstrated in *step 3* of the model: 'CS= evaluative stance'. In what is left of this section (3.2), I will focus on the APPRAISAL model, which is demonstrated in *step 4* (the second/bottom part of the model) and give a detailed outline of it as the model I adopt to analyse the participants' evaluative stances taken up through CS.

3.2.1 Overview of the APPRAISAL Model

The APPRAISAL model draws on, and is theorised within, the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) or what is known as Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), which was first developed by Halliday (1994). Bullo (2014:33) argues that the APPRAISAL model offers a 'more restricted' and specific view of evaluation; I consequently adopt this model as a useful text-parsing tool to investigate instances of stance or the evaluative stances that the bilingual participants in this study take up through their various CS moves. Instead of the dual classification proposed in early works on stance (affective vs. epistemic, see section 3.1.1 above), the APPRAISAL model accounts for speakers' evaluative stances by offering a more detailed and refined conceptualisation of these two categories (Attitude & Engagement), in addition to a third one (Graduation) - see step 4 in figure 3.3 above. It does so by providing 'sub-selections' or 'configurations' of each of these three main evaluative moves (Martin & White, 2005:164,186).

Instances of stance in this model are mostly examined on the level of 'discourse semantics' (Martin & White, 2005:10). Although there is a specific interest in the 'meaning beyond the clause', evaluative instances examined at the discourse semantic level are traditionally realised in the use of 'specific words/expressions/lexicogrammatical features' below the discourse level (Martin & White, 2005:9-12), or what can be called an 'inscribed'/explicit instance of APPRAISAL. These features/evaluative terms often take the form of adjectives, particularly those made in expressing APPRECIATION (2005:5). In identifying the different APPRAISAL items (grammatical and lexical features) found in the data, I follow Hood's (2010) outline, who follows the SFL classification for parts of speech (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) of the most common language features that are utilised in making 'inscribed' appraisals (c.f. Bullo, 2014:64). It is worth adding that I am only carrying out this detailed level of analysis - the identification of the grammatical realisations of these categories - because such features could assist in classifying the CS instances and determine the specific sub-category under which each CS instance falls. The purpose behind this is to make the classification process more objective. Nevertheless, this does not mean that classifying instances of CS according to the specific sub-categories outlined by the model is straightforward, particularly when it comes to invoked instances of APPRAISAL (discussed later in detail in section 4.6.3.1). It is important to mention here that the adoption and the application of the APPRAISAL theory does not mean this is a grammar-based study or that the intention here is to theorise APPRAISAL implied through the participants' CS instances. Instead, the APPRAISAL theory/model here is only deployed as a tool that is useful when it comes to text-parsing and the coding instances of APPRAISAL that are implied through the participants' CS instances.

Primarily, the APPRAISAL model (fully outlined in section 3.2.2 below) aims to 'assist in analysing examples of language use in both written and spoken discourse' (Martin & White, 2005:7). It focuses particularly on the interactional and interpersonal construction of meaning between interlocutors, which often occurs through evaluative stances that can be realised in specific evaluative terms on different/multiple structural levels (2005:1,5). It is a model that is based on a similar idea developed by Eggins & Slade (1997) where they created a toolkit suitable for carrying out a general examination of

instances of spoken language. Their model covers other broader aspects of conversation that are not exclusive to evaluative language, but ones that shed light on speakers' 'joint construction of social reality' and how that is achieved through the utilisation of conversational language (Martin & White, 2005:7). This joint construction can be translated in the way a group of bilingual participants develop a CS style and use it strategically to take up certain evaluative stances, based on shared ideological associations speakers make, between both languages used and their social significance. For the purpose of the current project, I am utilising the APPRAISAL model as conceptualised by Martin & White and applying its techniques - those relevant and applicable to spoken discourse. The benefit of adopting such a model is in exploring bilingual, peer group interactions and the way participants experience their reality and react to it through the evaluative stances they take up through the CS instances they deploy.

3.2.2 The APPRAISAL Domains

According to Martin & White (2005:35), APPRAISAL theory can be divided into three main areas: 'Attitude', 'Engagement' and 'Graduation' (step 4 in figure 3.3 above). The first, attitude, refers to what is commonly referred to as 'affective' stance in earlier works (Besnier 1993; Biber & Finegan, 1989), and the second, engagement, refers to what is known as the 'epistemic' stance (Ochs 1993; Finegan, 1995). The third area, graduation, refers to the intensity (or lack therefor) with which the evaluation is made. For the purposes of the current study, the focus is going to be the attitude category only (see figure 3.4 below).
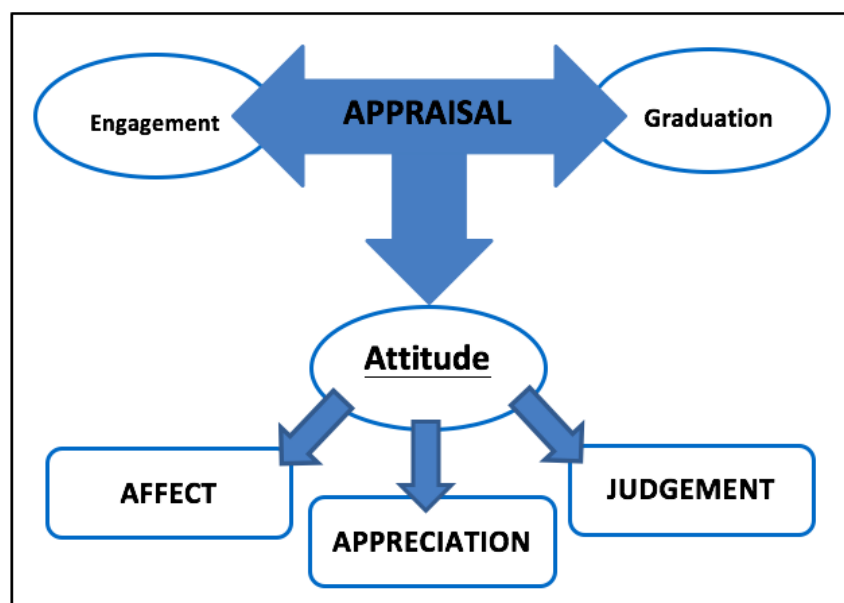
Figure 3.4: An illustration of the APPRAISAL model

The main reason for this is the compatibility of the category of attitude with the core meaning behind the notion of APPRAISAL: the process of expressing emotions and feelings in general (see section 3.2.4 for a more detailed explanation). Attitude can be defined as 'positive or negative feeling about some person, object or issue' (Petty and Cacioppo, 1996:7). In specific relation to the APPRAISAL system, attitude is the process through which speakers make evaluations or express their attitudes towards someone or something while interacting with others, usually displaying AFFECT,[13] APPRECIATION or JUDGEMENT (Martin & White, 2005:43) (See figure 3.4 above). Bullo (2014) defines attitude as a tool that 'unveil[s] the motivation behind the attitudinal disposition, be it affectual, aesthetic or moral' (2014:38). Therefore, I would argue that the category of attitude is well-suited to be applied and further explored in the evaluative instances made by a group of speakers, which makes it more relevant to the notion of APPRAISAL than the other two categories: 'engagement' and 'graduation'. These latter two categories are not going to be dealt with here as they are not as commonly utilised or closely relevant to the type of evaluative stances the participants make as the category of attitude is. The full APPRAISAL system, with a focus on the category of attitude, is

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[13] The three main attitudinal positions within the 'APPRAISAL Model' (affect, appreciation and judgement) are capitalised throughout the thesis. Beginning from this point, they are going to be referred to as AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT. The reason for this is to distinguish these three attitudinal terms from their general counterparts.

graphically represented above in Figure 3.4.

In the following sections, I turn to the category of 'attitude', which is the APPRAISAL category I focus on in this thesis, and outline the three categories that fall under it.

3.2.3 The APPRAISAL Model: a process of attitudinal evaluation

The act of attitudinal APPRAISAL is generally associated with emotions. APPRAISAL is even considered one of the main constituents of the concept of 'emotion' and a speaker's emotional experience (Mesquita et al, 2015:544; Mesquita, 2003:874; Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001). Thus, although I approach the concept of APPRAISAL mainly as an expression of an evaluative stance, it has been also considered a type of, or even synonymous with, emotions. Pavlenko (2008:150) defines emotions as a group of elements that are 'formed as a result of repeated experiences and involve (…) appraisals, psychological reactions [and] means of regulation and display'. Therefore, in addition to its overall efficiency as an analytic tool for the purposes of this study, the APPRAISAL model, and its association with emotions, particularly the category of attitude, tallies well with exploring the expressive stances that participants in this study tend to take up, for example, displays of emotions and excitement or appreciation. It could be argued, therefore, that while the attitudinal category of AFFECT is explicitly based on emotional reactions towards a stimulus, the other two categories are based on external factors and other criteria, be it aesthetic or moral and ethical. More importantly, an instance of APPRAISAL can be a window to the 'ideological values of the culture' (See section 3.3.1 below for a definition of 'culture') through which a speaker views or interprets the world around her (Thompson, 2014:80). As a result, an APPRAISAL instance can thus be a reflection of a certain way of thinking of and perceiving the world. These ways of thinking can be represented as well as examined through investigating speakers' attitudes towards, or evaluation of, the world as a whole (other individuals/interactants, entities, etc.). Bullo (2014) argues that certain attitudes can uncover the socially-shared beliefs of individuals' as well as their social orientations (2014:12,31). These orientations and attitudes are often embedded within the linguistic choices (CS instances in this case) speakers make and may function as the driving force

behind such choices (Bullo, 2014:34). Therefore, and through examining the participants' CS moves and analysing the APPRAISAL stances they make, either in Arabic or English, some light can be shed on the cultural/ideological values this group of speakers hold as well as the temporary/interactional identities they negotiate.

3.2.4 Categories of Attitude

In contrast to the general understanding put forward by early works (see Besnier 1993; Biber & Finegan, 1989; Finegan, 1995) on the AFFECT stance, the APPRAISAL model suggests an extended and more refined version of this category. It does so by providing 'sub-selections' or 'configurations' of the evaluative (AFFECT) moves that are going to be dealt with in this study (Martin & White, 2005: 164,186). Through an examination of speakers' attitudes, analysts can investigate emotions at a more specific level, in addition to any instances of the speakers' assessment of entities or people in terms of aesthetic or moral/ethical grounds (subcategorised as AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT under the APPRAISAL model, respectively, as will be outlined in section 4.6.4). To further illustrate each of these three subcategories, I now give a brief example for each of them. To start with AFFECT, I will use the example 3.2 (3.4 here) mentioned above in section (3.1.3) and reconsider it in relation to AFFECT.

Example 3.4 (originally 3.2)

Kathy: I   <u>like</u>   *that   shirt*

According to the APPRAISAL model adopted here, the verb 'like' is a linguistic item that indicates attitude under the category of AFFECT, which reflects the speaker Kathy's (positive) emotional inclination towards a stimulus (the shirt in this case). However, it could still be argued that such an APPRAISAL value can also be that of APPRECIATION as what is being evaluated here is an object. That said, I classify this instance as AFFECT and not as APPRECIATION as the aspect of evaluation that is focused on by each slightly differs. In the case of APPRECIATION, the focus is more on 'the phenomenon under evaluation rather than the subject doing the evaluation' (White, 2001:29). Thus, I argue

that having the verb 'like' at the beginning of the sentence puts more emphasis on the subject's emotions, making the process of evaluation more personal than it is in the case of APPRECIATION (White, 2001:29). If anything, this shows how blurry APPRAISAL boundaries can be, an issue that I discuss in detail below. (see sections 4.6.4.2 and 4.6.4.3).

An example of APPRECIATION would be one where Kathy would directly describe the shirt, such as focusing on its value, as can be demonstrated in this example:

Example 3.5

Kathy: This   is   a   very   <u>high quality</u>   *shirt*

The adjective 'high quality' here is the lexical item Kathy uses to express her attitude towards the shirt, APPRECIATION of its value, by describing it as a 'high quality' shirt.

The next example illustrates the category of JUDGEMENT:

Example 3.6

Kathy: The   *shirt*   is   made   very   <u>professionally</u>

Unlike the previous example, Kathy here is using the adverb 'professionally' to describe the way in which the shirt was made, implying the person or company who made the shirt and whose performance she describes as 'professional'. Therefore, Kathy here does not describe an entity (the shirt), instead, she comments on the performance of the maker of the shirt and assesses their capacity through the positive JUDGEMENT she expresses through the adverb 'professionally'.

That said, the boundaries between those subcategories are not always clear-cut and there can be instances where the boundaries between them may become blurred.

Instances where this occurs are discussed in section 4.6.4 below.

To conclude, this section (3.2) aimed to introduce and discuss the model I propose (based on APPRAISAL) to systematically analyse the evaluative stances participants take up through their CS. I now move on to discuss the way in which changes in bilingual speakers' evaluative stances and attitudes, expressed through their CS practice between two languages, can be explained in part by the role of cultural norms and values often associated with users/speakers of each language. I argue that examining the evaluative stances of the study's participants through their CS practice can shed some light on the social values and norms that those participants think are (traditionally) invoked by each language: Arabic and English.

3.3 The role of culture in making (attitudinal) APPRAISAL

Throughout the previous chapter and the current one, there have so far been several references made to the concept of 'culture', which has not been clearly defined. The current section focuses on 'culture' and the central role it plays in determining bilingual speakers' evaluative stances, particularly in attitudinal instances of APPRAISAL. The section starts with a discussion of the term culture and how it is used throughout the thesis. Later sections review and discuss how different studies attempted to investigate bilingual speakers' experience with using two languages and issues of dual personality. The section then focuses on approaches that particularly explain the role of culture in accounting for bilingual speakers' use of two languages, and the practice of CS, in particular. The final part of this section discusses the extent to which the emotional and attitudinal shifts bilingual speakers make when switching between languages could be triggered by a change in the cultural or interpretive domain with which these speakers associate each language.

3.3.1 Culture

Culture in this context means a shared set of values that govern or influence the lives of a particular group of individuals and the way they perceive the world around them (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:3). For Hall (1980:60), culture is a way of thinking and seeing the

world, rather than experiencing or living it through carrying out specific social practices. Hall (1980) also argues that the traditional definition of culture as a range of customs, traditions and artistic taste, or what Spencer-Oatey (2012:12) refers to as 'surface-level etiquette', does not constitute what a culture is. Instead, culture is a reflection of a way of thinking or an overarching, social value (Hall, 1980:63). On the same note, Deutscher (2010: online *emphasis added*) defines culture as

> The habits of mind that our culture has instilled in us from infancy [such that they] shape (...) our *emotional responses* to the objects we encounter, and their consequences probably (...) may also have a marked impact on our beliefs, values

The above definitions, and the word 'instil' particularly, suggest that culture can be thought of as a mental framework that individuals indirectly acquire through the process of 'socialisation' or 'acculturation'. Initially, it is a process through which children - through verbal and non-verbal interaction with their parents - acquire a certain way of thinking. The verbal aspect is particularly crucial as a specific language can play a very important role in shaping the reality of the individuals who speak it (Summary of research about this argument is cited in Kramsch, 2002). As Sapir claims, 'language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited (...) practices and beliefs' (1970:207). Since language and culture are inextricably linked, a group of bilingual sojourners can similarly, and quite unintentionally, absorb the cultural values of the host society through acquiring its language and making constant contact with the 'native' speakers of that language.

Culture is thus considered here a behaviour that is not automatically obtained by merely being born in a specific society, but as achieved through social and behavioural communication, and constant observation of, and interactions with a specific group of people (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). Hall (1980:66) also claims that while the adoption of specific ways of thinking occurs through one's 'unconscious' practices of the everyday, functioning or not functioning within these ideological frameworks is a largely

'conscious' practice. Therefore, I conclude from the above discussion that 'culture'[14] in this thesis is not necessarily a notion to be shared by all members of a specific society or a nation, it is rather a mental framework that speakers internally, and probably sub-consciously, choose to adopt and through which they live accordingly across different societies and nations.

Along the lines of the social constructionist approach to identity that I adopt throughout this thesis (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), I consider culture as a concept that is discursively constructed and reproduced continuously by a group of individuals who can no longer be thought of as automatic members of a particular cultural group, to which they are believed to belong automatically. In their understanding of culture, Scollon & Scollon (2001:544) comment that it is more useful to

> set aside any a priori notions of group membership and identity and to ask instead how and under what circumstances concepts such as culture are produced by participants as relevant categories for interpersonal ideological negotiation

In order to demonstrate this further, Street (1993) suggests that 'culture' should be thought of as a verb rather than a noun: a process to be performed, and not possessed as a fixed, static entity. Due to the evasive nature of the concept of culture, Bauman (1996:11) also suggests that culture cannot be used to anticipate or dictate the behaviour of a group of individuals.

As opposed to Hofstede & Hofstede (2005), culture here is not considered as a product where (Libyan) Arabic[15] speakers in this study are lumped together as one mass. Instead, effort is made to take into consideration the variation that may be found amongst members of the (Libyan) Arabic culture and even amongst the Arab members

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[14] I am aware that the term 'culture' is a problematic one and it is not my aim here to join the debate on the definition of culture or what constitutes culture. In this thesis and in relation to the study of CS practice deployed by the study's sample, that is the small group of Arabic-English (late) bilingual friends in Manchester, this is how I view culture (as discussed in this section - 3.3.1).

[15] Most references are made in relation to Libyan and not Syrian culture as the majority of the participants are Libyan. Also, the participant who is originally Syrian does not identify strongly as such as she did not live in Syria, but only visited as an adult.

of this group itself. To make this process more achievable, I adopt the distinction Holliday (1999) makes between 'big culture' and 'small culture' (sub-culture) in order to comment on and explore the cultural practices and stereotypes that this 'social grouping' of bilingual speakers draw upon or make relevant in their interactions when deploying CS instances and the social meanings they link to each language and its users (Holliday, 1999:241). In other words, the way in which CS moves are explained in later chapters and their relevance to cultural stereotypes associated with the (Libyan) Arabic culture are tailored carefully to comment on this small group of (Libyan) Arab friends in Manchester, and no assumption is to be made that this could be applied unproblematically to the wider Arabic community or other Arabic-English bilingual groups, be they in Libya, Manchester, England or somewhere else.

3.3.2 Bilingual vs. Bicultural

It is important to make clear the distinction between the two terms 'bilingual' and 'bicultural', which are often believed to be co-existent. It is generally assumed that each one of these two terms automatically implies the other; therefore, it is important to make clear the distinction between the two terms: 'bilingual' and 'bicultural'. In fact, not every bilingual speaker is necessarily a bicultural individual and a bicultural individual is not by definition a bilingual (Grosjean, 1982:157). As Grosjean (2015:573) argues, 'biculturalism and bilingualism are not necessarily coexistent'. According to Grosjean (2015), a general criterion for an individual to be called a 'bicultural' is that she is an individual who is socially integrated into the host community as well as the community she shares ethnic ties with (Grosjean, 2015:575). No matter how partial, being bicultural entails being part of two communities besides adopting and behaving according to the lifestyle choices and cultural or ideological values generally accepted by members of both societies. A large number of bilingual speakers tend to become, to an extent, bicultural later as adults, generally those children of immigrants who were born in the host country.

It could also be argued that for young immigrants (or sojourners, as is the case with the current study participants), biculturalism is often an inevitable outcome of frequent contact made with members of the host community, which may account for

the high level of CS these individuals exhibit (discussed more fully in the remainder of this section). Before proceeding, it is important to clarify what I mean exactly by the 'host' community or 'native speakers of English', as there are an overwhelmingly large number of English varieties that are used in different parts of the world and thus, different cultural groups where English is considered the mother tongue. The culture in which English is used/referred to in this study is the British culture as the UK (England - more specifically) is the place where participants have been mostly socialised.

3.3.3 A change in language as a change of worldview?[16]

It is often claimed that it is ordinary and almost inevitable for bilinguals to experience a change in personality when switching between two languages. This change was extensively discussed in the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis', which was put forward initially by Sapir before it was developed into 'Linguistic relativity' after Whorf's contribution to it (Sapir 1929; Whorf, 1941, discussed in Pavlenko, 2014). The hypothesis proposes that the grammatical structure of a specific language determines the thought of speakers of that language, and thus influences their worldview, suggesting that speakers of different languages have different worldviews (discussed in Pavlenko, 2014:3). This claim was made as early as 1836 by the philosopher and linguist Humboldt who argued that *worldview* is what principally distinguishes one language from another (Translated in Humboldt, 1963:246, cited in Pavlenko, 2011:11). Thus, these hypotheses attribute the change in personality or worldview in speakers' experience to a set of abstract grammatical rules that are unique to each language, rather than the different ways in which each language is used by its native speakers or a specific group of language users.

The main argument behind the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis' has been refuted extensively. One clear reason for this is that the hypothesis does not consider the role of culture and socialisation, aspects that were acknowledged in later studies (discussed below). McWhorter (2014) argues that the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis suggests that a language learner can access the worldview of a community of speakers or start thinking like them by the mere acquisition of a set of abstract rules conditioning the language

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[16] Parts of this section have been edited and reused in an online blog post that has been published during my PhD (Ben Nafa, 2017).

they speak. McWhorter rightly argues that this hypothesis ignores an important pre-requisite of accessing/adopting a certain worldview: socialisation or integration (Polyglot Conference, 2016). For example, a recent study (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) showed how learners' engagement in L2 culture and frequent contact with native speakers may help learners to absorb a range of cultural and social values and expression styles, such as processing and expressing emotions. This supports the findings of an earlier study conducted by Pavlenko (2008), where she demonstrates how being exposed to L2 culture can facilitate increasing learners' emotional appropriateness in L2 acquisition of new emotion words and ways of perception or thinking in L2: a process she calls 'secondary affective socialisation'. Similarly, Lantolf (1999) suggests that 'immersion' in the host culture can make L2 learners (as may be the case with this study's participants) adopt the 'conceptual organisation and lexical paradigms' of that host culture, which I suggest can be reflected in the way they evaluate their experiences and the world around them and thus, how they process and express emotions while carrying out the evaluation process through instances of CS.

It is true that there are many empirical evidence-based studies, conducted by neo-Whorfians, which report that the way speakers perceive the world is, to a great extent, linked to the syntactic/lexical structure of their language. However, in line with the argument that this study poses, McWhorter argues that these abstract signs neither fully explain the way speakers of a certain language interact, socialise or view life nor do they tell us anything about the 'higher-level behavioural consequences' for a particular group of speakers (McWhorter, 2014:29). Instead, these abstract signs mainly highlight the cognitive 'subtle and, overall, minor' differences between different language groups (2014:xiv). McWhorter argues that minor differences in terms of Spanish speakers' spatial/time orientation (Casasanto, 2008), how quickly Russian speakers can distinguish different shades of the colour blue (Winawer et al., 2007) or the different ways speakers can navigate the space around them are not enough to be called a 'worldview' (McWhorter, 2014:6-8). McWhorter adds that culture should be associated more with cultural/social aspects of being.

By considering the crucial role of socialisation with 'native' speakers in adopting

a certain way of thinking/worldview, McWhorter concludes that 'language reflects culture/thought' and not the other way around (2014:27). He further claims this so-called change of perspective/worldview is a result of 'get[ting] yourself into a culture then (…) learn[ing] a different way of looking at life, not from the way the grammar works' (Polyglot Conference, 2016:43min 13).

3.3.4 A change in language as a change in (cultural) frame of references

To build on the argument that has been discussed so far, reports from bilingual writers who experience a feeling of being torn between two voices/selves further reinforce the effect culture is likely to have on the language and how it is utilised by its 'native' speakers. For those writers, the use of one language or another is not related to the language itself, but to the different scope each language can offer them. To the bilingual writer Ferrein Kellman, for example, 'writing in English is like looking (…) through a different pair of binoculars: It imposes a different mind-set' (2003:138, cited in Pavlenko, 2011:9). Todorov is another bilingual writer who describes the process of writing in two languages and the different selves he experiences as an act of 'double-thinking' (Pavlenko, 2014:207). There are some other bilingual writers who report their occasional preference for one language over another, which can be explained by their need to adopt a different stance/voice that can serve a particular purpose, which is better expressed in one code: a purpose that I argue later to be also reflected in, and relevant in explaining, the evaluative stances the participants make. Therefore, a shift in an attitude or stance can be argued to be translated into or realised through a switch into another language and the linguistic choices that bilingual speakers make. Interestingly, this shift is likely to be more prevalent when the two codes of a bilingual may interact, as in the case of CS, rather than the use of each language separately and the world view it prompts.

The early beginnings of examining the implications of the interaction of two languages was pursued by Ervin in her 1964 experiment, where she studied French-English late bilinguals and whether they process information differently in different languages. Participants were exposed to the same story in each language, and any differences in their subsequent reports and re-telling were investigated. After listening

to the retold stories, Ervin found that the content/theme of each story differed greatly depending on the language in which they were retold. For example, female characters in the French-based stories were mostly depicted as having less agency than they were in the English-based stories. Ervin attributed this content or 'topical' difference to the 'role or attitude shifts associated with contacts with the respective language communities' (1964:506). In other words, the presentation of these characters seems to be a reflection of the socio-cultural positions 'typically' adopted by French and English speakers, respectively. Ervin alludes to the role played by socialisation, which was found in later studies to be crucial, in enabling L2 speakers to adopt the worldview of the L2 community of 'native' speakers. However, Koven (1998:412) is right in pointing out that Ervin did not emphasise the role of culture enough as the reason for her participants' adoption of these positions, or suggest a way of furthering her argument.

Ervin's study was followed by many others whose results support the link between switching of languages and changes of 'personalities'/stances in bilinguals. For example, Pavlenko (2006) reports the results of a study she and Dewaele (2001-2003) conducted, where they recruited thousands of late bilinguals to answer specific questions in order to investigate the potential change of personality that is believed to accompany a switch of language. Similarly to Ervin's study, they found that the majority of those bilinguals reported 'that they become different people' when switching to the other language (Pavlenko, 2006:6), particularly when a change in a contextual variable occurred (Dewaele and Nakano, 2013:117). Taking the role of culture and socialisation into account, one could argue that what seems to be a change in worldview could be more accurately explained as a change in the bilingual speakers' stances or attitudes when switching to the other language. Along these lines, Grosjean (2015:584) argues that 'what seems as a personality change due to language shift may have nothing to do with language itself'. He adds that 'it is not a switch in language that triggers behavioural and attitudinal changes', but it is certain 'contexts and domains' that speakers find themselves in, and to which they react. As a result, switching to another language can be thought of as an expression of that change in behaviour or attitude.

Several recent studies have addressed this issue and have highlighted the

significant role played by processes of socialisation/integration in the possibility of adopting the worldview of a community of certain language users. One important study is that of Koven (1998) in which he investigated the different aspects of self-portrayal in first-person accounts of a group of French-Portuguese bilingual children. By conducting a qualitative content analysis of the candidates' accounts of past experiences in both languages, Koven found that the positions bilingual speakers took towards the events recollected in both narratives were different. He attributed this difference to the 'different socio-cultural identities' speakers perform in each language (1998:413). Above all, Koven reminds us that the identification of the different self-presentations made in either language, and the interaction between the two, require familiarity with the 'locally recognizable personas' enacted by each language group (1998:436). A later study that has achieved similar results in terms of the role of socialisation is that of Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004). Similarly, they examined the different cultural positions exhibited by Russian-English bilingual speakers in each language. A statistical survey was carried out to measure the (lack of) use of first-person (singular/plural) pronouns in narratives told by bilinguals in both languages. It was found that the speakers' utilisation of first-person pronouns correlated with the (collectivist/individualist) social orientation of speakers of each language. In other words, it was found that speakers used fewer first-person pronouns in their Russian narrative than they did in the narratives told in English.

Pavlenko summarises the 'different frames of references' emerging as a result of the interaction of two languages in the mind, a process reflected in the ways bilinguals change their stances/positions while using both languages (2014:244-245). Two of the frames of reference which are relevant to this study are 'internalisation' and 'co-existence'. First, 'internalisation' refers particularly to the case of advanced L2 speakers (late bilinguals) whose changes of stance are likely to be a result of their high levels of socialisation with the L2 host community and the absorption of its values (2014:245; Dewaele, 2005). Such changes in stance might develop to result in a preference as regards positions/stances usually adopted in one language (e.g. L2) over another (e.g. L1) (2014:247). Second, 'co-existence' describes a point where bilinguals' changes of stance reflect a balance between stances used by both language groups, and 'in

accordance with the constraints placed by each language' without having a specific preference for either (2014:246). This could be a useful way of explaining the change of position bilingual speakers make when they code-switch, regarding it as an attempt on the part of bilinguals to make sense of, or live in harmony with, both cultural positions (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000:160). That said, none of these studies seem to have fully explored the presentation of self when speakers use/switch between the two languages in the same situation/narrative. This is one of the main aspects the current study aims to explore, through analysing a group of bilingual speakers' change of stance while code-switching between Arabic and English.

3.3.5 CS as a token of 'Emotional Acculturation'

Based on what has been discussed so far in this section, I would like to argue that speakers of a certain language group may utilise their language in a way that highlights or reinforces their cultural practices and needs; therefore, their 'language will have words and expressions for aspects of culture' (McWhorter, 2014:60). In the discipline of (Social and Cultural) Psychology, it is widely argued that 'emotions are cultural products' (Mesquita, 2016:presentation; Mesquita & Leu, 2007; Mesquita, 2003). Many studies carried out in the field have found that individuals' reactions to emotional or attitudinal situations is attributed to dominant values in the community one (used to) belong(s) to (Mesquita, 2003: 871). However, emotions can also be 'regulated' or 'acculturated' to become closer to that of the host community to which a group of immigrants (sojourners in this case) moves (De Leersnyder et al., 2011, 2013; Mesquita et al., 2014). Emotional Acculturation is defined as the 'process by which immigrants come to share the host culture's most prevalent patterns of emotional experiences' (De Leersnyder et al., 2013:127).

Different language groups could be stressing - differently - certain phrases in order to cater for their specific expressive needs. For example, in an earlier study they conducted, Markus & Kitayama (1991) found that different groups of individuals (Asians vs. Americans) report having different emotional/cognitive experiences and present themselves differently, due to a number of different cultural aspects associated with the society to which each group belongs. Mesquita & Karasawa (2002) also found that

Americans expressed more positive 'pleasant' emotions/attitudes towards their lives than Asians did, overall (2002:136). Pavlenko (2008) rightly explains that people tend to experience the same emotions, but different languages might provide 'different means' to process and express these feelings (2008:150). Thus, switching between languages can be considered a facilitating tool that bilingual speakers use to express a certain evaluative or emotional stance that a specific language triggers, leading those bilinguals to take specific positions or stances often associated with that particular language.

As emotions are perceived as cultural products in this study, bilingual speakers, through CS, can be considered to be adopting and choosing certain ways of taking evaluative stances, or particular emotional expressions that they associate very strongly with speakers of the host culture - British society, in this case. The study, therefore, argues that CS is an implicit sign of emotional acculturation, a process where bilingual speakers carry out evaluation/take up evaluative stances through making use of (emotional) expressions or attitudes they adopted as a result of the socialisation process they have gone through (and are still going through) in the host society. The reason bilingual speakers adopt certain emotional expressions when code-switching is probably because of what Bakhtin (1986:89) calls 'evaluative tone' or attitude that the 'words of others carry with them'. Thus, taking into account the evaluative stances this study's participants take up, it is safe to say that this group of bilinguals are, to a great extent, bicultural or on their way to becoming so. The type of evaluative stances they take is an illustration of how they 'combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved'; characteristics that Grosjean (2015:575) as well as Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2007) regard as signs of biculturalism. Thus, I would argue that the use of CS to take up evaluative stances signals not only an attitudinal shift, but also a cultural shift.

To conclude, and building on what has been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the current study's participants' attitudinal stances are regarded as being translated or formulated in the form of emotional responses or expressions. As has been shown in the APPRAISAL section (3.2 above), these emotional responses are realised through 'attitude categories', which express the process of evaluation - or APPRAISAL, to be more specific - that can be implied in the participants' CS instances.

The current chapter and the previous one (chapters 2 and 3), which have made up the literature review part of this thesis, discussed the different threads upon which this study pulls (CS, identity and stance) in order to make the investigation of the participants' CS instances and the identity-related aspects behind these instances (or the evaluative stances taken up) possible and systematic. By adopting a parsing tool such as APPRAISAL (SFL-based model), this thesis aims to demonstrate how this model can allow for a refined analysis of the participants' CS evaluative moves and the attitudinal motivations behind their CS practice. In order to incorporate the APPRAISAL model in my analysis, I proposed a framework (see section 3.2 above) to examine the attitudinal stances inferred from the participants CS moves by identifying the linguistic choices (lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic) that the bilingual participants utilise to take up their evaluative CS instances. In addition to APPRAISAL, borrowing concepts, such as 'emotional acculturation' from Cultural Psychology may help to explore the cultural and ideological orientations of these bilingual speakers and the social meanings/cultural values they associate with each language (group): Arabic vs. British.

The following chapter gives an account of the methodological decisions taken throughout the thesis, in relation to data collection and analysis. It, moreover, gives a detailed account of the study's participants and the type of community they could potentially belong to. The chapter then discusses my role as an insider researcher and the ways in which I positioned myself in relation to the participants and dealt with the dilemma of the 'observer paradox' (Labov, 1972). Finally, the chapter also builds on the APPRAISAL model, which was introduced in section 3.2 above in the current chapter, as it explains how this model is applied to the CS data presented and discussed in this thesis.

4: Methodology

This chapter explains and justifies the methods used to collect and analyse data in this thesis. The study utilises a mixed method approach, both in terms of data collection and analysis. It combines naturally occurring interactions and critical ethnography, using three different analytic methods or frameworks: DA, stance and the APPRAISAL model. These methods were brought together to examine the stance variation in the CS patterns deployed by this group of bilinguals and to explore the evaluative impact and the attitudes that are in play as speakers code-switch in both an individual and a relational manner. Thus, these methods help to investigate the stylistic exploitation of CS and how it highlights speakers' ideologies and orientations.

4.1 Analytic Framework

The aim of this section is to outline the current study's framework, which informs both the processes of data collection and analysis. The study's theoretical foundation lies mainly in the tradition of IS, combined with the methods of ethnography, DA, and the analytic tool of stance: a widely-used, qualitative approach in many recent VS studies. Due to the nature of the study and the questions it addresses, a qualitative approach is taken in analysing most data (comprising mainly of informal interactions). However, tentative quantitative analysis is carried out (see chapter 5) to gain statistical information about the main CS patterns deployed by each of the participants and to relate these patterns to the different stances taken up by the participants.

Through the development of his 'ethnography of communication' (1964), Hymes drew attention to the importance of investigating situated instances of language use; in other words, studying language as it is used in real, specific contexts and as a part of everyday life activities (Hymes, 1964:2-3). The concept emerged as a reaction to the distinction made between 'competence' and 'performance' and the alleged inadequacy of the latter to account for instances of language use as made by actual (as opposed to 'ideal') speakers. Attention later started to be focused on exploring how the production

of linguistic utterances varies and can be attributed to the context or the communicative purpose these utterances are used for (1964:6). Ethnography has since been introduced and utilised gradually in sociolinguistic studies as a qualitative research method or approach. It has also played a crucial role in advocating and developing qualitative, emic (bottom-up) sociolinguistic research as opposed to the survey studies carried out in early Labovian VS studies. Before going into detail about ethnography, I first discuss the main theoretical framework of this study: IS.

4.1.1 Interactional Sociolinguistics

Gumperz, the founding thinker of IS, defines it as an approach 'that [qualitatively] account[s] for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice' (Gumperz, 2001:215). Through recording and analysing features of speech occurring in a range of natural settings, the aim of IS is to examine the social and cultural norms which are claimed to be embedded within (spoken) discourse (Bailey, 2008:2317). Through 'contextualisation cues' - the specific aspects or particles of discourse - meaning is created (Schiffrin, 1994:106). Further to analysing the local (here and now) context of discourse, the background knowledge (e.g. linguistic and cultural orientation) of interactants is investigated and considered an invaluable resource in controlling discourse/language and thus inferring meaning (Bailey, 2008:2314).

Interaction is another important dimension of everyday talk, according to IS (Schiffrin, 1994:351). In addition to linking language use to speakers' social identity categories, IS regards speakers' use of language as mainly a 'form of social interaction' (Gumperz, 1972:205) that is both goal-oriented and contextually appropriate (*Ibid*). IS specifically addresses the emerging nature of meaning and how it is locally constructed as an interaction unfolds (Schiffrin, 1994:134). According to Schiffrin, discourse is considered both interactional and relational in the sense that meaning is made through speakers' successive turns where a speaker's following turn is based on and a response to her interactant's preceding turn (Schiffrin, 1994:351).

As an anthropologist, Gumperz (1982b) utilised IS in exploring intercultural

communication and the different social effects or connotations arising from the use of the same linguistic channels by speakers belonging to different communities. Gumperz also studied the linguistic practices of speakers in bilingual and multilingual societies where he found that the 'choice of one language over another has the same significance as the selection among lexical alternates in linguistically homogenous society' (Gumperz, 1972:220). In examining the two varieties used by speakers in the Norwegian community he studied (1964), he found that the CS patterns exhibited by speakers were based on a group of norms and rules of talk that speakers shared and agreed on; thereby making their communication (CS acts) meaningful. Regarding the indispensable role of ethnography, Gumperz adds that

> even after the material has been recorded, it is sometimes impossible to evaluate its social significance in the absence of ethnographic knowledge about social norms governing linguistic choice in the situation recorded

> (Gumperz, 1970:9, cited in Saville-Torike, 2008:7)

Despite promoting the role of ethnography in investigating social identity performance through the CS practices of Norwegian speakers, Gumperz hardly utilised ethnography in exploring the identity-related motivations of the speakers he studied and in examining what the use of each code meant for them. Instead, speakers' motivations behind CS were mainly linked to wider social structures and norms.

4.1.2 Ethnography

Before discussing how ethnography is later adopted in bi/multilingual studies, I first give an account of 'ethnography' as a concept and how it is approached in this study. Ethnography can be defined as the process of carrying out fieldwork in a specific community and observing the everyday life and linguistic activities of some of its members (speakers) in order to describe and study the social and cultural norms that govern their communicative behaviour (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:1). Hymes notes that ethnography is 'the least likely to produce a world in which experts control knowledge at the expense of those who are studied' (Hymes, 1980:105). Therefore,

taking an ethnographic approach to data means taking a bottom-up approach, in which a study's participants or members of the community, their views, responses and behaviours are the starting point of departure for a researcher. This usually includes observing, taking part in activities and acting as a 'native' member of the group; having conversations (including semi-structured interviews) with the participants; keeping a journal or making field notes, etc. (Saville-Troike, 2008:3; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:185). In sociolinguistic studies, ethnography helps account for the linguistic choices produced by participants and how they can be explained through examining speakers' attitudes and beliefs. Explaining linguistic practices is also possible through close attention to speakers' perception of their own practices and those of their interactants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:6).

The most traditional role an ethnographer may take is that of the participant observer (Clifford, 1986:1; Davies, 1999:67), where a researcher mainly observes but also participates in the lives of her participants to obtain a first-hand account of their (linguistic) practices as they are situated in a range of contexts and activities. My role as an insider researcher, however, means adopting a slightly different role to that adopted by researchers who are not part of the community they are studying. Thus, this study is not a 'classic' ethnographic one, yet, I would argue that my role as insider researcher allowed me to take a deeper and different approach to ethnography (See section 4.5 below for more details on my positioning as an insider researcher). Apart from the first-hand and deep insights I could gain because of the close relationship I have with each of the participants, I could afford to skip time-consuming stages, such as that of negotiating entry and seeking acceptance from the participants (Stocking, 1983:7).

4.1.3 (Critical) Ethnography and Multilingualism

A more dynamic approach to CS is one that moved away from Gumperz's: an approach that focused mainly on the mechanism of interactions among speakers while they are socialising in different mundane settings (Martin-Jones & Gardner, 2012:2). The alternative approach adopted in this study is a dynamic one, contextualised within postmodern theory and developed mainly by two anthropologists: Heller (1988, 1992) and Woolard (1985) (*Ibid*). They introduced 'Critical, Ethnographic Sociolinguistics' as

the tradition under which their investigation of CS practices lies, emphasising the primary role of ethnography in such an investigation (Martin-Jones & Gardner, 2012:3). As an approach that focuses on the language used in local sites (Heller, 1999:14-15), it mainly examines how bilinguals' utilisation of CS in local practices is considered an indexical tool through which speakers create meaning and achieve identity-related goals (Heller, 1988:3). More importantly, speakers are considered subjects who have the agency to and possibility to deliberately choose one code over another: a linguistic choice that can be highly ideological and reflect, as well as challenge, wider societal structures (Garret, 2007:235). Heller (2008) promotes the role of ethnography and how it may 'allow us to see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of peoples' lives' (2008:250). Finnis (2013) is one of the few researchers in the bilingual field who adopts this approach ('practice-based/in-site') to make sense of the CS practices of a London Greek-Cypriot community group (Georgakopoulou & Finnis, 2009:469). She demonstrates quite convincingly how this group of bilinguals utilise CS to create a 'new space' for themselves. Thereby, they 'not only create identities [based on] socially and culturally derived positions but also [identities based on] desiring and fantasizing personas' (*Ibid*).

4.1.4 Discourse Analysis

Another important component of the current analytic framework is that of DA. DA is one of the many linguistic terms that is notoriously vague and is used broadly by different scholars to refer to different analytical practices (Wooffitt, 2005:2). For these reasons, this section gives an account of what is particularly meant by DA in this study. As a qualitative analytic tool, and regardless of the type of data under analysis, adopting DA means carrying out a process of 'systematic reading and listening, choosing and collecting [of data]' (Johnstone, 2000:104). Furthermore, Johnstone describes it as a process of 'translation' where a participant's discourse is unpacked and made familiar (1996:23). DA examines both the form and the function of certain units of language (linguistic utterances) and explores how speakers produce these utterances and manage the stylistic variation of such utterances (Johnstone, 2000:103,112).

In its early days, DA was based on the main conceptualisations of its precedent,

CA, which explains the main feature they both share - that of carrying out a moment-by-moment (micro) analysis of discourse (Bailey, 2008:2316). In addition, DA is also influenced by Anthropology through its emphasis on the social/cultural norms speakers acknowledge and draw on in their discourse (*Ibid*). However, DA and CA differ at many levels, specifically their approach to carrying out what each considers a fine-grained analysis of data. For example, they differ in the extent to which they consider the relevance of context in interpreting the meaning of discourse. Unlike the dependency of DA on the context inside and outside of the interaction, CA practitioners consider any kind of contextual information outside the 'immediate' context of a conversation, such as the macro identity labels of interactants, irrelevant (Johnstone, 2000:80). Instead, and only through their interactional moves, speakers may construct a relevant context upon which an interpretation of their speech is based. CA is widely criticised for its dismissal of the wider social context that could inform the interpretation of an instance of language use, together with the utilisation of local ethnographic information about the interactants (Duranti, 1998:222-223).

While CA is interested in the social organisation of speakers' consecutive turns, which are highly structured and are carried out to perform interactional goals (Wooffitt, 2005:6-8,42), DA emerged as a problematisation of 'regularities in discourse' (Wooffitt, 2005:17). DA highlights the partial representation of reality that an interactional event can provide (*Ibid*). Gilbert and Mulkay (1984:7, cited in Wooffitt, 2005:18) argue that

> discourse can never be taken as simply descriptive of (…) social action to which it refers, no matter how uniform [it] appear[s] to be

DA also acknowledges the multiplicity and wide range of possible meanings that can be inferred from a linguistic utterance, and attributes such multiplicity to variability in the context of production/perception e.g. setting, interlocutors, etc. (Wooffitt, 2005:17,35). This also means variability in the form of linguistic utterances that speakers may exploit to reflect and construct a new/different version of reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1994:55). To investigate and infer the intent of speakers when producing a specific linguistic utterance, DA regards instances of variation as contextualisation cues that could help

researchers to gain an insight into speakers' attitudes and how they wish to represent themselves (Schiffrin, 1994:10). By considering both the speakers' local practices and pre-existing social categories/the wider social context, an analyst may understand how an instance of variation can be linked to and explained by the 'communicative activity type' a speaker is involved in (Schiffrin, 1994:100).

4.1.5 Stance: an explanation of variation

As has been discussed in the previous section, DA is the main, but general analytic tool adopted within the tradition of IS to investigate speakers' attitudes and intentions. In this study, I adopt the analytic tool of stance (discussed in section 3.1 above) as a more specific version of DA which equips analysts to carry out a refined examination of variation in CS patterns exhibited by bilingual speakers, using an even more specific set of stance types through adopting the APPRAISAL Model (See section 3.2 above). Similarly to DA, the approach of stance places the individual speaker at the heart of the investigation in order to explore the link between variations in a participant's CS patterns and her self-presentation, as well as the way she negotiates aspects of her identity (Johnstone, 1996:3, 16). CS studies are not usually classified as variationist in nature and are discussed more under the tradition of IS; however, this study approaches CS and the different patterns it could be realised in from both an interactional and a variationist sociolinguistic point of view.

Through incorporating the approach of stance to investigate CS (as 'discourse level' or higher-level linguistic' variables) this study engages with the on-going discussion concerning the effectiveness of utilising the variationist-based tool of stance, together with DA and ethnography (Schilling-Estes, 2004:165) to examine how identity is enacted on various levels.

4.2 Research Population

This section provides information about the study's participants, and their linguistic and social background.

4.2.1 Participants' Profiles

This sample is a 'purposive' or a 'judgemental' one (Lanza, 2008:83). The five participants are my friends and were selected after a close and long observation of their CS patterns, which I hypothesised to be relevant for my study and which could potentially be utilised for addressing the identity-related issues of CS. The Arabic-English bilingual community in Manchester, as well as in England more generally, is very heterogeneous; thus, this sample is not claimed to be a representative one. This group was specifically recruited because of their unique CS patterns and the social meanings (stances) associated with them, but not because they are representative of other Arabic-English bilingual groups in any sense, particularly when it comes to the stances which often differ across different bilingual groups. My sample is a group of five female, adult Arab speakers, four of whom - in addition to myself - are Libyan and came to the UK as students from around seven to nine years ago. Most of them have a very advanced/'native-like' command of English: five are 'late bilinguals' whereas the fifth is an 'early bilingual' whose family moved to the UK when she was a child. The participants' ages ranged from 27 to 38 at the end of the project in 2018. Everybody within this social circle has known everybody else from a range of different contexts (e.g. family, school, university), as well as some of each other's' families and acquaintances, for a considerable amount of time; thus, they can be considered to constitute a 'multiplex' social network (Milroy, 1987:81).

It is worth giving a short account of each of the five participants, including their personal traits, linguistic background and their journey to England and the kind of relationship each one has with the rest of the group. Some of these accounts are either based on my personal and frequent contact with them or on the answers they gave in the questionnaires/interviews. A separate section, which can be found later in this chapter (4.5), is dedicated to the researcher, where I provide a personal account of my (linguistic) background. The participants (as ordered in the table 4.1 below) are as follows:

Table 4.1: The profile of the study's participants (including the insider researcher)

Pseudonyms	Age[17]	Age of Arrival to UK	L2 AoA	Education	English Level	Employment Status
Narjis	(35-37)	1-4/11+	Arabic - 4	BSc Pharmacy	Native	House wife
Zainab	(33-35)	27	12	PhD Biomedical Science	Advanced	Research assistant at university
Hanan[18]	(26-28)	20	10	PhD Linguistics (Current)	Native-like	Student
Kamila	(25-27)	19	12	PhD Linguistics	Native-like	Student
Aya	(26-28)	19	11	BSc Food and Nutrition	Advanced /native-like	Unemployed
Fadia	(23-25)	18	10	PhD Education (Current)	Native-like	Student

1. Narjis. Different from the rest of the group, Narjis is a second-generation immigrant (a mother, and a daughter of a labour migrant) and has been living in England since she was a teenager (11 years old). She also spent her early childhood (1-4 years old) in England before her family moved to Kuwait when she was four. She lived in Kuwait - where her interactions were made mainly in Arabic - and stayed there until she turned 11. She classifies herself as 'English-Arabic' bilingual as English is noticeably her dominant language (spoken and written) despite the fact that she is 'native' in Arabic as well, particularly in terms of her speaking skills. Unlike the instructed context where the other five - including me - acquired English, Narjis first acquired English when she was one year old, when her family (originally Syrian/Palestinian) first moved to the UK.

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[17] This refers to the age range of the participants during the data collection period, which lasted about 2 years (2015-2017).
[18] Researcher's real name

2. Zainab. Although she and the other four participants can be classified as 'late, Arabic-English' bilinguals, her speaking fluency in English is not as 'native-like' as the rest (based both on her self-assessment given in the questionnaire and my own observation). Her accent is relatively heavy and does not sound as 'native-like' as the other four. This might be linked to the fact that her age of onset of (English) acquisition can be considered the same as her age when she arrived in the target language context (England). Although she started learning English at approximately the same age as the other four (11 years old on average), she arrived in 2008, at a much older age - 27 - to the rest (average of 20.6 years old) which means that she was then several years past what is known as the 'sensitive period'[19] (Oyama, 1976) in contrast to the other four. It is important to note here that my observations related to fluency/competence in English are not based on standardised proficiency measures. Instead, I relied on how participants classified themselves in the questionnaire and how fluent they sound when using English over the years I have known them in. Her age of arrival might have affected her ability to speak fluently and pick up an English native accent (Oyama, 1976; Long, 1990).

Zainab tends to be calm, friendly and tolerant. She keeps regular contact with her uncle who migrated to the UK more than 20 years ago. She is also very competent in Modern Standard Arabic, which can be argued to be a second language to most Arabs, occasionally writing prose and poetry in the regional (southern) dialect of the Libyan Arabic that she speaks.

3. Kamila. She arrived in the UK in 2009 and met Narjis and Zainab in 2011, but has known Aya and me since adolescence when we attended the same school in Tripoli, Libya. She has also been friends with Fadia since 2007, with whom she spent the first year of university. She has a native-like command of English, with a fluent American accent. She is somewhat logical and speaks very quickly in both languages. Kamila also tends to be quite sharp, and cannot help commenting on others or pointing out the flaws and contradictions in their statements or views. She had been living with her older brother in Manchester, but since 2015, she has been living with the rest of her family

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[19] It is worth mentioning that the concept of 'critical/sensitive period' is hugely debatable now and that there have been many studies that countered this idea (e.g., Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2009).

who have left Libya and joined them.

4. Aya. She is the only participant who lived in Reading rather than Manchester during the study. She was in her final year of a BSc at the beginning of the study. However, she had to leave the UK after finishing her BSc course at the end of 2015. This had some consequences on the data collection process as she was the only participant for whom I recorded one recording only, while each of the other participants took part in at least three recordings. She has known me and Kamila since we were in primary school in Libya and met the rest of the group in 2011 on a visit to Manchester. She used to pay regular visits to Manchester to meet with the members of the group. She is the only participant who was not accompanied by a family member. Aya is a very positive and an easy-going person.

5. Fadia. She was the youngest to arrive in the UK (18 years old) and is living in Manchester with her younger brother. She speaks exceptionally fluent English with an American accent and has a very western taste in music. She is a very nice and light-hearted individual with a good sense of humour, including putting on fake (British) accents, which seems to appeal to the rest of the group. She met most of the group members in 2011 in Manchester.

4.2.2 Recruitment:

The recruitment process was a straightforward one as the participants are my friends. The study's main participants were the same bilingual speakers I recruited for my Masters dissertation (Ben Nafa, 2013) in which I explored the same topic, CS, focusing on its structural and functional aspects. Before I embarked upon this project, I had checked with the potential participants, asked for their availability and whether they would be able to commit, particularly because their role can be very demanding in terms of the time they are required to spend taking part in recordings, interviews, etc. They were also told in advance that this study would involve exploring the link between their CS patterns and identities. There was no need to carry out a pilot study, as I was already familiar with the CS patterns they exhibited. I anticipated that certain sociological variables, such as the level of proficiency in both languages and the CS intensity shown

in the previous study were likely to occur again, which proved to be correct once I started collecting data.

4.3 What kind of community is it?

This section gives an account of the nature of the study's participants, the community they may belong to, and the way in which they can be referred to as a collective group of speakers. It explains why none of the most cited conceptualisations of speakers, such as Speech Community (henceforward SC) and Community of Practice (henceforward CofP), are suitable for labelling this group of speakers and the linguistic practice they exhibit. However, it is beyond the scope of this section to offer a more detailed overview or a critique of these concepts as this has already been done thoroughly elsewhere (See Rampton, 2009; Patrick, 2002; Coupland, 2001; Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Later in this section, I introduce the term 'Shared Stance Group', which I adopt in order to accommodate the identity-related motivations (stances) that underlie the CS practice of this group of speakers: a feature that cannot be accounted for adequately by any of the above-mentioned concepts.

4.3.1 Speech Community

Based on the linguistic patterns Labov observed in his city-based research in New York (1966), the SC was developed as a way of documenting the strong correlations that were found between speakers' 'abstract patterns of [linguistic] variation' and their macro identity categories, such as class (Labov, 1972:120-1). The uniformity of language variation patterns among speakers of different social classes were attributed to how they perceive 'standard' variants as prestigious: an evaluation within which they are socialised (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015:65). However, as Eckert (2014) rightly argues, the small percentage of speakers who do not conform to these mainstream evaluations, which is likely to trigger non-conformity to the linguistic production/style-shifting patterns of the majority of speakers, are not acknowledged in such large-scale studies and are probably considered 'inauthentic' (2014:43). In relation to what might be called the SC of Arabic speakers across the Arab world, or the so-called SC[20] of Arabic speakers,

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[20] Such a term is not officially coined, but I use it here to refer generally to speakers of Arabic as L1 or monolingual Arabic speakers.

the participants of the current study are probably 'inauthentic' members as they are very different in their linguistic production and perception from monolingual Arabic speakers. Their high command of English renders them bilinguals who ordinarily code-switch and feel the need to code-switch occasionally when conversing with monolinguals of either language, especially Arabic. Even if these speakers were to be classified as members of the 'Arabic speaking SC', determining the criteria for such a membership is a challenging task upon which to embark. This is partly because of the existing various regional dialects of Arabic and the two different dialects (Libyan and Syrian/Palestinian Arabic) spoken by the participants in this study. Even in the case of languages which are not diglossic, it is never the case that there is a single variety, and even when a standard variety exists, users will still vary in their production and perception of it.

In addition, due to the 'slippery' nature of the SC concept (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003:56), speakers nowadays can belong simultaneously to many speech communities and it is risky to prioritise their membership in one over another, even when dealing with such a small group, which can, at first, be thought of as homogenous. Thus, the concept of SC cannot accommodate every one of the number of communities around the world which this small group of participants can possibly be part of (Anderson, 1991; Damari, 2011:25-26). A non-exhaustive list of these communities could include: Arabs around the world, Arabs in western Europe, English speakers, Libyans, Syrians, Syrians around the world, Palestinians/Syrians/Libyans in diaspora, Libyans in the UK/England, (Arab) PhD students, Libyan students in the UK, Libyans/Syrians in Manchester, bilinguals, Arabic-English bilinguals, etc.

4.3.2 Linguistic Community

In addition to the reasons mentioned above regarding the inadequacy of SC, it is a concept that one cannot even start to attempt to consider applying in the poststructuralist and multilingual life of today, which Rampton (2009:698) describes as a 'life without community'. Another concept that was developed a few years before Labov's SC is Gumperz's 'linguistic community' (Gumperz, 1962). It is a concept that acknowledges the heterogeneity of the modern society that is mainly bi/multilingual

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(1962:31). Similarly to Labov, Gumperz considered language to be a central component of this community; however, he did not necessarily view it as an objective means through which wider societal structures are reflected to the same degree. Instead, language in the 'linguistic community' is regarded as an interactive medium through which a specific group of speakers portray a specific social/cultural identity that makes them different from other groups, which could be using the same linguistic system (Hymes, 1974). Therefore, 'shared norms' is an important criterion for forming such a community. Unlike the macro identity labels that were thought to govern the formation of speech communities in Labov's studies, social norms, such as ethnic/cultural affiliation and patterns of behaviour, are components of the 'shared body of verbal signs' used by members of the SC as revisited later by Gumperz (1968:219). Despite it being a concept that is theorised locally and in which the utilisation of linguistic cues is shared and agreed on by a certain group of speakers (Patrick, 2002:22), the word 'norms' implies that group members need to comply with certain ways of speaking and behaviour prior to their membership in that community. Similarly to the case of SC, speakers' agency does not play a role in forming these type of communities (Coupland, 2010:3); instead, speakers seem to be classified automatically as part of a certain SC as long as certain social criteria are met.

As is the case with many other Arab communities living in Europe, the social norms of members of the Libyan community in England/Manchester are too heterogeneous to form a SC. Apart from the linguistic system they share (Libyan Arabic),[21] their norms (social, religious, etc.) differ, as is the case with other communities in the modern world. One of the reasons behind this is, for instance, the way in which the ethnic affiliation of many North Africans is traditionally thought to be linked to their religious identity (Cesari, 2002:39). Thus, when defining oneself as Libyan, one may run the risk of being perceived as a certain kind of Libyan, usually with strong nationalist sentiments, which can be difficult to articulate due to the current situation in Libya and the divisions within the society. In addition to some inevitable differences in the community members' linguistic production, the link to the community also assigns a

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[21] It is worth mentioning that Libyan Arabic, like all the other Arabic dialects, is made up of different sub-dialects, let alone the Amazigh language, which is spoken by some Libyans.

certain religious membership to an individual when presenting themselves as Libyan. The religious practices of many Libyans and the sectors they follow, both inside and outside Libya, vary greatly, which makes the label 'Muslim' problematic and too broad a criterion for labelling many Libyans in Manchester/England. Instead, it could be argued that many young Libyans, including the study's participants, have managed to separate religion and daily postmodern life: an important step towards integration and co-existence in today's Europe.

4.3.3 Other 'Social' and 'Discourse' Communities

One of the least cited concepts that deals with linguistic communities is Nystrand's concept of 'Discourse Community' (1982). Herzberg (1986:1, cited in Swales, 1990:21) defines it as one where language is used to

> signify a cluster of ideas: that language use in a group is a form of special behaviour (…) a means of maintaining and extending the groups' knowledge

The term was first coined to refer to the kind of discourse and registers academics learn and adopt in their academic writing style, before it was later adopted to also refer to spoken discourse. The potential applicability of this term arises from its focus on 'language' as the most important means of communication. Unlike the last two concepts, where the potential of language to construct meaning is compromised and language is instead 'inadvertently' used to reflect pre-existing identity elements, such as ethnicity and class, language here governs the practice of its users in a central way. Nevertheless, language is used in quite an abstract and objective sense with no role to play in forming social links between writers/speakers (Swales, 1990:23). Thus, while linguistic elements are secondary to the social context in 'linguistic/speech communities', it is the social context here that is separated from the linguistic one.

4.3.4 Social Networks

Due to its close-knit and multiplex nature, this group can potentially lend itself to the social network concept as well. The concept is useful in the way it regards individual

speakers and the interpersonal relationship between them as a point of departure for linguistic analysis (bottom-up model) (Milroy & Milroy, 1992:854). Thus, subjectivity plays a somewhat significant role in creating a certain network whose members have the freedom to choose other network members with whom they agree on a certain language use and interpretation. However, the homogenous way of speaking among members of a network is a response to external factors (e.g. class, rival social network/group), driving them to converge gradually with other network members, and to maintain and perpetuate the use of particular features or variants of a dialect. Individual speakers in this concept are therefore not considered as agents in terms of their linguistic production, but serving a collective goal instead. This is certainly not the case with this study's participants whose linguistic choices are, to a great extent, individual ones and are driven by a certain ideology that the speakers happen to share because of a number of factors, such as linguistic proficiency, friendship, experience of being a student in the UK, and similar attitudes, orientations and means of expression (discussed in full in chapter 5 and 6).

4.3.5 Community of Practice

I do not expect that the speakers in this study, and the identity-related motivations associated with their CS patterns, can be regarded as creating a CofP. The concept of CofP within Linguistics was utilised in Eckert's study of two groups of adolescents' linguistic construction of social meaning (1989), which marked the beginning of the third wave of VS. It came as a response to the previous abstraction of language from its social context (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 1992), highlighting the importance of considering the local practices in which speakers engage in making sense of variation in their linguistic choices. CofP is an adaptation of Wenger's CofP where 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise', and 'shared repertoire' among its members make up its main dimensions (Wenger, 1998:72; Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992:464). The original term's focus on negotiation as a means to achieve goals was utilised conveniently to account for how the linguistic variables produced by adolescents gain their meaning when employed as part of an interactive, social practice. Importantly, the social meaning of a certain linguistic variable is practice-based and can be (re)constructed regularly, depending on the activity a linguistic variable is embedded in and triggered by (Meyerhoff, 2002).

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Despite considering the use of linguistic feature(s) by members of a CofP a social action in its own right and as important as the practices in which it is used (Bucholtz, 1999:210), the linguistic and the social do not seem to be regarded as equally important in negotiating speakers' identities. The CofP is criticised for prioritising practice over language and giving much more attention to speakers' activities rather than their linguistic production and variation (Coupland, 2010:5). Also, the identities of speakers are practice-based and are exclusively constructed through their participation in that community, but there is no indication of how these identities, for example, continue to be constructed outside of certain practices. Based on this criticism and the nature of the study's participants' relationships, I do not think the term accurately describes this group of participants. This is mainly because apart from meeting and chatting, the study's participants do not carry out any other specific group tasks that can be easily identified as a 'practice'. Instead, the participants' CS practice seems to be triggered more by the attitudes and the views this group of speakers share and associate with each language than by a number of group tasks.

4.3.6 'Shared Stance' Group

Speakers who share a certain linguistic style need not be participating in an actual practice, such as skipping classes, wearing a 'straight-legged cut jeans' (Eckert, 1989) or spending time in the school backyard. A shared speaking style should not only be confined to a specific practice, but can be realised abstractly in the form of values or attitudes a group of speakers may share. Rampton (2009:699-703) suggests the 'language ideologies' approach as an inclusive and a broader term to refer to how the stylistic exploitation of some linguistic features can index a group of speakers' ideologies and orientations. For instance, I noticed that speakers in my group rarely engage in a specific practice, apart from having a meal or coffee while conversing, and still share, to a great extent, a number of stances that underlie their CS patterns. While it is true that the gathering of a group of friends can still be argued to be a kind of practice regardless of its details, this practice does not involve behaving or dressing in a specific way. This is not to say that this group do not have their own norms and preferences, but they are not as ritualistic and essential as certain practices seem to be for some CofPs. Also, the CS style they share is by no means dependent on everyday contact or has been

developed during the process of working together towards achieving a certain goal. This does not mean, however, that frequent contact was not, at some point at the beginning of their friendship, an important factor in testing and naturalising their CS style.

Based on the points made above, CofP is not the right concept to account for the variety of stances speakers take up and which I argue throughout to be the reason behind the different CS instances they deploy. This was also the conclusion arrived at by other scholars carrying out similar studies that consider stance a tool that can trigger speakers' linguistic variation. For example, Damari (2011:27) argues that while one

> would certainly expect stances to be part of the repertoire of a community of practice (...) this study shows that speakers need not participate in a shared community of practice to have a shared stance repertoire

Therefore, and taking into account the similar stances this group of speakers take, I prefer to call this group a 'Shared stance group' since stance is the main indexical tool they all utilise for meaning making and enacting their social identities. I also call it a 'group' and not a 'community' to emphasise the exclusive number of speakers who can possibly agree on the list of stances they take up while code-switching or utilising any other linguistic feature(s). The shared stance group can then be defined as a group of speakers who utilises similar linguistic means to take up similar evaluative stances that in turn index their shared attitudes and evaluations.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

To approach bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective means that CS is regarded as social action and a bilingual speaker is a 'social actor' who shapes and constructs her reality through linguistic variation (Wei, 2008:12). Similarly, an ethnographic approach considers CS a means of 'social action' through which speakers use language to *do things* and achieve an outcome (Moyer, 2008:22). In relation to the main question this study aims to answer - identifying and interpreting the stances speakers take up when they code-switch - an ethnographic approach to collecting data is particularly useful as it 'sheds light on the ideological stances that get reproduced through linguistic practices'

(2008:22). Recent studies of bilingualism have been utilising combined-method approaches and ethnographic methods (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:26) to capture the intricacy of bilingual speakers' identities. This study thus adopts a multiple-method approach to gain a deeper understanding of how speakers utilise CS to negotiate their identities. These methods are: audio recordings, semi-structured interviews, self-recordings, retrospective participant commentaries and, finally, questionnaires. Data elicited through these methods, which mostly involve direct interaction with the participants, is important in the sense that they make researchers 'aware of their consultant's local interests, values and general social norms' (Tagliamonte, 2006:34).

In addition to the 'language data' which is usually elicited through audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions, there are two other important methods - semi-structured interviews and retrospective participant commentaries - which are utilised here to elicit what can be called 'non-language data'. The non-language types of data (semi-structured interviews and retrospective participant commentaries) are often used to strengthen/further explain any linguistic patterns or conclusions drawn from analysing the main source of data - audio recordings. Apart from the content analysis that could be generated from using these methods, they may also function as different contexts where CS is used, hence increasing the likelihood of examining more CS data in a different context other than a group gathering.

Due to the highly qualitative and demanding nature of the project and the methods data were elicited through, the data collection process lasted around 20 months and began in the third month of this project. This, however, is not intended to be a 'longitudinal' study, where change in the way speakers' use of a certain linguistic feature (e.g. CS) is usually measured (Hua & David, 2008:93). Also, the five data collection methods were not utilised in a specific order; they occurred synchronously. For example, peer group interactions were the first to be conducted being the most important source of data, and starting as early as possible was important in order to collect enough hours of recordings. Questionnaires were the second to be designed as many of the answers the participants provided formed the basis on which I prepared the interview script. Furthermore, participants were asked to self-record from the beginning

of the data collection process and they recorded themselves at different times, throughout the collection process. Finally, the retrospective sessions were also carried out at different stages, but mostly towards the second half of the process because running these sessions depended on having collected enough audio interactions that a particular participant is part of, as well as having carried out some analysis/interpretation of many instances of CS produced by that participant.

The methods are as follows:

4.4.1 Audio recordings (Peer group interactions)

There is a general agreement in bilingual research about the high effectiveness of using recorded data as the main resource to be used for exploring bilingual talk (Clemente, 2008:177; Spolsky, 1998:12). Similarly, Nortier (2008) advises that this type of data, usually called 'spontaneous' or 'semi-spontaneous', is the most suitable means to collect instances of CS (2008:45). Thus, to carry out a detailed, moment-by-moment analysis of the speakers' CS process, long and naturally occurring conversations are needed (12.5 hours were collected in total). I have recorded a series of 6 small group interactions (with 3 to 4 participants each, including myself). In these recording sessions, I aimed initially to have each of the participants recorded interacting with each of the other five participants but this was not possible due to practical issues and time constraints. I used a ZOOM H1 portable digital recorder to record all these group sessions. These sessions lasted 125 minutes on average and took place mainly at my home or Narjis's home. Conducting big group interactions with all six of us was avoided for two reasons: the first of these is the difficulty that comes with listening and transcribing an interaction where more than four friends are chatting together, and the second is to do with the impracticality of arranging such a recording session, where all five participants are free to attend. Based on my own observations of the data I collected for my Masters dissertation, group interactions are by and large more effective than one-to-one sessions as the former are potentially less controlled by me and are likely to be more spontaneous and interactional.

During or prior to these interactions, participants were not asked to pretend they

do not know they were being recorded and were not given instructions on what topics to discuss or avoid. Contrary to what is usually believed in regards to data collected while participants know they are being recorded as being inauthentic or not natural enough ('observer paradox' - Labov, 1972:209), I do not think the type of data collected for this study - interactions in particular - as well as their quality were affected by such a factor as they did not sound any different to how we usually interact as a group. As Bucholtz and Hall (2008a:411) suggest, data collected with the awareness of participants is also valid and can be more fruitful. This means that there is no need to examine the 'authenticity' of an interaction as it can be argued that these interactions were authentic enough in the context they occurred in (Coupland, 2010). This, however, does not mean that their interactions are not at all affected by the knowledge of being recorded: an issue that I attempted to mitigate throughout (See section 5.4 below). For example, they were aware that the recordings were essential to elicit as much data as possible, thus, they all appreciated that they needed to keep talking for most of the recording and not be silent, unless necessary, for long periods of time.

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

It is important to conduct interviews and explicitly ask participants about their attitudes towards CS and their linguistic ideologies/orientations instead of relying solely on my own interpretations and analysis of their stances. Although there is a general lack of trust on the part of many traditional linguists in taking speakers' self-reports seriously (Johnstone, 2007:87), I personally felt that more direct questioning as to their own thoughts on CS would yield insights which might be missed with a more indirect approach. There is a recent tendency in sociolinguistic studies that take an ethnographic approach to 'encourage [participants] to be explicit about what [a linguistic feature] mean[s] to them' (*Ibid*), thus, partly relying on them to draw final conclusions. As a commentary on their own linguistic practices, data elicited through relaxed interviews can be as important as other data collected through traditional means e.g. naturally occurring interactions (Codó, 2008:162). This study utilised face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, with about 45 open-ended questions. The interviews were intended to be conducted in an interactional and a relaxed manner; more like what Selleck (2013) calls 'ethnographic chats'. However, and due to Fadia's personal

circumstances, I had to conduct the interview remotely, through commenting on and following up on her answers using a word file. The four face-to-face interviews I conducted were around 99 minutes on average.

Five main themes were discussed: 'Language and self-image', 'multiple identities', 'communicative aspects', 'language and identity maintenance' and 'culture'. These themes were primarily based on an initial analysis of the participants' questionnaire answers, and a tentative investigation into their CS instances and the possible identity-related motivations behind them. Part of each interview was also used to further develop some of the participants' questionnaire answers, which led in some cases to preparing a slightly different set of questions for each participant. The script (found in appendix 2) was written after listening to at least three peer group interactions to make sure I took into consideration enough instances of CS that are likely to be somewhat representative of the participants' CS style. To maximise the amount of CS data, no language was set to be used for conducting the interviews and participants were asked to speak in whichever language they preferred. However, this strategy was not always effective in the case of Fadia's interview as she had time to think of her answers, all of which she produced in English.

Being an insider researcher meant that my role as an interviewer was not only to guide the conversation. Although the open-ended interview questions were designed in a way that invites participants to tell stories and talk about what they found interesting, I had to strike a balance between my agenda and theirs: sometimes having to prompt them to answer specific questions and go back to a certain point. At many points, I found myself intervening, asking for elaboration, reformulating statements/answers to check my/their understanding of a certain answer/question: a practice that is expected in semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015:5-7). It is true to a great extent that the purpose of interviews was to elicit more contextual information from participants, however, Birnkmann and Kvale (2015:37) are right to point out that the two actors in this process are by no means 'egalitarian partners'. Yet, their answers and views often facilitated, and in some cases strengthened, my understanding of many aspects of CS, particularly in questions where they had to think

about the type of stances/attitudes they associate with each language. For example, some participants shared some good insights into the way they express emotions in both languages and suggested possible reasons for it that I had not necessarily considered before (See chapter 6). This suggests that an interview was indeed a two way or an inter-subjective process (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015:61-64). For several questions, most participants did not sound as if they felt strongly about a point or had a ready answer for a question. This meant that more interaction and negotiating was usually needed on my side to bring an answer to the surface and create meaning or to check my personal observations.

4.4.3 Self-recordings

Speakers were initially asked to record themselves while interacting with other friends and family members so a comparison could be made between their CS instances in peer group interactions and their interactions with out-group members. Factors such as the level of informality, language proficiency, and generational gap were expected to play a significant role in determining the speakers' CS patterns. However, due to personal issues, many participants were unable to record themselves with any out-group members; thus, I asked them to self-record with Salma - a friend of ours (not a main participant) - whose proficiency in English is not as advanced as the rest of the main participants and one who has not spent as long in the UK as the rest of us have - arriving in 2013. However, I was well aware that recording with a friend who is only different from the main candidates in terms of the time she has spent in the UK could arguably make these self-recordings somewhat similar to other peer group audio recordings. Yet, it could still be considered a slightly different context as it neither involved me nor the main candidates, who usually took part in the group 'peer-group recordings'.

Around four hour long self-recording sessions were conducted, with Aya being the only one who did not self-record due to some practical inconvenience. I noticed that most participants did not seem entirely happy recording sessions that lasted any longer than 45 minutes, possibly due to the apparent awkwardness of me being able to listen to their conversations while not being part of them. As these recordings did not go as planned, there seems to be no need to analyse them in detail as the reasons mentioned

above make them less immediately relevant than the peer-group interactions, which went well and as planned. However, they are still useful and some interesting patterns emerged from them (see chapter 5).

Although self-reported data can be inaccurate, another attempt at compensating for the participants' inability to self-record with family members and other friends was to dedicate the fourth part of the questionnaire 'Everyday language use' to focusing on self-reports of their linguistic behaviour with family members by asking them: 'Which language do you usually speak with those living with you?' and 'how often they use either language or code-switch between the two?'.

4.4.4 Retrospective participant commentary

Commentary sessions are important to check speakers' reflections on some excerpts from recorded interactions, a method adopted in many ethnographic works (Rampton 1998:291, 1995; Coupland, 2015). They were one-to-one sessions where I played to each participant specific portions of an audio recording she was part of. These portions were chosen by me in advance, either because they were interesting in the sense that they confirmed/matched patterns that were already emerging (or, in some case, contradicted them) or because I could not formulate any interpretations of a particular instance of CS. Then, the participant was asked to comment on a series of examples where she code-switched. These types of commentaries were a crucial part of reflexivity, which is an approach that I take in this study in order to neutralise and confirm or change my interpretations of the participants' stances, particularly because of the potential bias that may result from my positioning as an insider researcher. Although this position usually has possible positive and negative effects on any study, I argue later (see next section - 4.5) that being an insider researcher is probably more of an advantage than a cause of a bias (Finlay & Gough, 2003).

4.4.5 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were designed to collect general information about the participants' demographic details and linguistic background. Despite the tendency for self-reported

data to be very unreliable (Gumperz, 1982a:62) and despite its suitability for eliciting a 'categorical response' only (Milory & Gordon, 2003:52), questionnaire data could still function as a good starting point for creating provisional sociological profiles for the participants. It was able to provide a general idea of their attitudes/behaviours and document these rather than making the assumption of knowing the answers to these simple questions because of being an insider researcher. The questionnaire consisted of four sections, with 6 or 7 questions in each (found in appendix 1). These sections comprised of: 'Linguistic competence', 'Practices and attitudes towards CS', 'Personal details' and 'Everyday language use'. The questions were a mixture of close-ended and open-ended questions; the former type constituted the majority of questions included. Sections one and two mostly consisted of nominal/categorical questions, such as Age of acquisition (henceforward AoA), self-reported L2 command and ordinal and classificational ones, such as: 'What are your feelings towards the practice of CS?' Close-ended questions are generally used to gain initial insights of the participants' opinion of CS, besides their bilingual behaviours and linguistic preferences. The open-ended/textual questions were few and were associated with their everyday language use (section 4). They were mainly asked to elaborate - using a sentence or two - on previously given answers in section three. Moreover, there were a few instances of leading questions, for instance: 'which of these statement(s) do you think is true in relation to how you code-switch?' There were also a number of multiple choice questions, such as the list of options offered to choose from when answering a question like 'why do you think you code-switch?' It was important to be specific about the reasons they code-switch as participants would probably not make an effort to think of their own behaviour unless prompted.

As an insider researcher, I had the chance to check answers, make sure participants understood the questions and ask them to edit any vague or hasty answers. In preparing the questionnaire, Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) was a good guide to follow when deciding on some aspects, such as the layout, the length and the wording of questions. No specific software was used in designing the questionnaire or eliciting its data. Due to the small number of participants, an electronic questionnaire was created using a Word document and was sent in an email to each participant.

4.5 The Researcher's positioning as an 'Insider-researcher'

In this section, I give a detailed account of how I position myself as an insider researcher and of my understanding of the multi-layered relationship I have with the five participants of my study: a friend, a co-participant and an observer/researcher. Engaging in this reflexive process, or what Tedlock (1991) calls 'observation of participation', can offer an insight into the potential influence my relationship with the study participants has on the research process. In doing so, I first discuss my personal stance to the linguistic phenomenon of CS and the personal/academic factors that drove me to study it. Then, I discuss my role as an 'indigenous' ethnographer, discussing the participatory role and choices I take throughout, as well as the possible implications of this and my attempts at redressing these issues. I also use this space to account more generally for the methodological and interpretative decisions I take regarding data collection and analysis.

As Levon (2013:77) reports: 'you know that you are done with your fieldwork when you start to know the answer (…) before your participants (...) reply'; this was his supervisor's advice to him before starting his fieldwork. Strangely enough, I think this was exactly my stance when I started this project. Taking such a stance at the start of my research project was valid enough in my case, especially for an insider researcher like myself, as opposed to the arguably outsider status Levon had in relation to the community he was then about to study. As an insider who is fascinated by the way she and her group of friends code-switch, I decided to study this linguistic practice through systematic/ethnographic means as I thought there must be more to it than the way in which I perceived it, based solely on my own subjective experience of my CS.

As a practice that is important to me on a personal level above all, I was motivated by the desire to present my small social circle and introduce its linguistic practice to the wider linguistic community. After having known this group of friends for a while now and thanks to my familiarity with them, I feel I am able to be somewhat detached from it and depict it as objectively as possible, although this is by no means a necessary or an easy task to embark on, due to the subjectivity and bias that are inherent in the position of an insider researcher. Being an insider researcher who is not only from

the same 'ethnic' group but a member of the same group under study is a fairly uncommon practice in conventional ethnography despite its vital role (Zentella, 1997:6). On the desirability of the inside position of a researcher and the indispensable insight she can bestow on the research process, Hymes states: 'To participate in a speech community is not quite the same as to be a member of it' (1974:50). The position I am taking in this study is that of the 'native' or 'indigenous ethnographer' (Fahim, 1982), which is equally problematic to that of an outsider as the former's authentic report can be 'empowered [but] restricted' (Clifford, 1986:9), as is discussed in this section. Before that, I start with an account of myself and the reasons behind my interest in CS.

4.5.1 Personal/Academic Background[22]

My journey with English started when I was a child back home in Libya. My oldest sister was studying for a degree in English Language and as a younger sister, I saw her as my role model. We used to bond through our appreciation for the English language, spending evenings together listening to songs of American bands on the cassette player, following the lyrics which my sister had written out from scratch. I pursued this passion for English through secondary school, specialising in English Language and Literature. At the age of twenty, I had the opportunity to move to the UK to study and since then, English has become an integral part of my identity. Although I had an American accent when I first arrived, I soon picked up and managed to 'fake' what is generally known as a British accent. Over time, I noticed that I have developed an obsession for 'passing' as an English native speaker. I believe that my positive experience in the UK influenced the way I perceived its people, and thus helped me speak fluently and acquire the English accent in a relatively short time (see Drummond, 2010 on L2 acquisition by Polish speakers). This meant that during conversations, a lot of my cognitive effort is spent on making sure my accent sounds 'correctly' British, a habit that takes up a lot of the energy I should be saving for focusing on processing meaning and the interaction itself. This also means that I do not consider being able to speak English fluently as only important from a practical/communicative point of view, but also at a personal level. The fact that I enjoy speaking English helped me appreciate the luxury of switching between two

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[22] Parts of this section appeared in a an online blog post that has been published during my PhD (Ben Nafa, 2015).

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languages, as the only time I feel I can be myself is in the company of other Arabic-English bilinguals, even if those were not my friends.

One might think that some of the issues regarding my position as an insider researcher are those of 'Observer's Paradox'/'Observer Effect', and 'Social Desirability Bias'. I am going to discuss the extent to which those factors are at play throughout the following sections while discussing throughout the nature of my role as a researcher.

4.5.2 Observer's Paradox vs. Reflexivity

Labov's adoption of the ethnographic approach of 'participant observation' (based on Gumperz's IS methodology, 1964) was aimed at minimising the effect of the 'observer's paradox' that he experienced in the context of conducting sociolinguistic interviews. He defined the 'observer's paradox' (1972:209) as the dilemma of

> find[ing] out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation

However, linguists who are interested in naturally-occurring data during the group interactions of a specific community and who adopted this approach still seem to experience it, to varying degrees (Milroy & Gordon, 2003:49). The presence of a 'stranger' participant observer is not an easy issue to be negotiated, but its potential effects can arguably be minimised if the researcher introduces herself appropriately and if sufficient time and effort are dedicated to familiarising herself with the participants (Eckert, 1989). In addition to the awkwardness that can be caused by the outsider researcher whose presence needs to be justified to the participants, most outsider researchers face some challenges regarding understanding the internal dynamics of the group and their linguistic practices, which may not necessarily be intelligible to the former. For example, Cukor-Avila & Bailey (1995:179) reported having difficulty in distinguishing individual participants' voices while listening to peer-group interactions among their African-American speaking participants, which is something I almost never encounter in my peer-group recordings.

For similar reasons, linguistic research, particularly that on bilingual speakers, is usually facilitated through the assistance of a facilitator or a 'gatekeeper' who is familiar with the linguistic/cultural norms of the group. The need to recruit such linguistic assistants is to eliminate some possible effects that the presence of an outsider may have on the linguistic choices of the participants, particularly that of CS (Shin, 1998, cited in Milroy & Gordon, 2003:71). The points mentioned so far all refer to the inevitability of having a participant researcher, thus, calling for the need to deal with the 'observer paradox' dilemma rather than avoiding it.

Furthermore, I would argue that the idea of studying participants and not being isolated from them at the same time need not be a problem to start with as long as this participation or contact is thoughtfully managed and reflected upon (Finlay, 1998, 2012). Observation of participation or 'Reflexivity', which has recently become a widely practiced process in social sciences (Davies, 1999:3), can be defined as 'the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research' (Davies, 1999:4). Broadly, (postmodern) social, qualitative research, including this current study, is mainly characterised by its subjective and constructivist nature. Therefore, instead of dismissing the subjective role of a participant researcher that is 'unavoidable in knowledge production' (Monahan & Fisher, 2010:358), a reflexive task can be carried out to embrace and value that subjectivity. Finlay (1998:1) rightly argues that 'ignoring [subjectivity] could undermine the validity of the research' which could be enriched by the subjective and first-hand insights of an insider researcher. She argues that it is through reflexivity that subjectivity can be turned from a 'problem' into an 'opportunity' (1998:3). Along the same lines, Heller challenges the concept of the 'observer's paradox' or the downside to the 'observer effect' and describes the 'worrying about how to be a fly on the wall, so as not to unduly influence people's behavior' as 'impossible' and not 'desirable' (Heller, 2008:257).

4.5.3 The advantages of being an insider researcher

I think being an insider researcher is still a significant factor in the way it helped me overcome many of the 'alleged' observer's effects often faced by outsider researchers, such as the difficulty of being able to interact smoothly with participants. The natural

and 'unobtrusive participant observation' of an insider researcher is a main reason for easing the research process: a factor which Zentella believed to have paved her way in her study of the Puerto Rican community in New York, of which she was an insider (1997:7). Unlike the inconveniences that outsider researchers may experience, I think I am spared many of these by the virtue of being an insider. For example, being a 'friend' of the participants meant that I did not have any kind of problems in gaining access to the group and dealing with privacy issues. Furthermore, I not only share the participants' L1, Arabic, but also the spoken variety of Arabic used by four of them: Libyan Arabic. Neither I nor my friends have a problem in understanding the Arabic variety spoken by my other participant: Syrian Arabic. In addition to exhibiting a similar speech pattern, i.e. Arabic-English CS, we all have a similar linguistic competence in both languages and can be placed on a continuum of advanced to 'native-like' competence. Apart from being of the same ethnicity, gender and age group, we almost conveniently share the same cultural and religious orientations. Despite becoming good friends with all of them only here in the UK, during at least the last six years now, I have known two of them since we were in Libya as we used to go to the same (primary/secondary) school and I attended the same class as one of them. This made it easy for the three of us to interact outside school, know each other on a personal level and be introduced to members of each other's families.

In addition to being already accepted by members of the group, I consider my position as an insider researcher advantageous to the research process as a whole for three specific reasons. First, gaining their trust to record them while casually interacting amongst each other was relatively easy, which also helped me to be entrusted with what they usually consider highly sensitive data: data to which they would probably have never given access had they been asked by an outsider. I would like to argue that this is the main reason for the ease during recording sessions, which helped interactions to flow and sound authentic and spontaneous. Although they were aware that they were being recorded most of the time, they were comfortable enough to mention a private issue accidentally. At such points, they suddenly become more aware of being recorded and momentarily panic, but I always tried to quickly rectify the situation and assure them that that part of the recording will be deleted. This intervention was usually crucial for

them to know that their recorded interactions were in safe hands, a procedure that usually worked perfectly and brought the interaction back to how it was.

Second, my status as a bilingual and my positive stance, which they are familiar with, towards (our) their CS practice may also have played an (indirect) role in encouraging them to speak and thus, code-switch freely. Had I been vague about my study aims and attitude towards CS as a linguistic practice, they might have thought that I could be recording them to judge how grammatical or correct their CS patterns are, which would probably lead to a very different set of data. Although it could be partially true that this positive stance could have influenced or intensified the CS level exhibited by the participants, I do not think this is necessarily the case as there are several occasions where no instance of CS even occurs (See results chapter).

Third, my transparency regarding my study stance and aims also seemed to have helped in facilitating the research process. Despite this being particularly true for any social/linguistic research, Wei is right in encouraging such practice as 'bilingualism research can never be truly value free' anyway (Wei, 2000:442). Overall, I was clear from the beginning about my study aims, which I would not have been able to conceal anyway because the participants were already familiar with my interests and they were also the same participants I recruited for my MA dissertation, which this project is an extension to. Another reason for being open about my attitude towards CS and the areas I intend to explore is that my study is taking a 'bottom-up' approach which entails considering my study sample as participants rather than mere informants. In other words, it was crucial that they know what my study was about so I can freely and explicitly ask for their opinions and the reasons they CS for.

Nevertheless, there is potentially one disadvantage to being an insider and that is lack of appreciation on the side of the participants of their linguistic practice. This is a common implication of being an insider researcher that was also experienced by other insider researchers (Lanza, 2008:77; Zentella, 1997:7). This is the case in my study, particularly because I also code-switch and it is quite a typical way of speaking for us (them), making it less interesting for them to reflect upon. The example below, which is

taken from a participant commentary session I conducted with Zainab, is a good illustration of this. While we were stuck at one interesting, but challenging, instance of CS where Zainab did not seem to be quite decided on why she code-switched at this particular point, she gives up, loses interest and says:

Example 4.1

```
1  Zainab:  (Emm, Maybe)


            (1.0)

2           (You know what? You choose the answer you like, and
             put it, Hanan!)


            [Laughing]

3  Hanan:   (No, this is actually not the point) <Laughing>
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Having said that, most of the participants seem to have an ambivalent attitude to my study and the questions I ask. Some of them find it very interesting at some points, especially the three (Narjis, Zainab and Aya) who are not linguists nor have any academic interest in language.

4.5.4 Role of researcher

As mentioned above, the 'observer paradox' argument can only be considered valid by those working within the confines of the positivist approach which aims to 'reduce any distortion [of reality] that might be introduced by the presence of the ethnographer' (Davies, 1999:70). However, considering the overall constructivist approach adopted in this study, there is no assumption that there is one reality to be reflected, but it is rather considered that there are different versions or interpretations of reality that can relationally be constructed and negotiated. Since this study mainly aims to examine identity negotiation by a group of bilingual speakers, subjectivity cannot simply be ignored as it is at the heart of this negotiation act. Such an act can be equally explored

and (re)constructed through a dialogue between the insider researcher and her subjective interpretations of the dynamics of that group, and the group members' identities as negotiated by them (Potter & Wetherell, 1994). This, however, does not mean that the reality constructed in this particular space is ultimately valid, but one that is a product of the identities temporarily performed by the participants, myself, and the methods and approaches I use to collect and analyse their data.

My presence and participation itself may contribute to create a certain reality, based on the procedures I follow and the decisions I made throughout the research process. For example, if a different researcher with a different status (e.g. outsider) were to conduct this same study - not to mention the invalid logic behind such a practice - and were to work with the same participants and utilise the same methods, the result would undoubtedly be strikingly different. Several factors could render a study of this type difficult to replicate, such as my unique personal identity, my academic situation, my stance to CS and my membership in the group I study, which determines the level of familiarity with it as well as the level of access I was given. On many occasions, my role and subjective interpretations were significant as eliciting a response from a participant usually required a lot of prepping by me to help the former reflect on and construct what she thinks of herself, which I then could examine and measure against her actual CS behaviour and previous responses in the study's other contexts.

Heller (2008) goes as far as giving more authority to the voice of the researcher and considering ethnographic research to be an account of the event as experienced and constructed by the researcher and not just as a means of 'transmitting the voices of others' (Heller, 2008:251; Finlay, 2012:532). Davies (1999:183) also adopts a similar position by encouraging the insider researcher (particularly those who are part of the same studied group) to consider herself the 'key informant' throughout the process. This makes a lot of sense in terms of the way I have designed and thought of my questionnaire and interview questions. Being an insider researcher, and also a participant who code-switches just as her participants do, I think I was equipped with enough knowledge to be able to start examining the participants' instances of CS objectively - arguably more objectively than one would analyse her own language - and

measure their practice and motivations for CS against mine and each other's, when needed. These judgements and assumptions, which an insider researcher automatically has, can be verified and validated by what Monahan & Fisher (2010:371) call 'validity checks', such as the questionnaires, interviews and participant commentaries, where I had the chance to enquire about their CS behaviour and thus validate my interpretations. This was my attempt to ensure that the responses I received from the participants were not influenced by my assumptions about how I personally code-switch or lead the analysis process.

4.5.5 Participant vs. Observer

While positivists are highly criticised for their 'unjustified' emphasis on the importance of eliminating any possible effects of the observer's paradox, particularly by those working within the field of ethnography (Heller, 2008), the latter are also discouraged from 'going native' (Davies, 1999:70). Rosaldo (1993:7, cited in Davies, 1999:178) skilfully summarises the dilemma faced by researchers who adopt ethnographic approaches and argues that

> If classic ethnography's vice was the slippage from the ideal of detachment to actual indifference, that of present-day reflexivity is the tendency for the self-absorbed self to lose sight altogether of the culturally different other

Since both stances: 'complete observer' and 'complete participant' can be dangerous (Davies, 1999:72), Davies calls for the necessity of attaining a balance between spontaneously participating and maintaining an emotional distance from one's participants (*Ibid*). For an outsider researcher, this formula might be somewhat easy to achieve, while as an insider researcher, this part is proving to be difficult to manage well, for one main reason: my friendship with the participants. This means it is easy for me to get emotionally involved in the interaction. This is not the case, however, for an outsider researcher who can arguably choose when to participate and when to withdraw from an interaction. Despite the danger of being too involved in an interaction on the side of the researcher, lack of participation, for example, sitting in a corner and observing, can also be dangerous as it might catch the participants' attention and thus the researcher's

attitude could be perceived as curious or bizarre. This friendship relation also meant that my study was not going to quite be an ethnographic one in the traditional sense, where participant observation, which places more emphasis on observing than participating, usually takes place at the early stages of a study (Clifford, 1986:1), before starting to record and interview. Thus, it can be argued here that I had already (vaguely) carried out the participant observation process before developing my research proposal.

Another implication of being an insider researcher and having an informal relationship with the participants was not making extensive fieldwork notes as is usually the practice in traditional ethnography. Because I know the participants very well and am the one who was usually responsible for managing the setting (e.g. inviting participants, agreeing on particular day and time), there was rarely a need for me to take notes to remind myself of what was going on then or what was going on in their lives. This was usually a result of my tendency to pay a lot of attention to what was going on, and of always trying to be fully present. I found this ability to be very useful for running the participant commentary sessions as it helped me almost retrieve a mental picture of the setting and thus be able to remind the participants of details.

Instead of separating the two or starting with participation and ending with observation, Davies suggests that going back and forth between both of them can be more 'realistic' (1999:72): a strategy which I think worked well for me considering my tricky situation as an insider. In the first few recording sessions, I used to regret getting carried away and not stepping back and observing while my friends were engaged in an interesting conversation. Over time, I started to develop a habit of constantly reminding myself to both interact and observe. This meant that I had to be aware of my behaviour and try to listen more in order to give more space for them to speak. Gradually, I later started making attempts to control the participation, particularly because of specific personal traits, such as being a very interactive person who tends to be unintentionally dominant in interactions. Interestingly, this did not always work, which I think gave an authentic representation of how our casual interactions as a group usually are. Nevertheless, I was aware that it is important to make some endeavours to reduce any bias that could result from the lack of balance existing between the levels of

participation and observation.

An example of one of these attempts was trying in every recording session - and if the setting allowed - to leave the room for five or ten minutes, pretending that I needed to warm up the food or make coffee. I also tended to focus on observing the participants and how they interacted amongst themselves when we were not recording or when we were at a gathering with other friends (not participants). I noticed this was easier than observing them during recording sessions because such gatherings tended to include more people and thus they were more likely to be busy interacting with others, not noticing my regular moments of silence. Another decision I took to eliminate any bias triggered by the participation in actual conversations was making sure not to analyse my own utterances or include as few as possible of those in case they occurred in very interesting examples I needed to use to illustrate a point where an instance of stance was taken up.

4.5.6 Social desirability bias

The final issue to discuss in this section is what is called 'Social desirability bias' that Fisher defines as a 'human tendency to present oneself in the best possible light' (1993:303). This bias is commonly found in many studies where speakers are asked to report their own language use e.g. whether or not they use a particular linguistic feature at all. Such self-discrepancy usually occurs when participants believe that their behaviour may be different or not socially acceptable, which then biases their response and the research results as a whole. Even when trying to reduce this bias through indirect questioning, Fisher and Tellis (1998) found out that it is not always effective and may not lead to valid answers. Whatever the relationship a participant has with the researcher, the former is very likely to either try to modify what would have been a spontaneous response or tell the researcher what they think they want to hear, however, the latter is probably more common when the researcher is an insider as in my case. As they were both my participants and friends, I tried to emphasise the importance of being honest and open about their answers. Still, I think there was some bias in their answers that was not unrelated to my relationship to them as a friend. This was particularly true in interviews and participant commentaries, particularly when it

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was a question about their attitudes towards CS or one about reason(s) why they used a certain instance of CS.

The next example illustrates an instance where the social desirability effect does not seem to be at play.

Example 4.2

1 **Hanan:** (*In the* **questionnaire,** *I asked you if* **you're aware,** *like you said, sometimes* **I code-switch** *at the wrong time*)

2 **Kamila:** (*Aha*)

(…)

3 **It's not nice**

(…)

4 **Hanan:** (*But do you feel that* **you still do it unintentionally?**)

5 **Kamila:** **Sometimes yeah(.) it happens**

6 **Hanan:** **Ok**

(…)

7 (*Ok, do you feel like:* '**Oh,** *like,* **I should avoid it**' *or*)

8 **Kamila:** **=Yeah(.) I sho/uld avoid it**

9 **Hanan:** (*Does, does does it happen immediately or after that?*)

10 **/No no(.) no no no no**

```
11            عادة عادة  I: I  notice
              (Usually, usually, I notice)

12 Hanan:  Ok ok

              [Hanan is looking through her notes]

13 Kamila: (No, no I would not say usually I notice)

14            No actually! Sometimes I notice some people. some
              sometimes other people like(.) tell me

15 Hanan:  O::h <smiling>

16            Ok ok
```

Despite noticing Kamila's frequent CS into English around Arab monolingual friends, I deliberately asked her about this in the interview to examine how aware she is of her CS practice. Although Kamila seems to believe that `it's not nice` to code-switch when monolinguals of either language are around, she does acknowledge that `it happens` in line 5. Later, she even corrects herself, voluntarily adding in line 13 that she is not even always aware of it when it occurs unless somebody else reminds her. Interestingly, Kamila here is honest and reflective about a practice that she cannot quite control and which may be perceived by non-linguists as socially undesirable or insensitive.

That said, there are also instances where some of participants' responses suggest that desirability bias is at play as is the case in the next example.

Example 4.3

```
1 Kamila:  I don't really ^label^ people(.) I think(.) who CS
           Who do not CS. I think it's just. a matter of pr.
```

```
        personal preference(.)


        (…)


2 Hanan:   (Yes, but I'm talking about you)


3          (You, your feelings towards CS, I mean y/our CS?)


4 Kamila:  (/Mine?)


5 Hanan:   (=Yes, y/ours)


6 Kamila:  /Emm


        (2.0)


7          (From, like independent, like of what other people
           think?)


8 Hanan:   (=Yes, /no, you)


9 Kamila: /I think it's fine(.) it's ju. It's just the way I
          speak!(.) I don't see it as positive or negative(.)
          It's just the way how I express myself(.)
```

Here, rather than giving me a straightforward answer to why her attitude towards CS was neutral and not positive or negative (the three options listed in a questionnaire question), Kamila replies: 'I don't really label people (…) who CS who do not CS' (L.1), seemingly approaching the question from an ethical view. Based on Kamila's CS patterns, I felt I could elicit a more interesting response from her than this ideal one. Here, she probably has mistaken my question about *her* attitude with the *right* attitude towards CS, if there is such a thing. However, after I assure her that I am only interested in her own attitude, she takes a different stance in line 9, which is perhaps the more spontaneous one I was seeking initially. Another factor that I think was also in play here is my close relationship to Kamila and how well she knows about my positive

attitude towards CS, which I never attempted to conceal. During the interview and while Kamila is producing her first line, I was immediately conscious of the probability that she might be saying this because she perhaps guessed that I have a specific, preferred answer in mind, which she just tried to challenge. True as that might be, I was genuinely interested in what she has to say. This is only an example of many others where I was momentarily made aware of my subjective side, which I repeatedly find difficult to hide.

4.6 Analysis Process

In this section, I outline the different stages that comprise the data analysis process, from transcribing the audio interactions and selecting CS instances, to categorising these instances and finally quantifying them, in some cases

4.6.1 Transcription Conventions

All recordings (peer-group interactions, interviews and self-recordings) were listened to and manually transcribed to create verbatim transcripts. For privacy issues and in accordance with the participants' wishes, I had to transcribe all the audio data myself. For every recording, only the most interesting and relevant parts (where CS occurs) were transcribed rather than all the interactions. For efficiency reasons, parts where evaluative stances occur frequently and in a manner which enables the development of the main argument were particularly selected since not everything can be included due to space limitations. However, some of the parts where no CS occurs were also marked, but not necessarily fully transcribed, for comparison reasons; for instance, finding out the kind of topics or situations where CS occurred or did not occur. Also, the retrospective participant commentaries were not particularly transcribed in full, but only the relevant parts, where participants are commenting on a specific instance of CS they exhibited, explaining what could have been their motivation behind it. These excerpts were mainly transcribed to be included in the main body of the thesis.

I used a very basic online transcription application throughout ([oTranscribe](#)). This software is straightforward to use, with only a few features: a number of keyboard shortcuts for slowing down or speeding up the recording, rewinding and fast-forwarding

it. The main difficulty in the transcribing process can be attributed to the language pair that is used in the recordings: Arabic and English. Arabic is not only distant from and very different to English on many structural levels, it has a different alphabet and is written in the opposite direction, from right to left.

Since both languages are written in opposite directions, it was essential to change the keyboard language manually to transcribe instances of CS. This also meant that the transcription could give the reader a flavour of how CS might sound and thus be faithful to the original speech. For example, if a speaker starts with Arabic, the Arabic utterance is the one closer to the name of the speaker and goes from right to left. When the speaker switches, the English utterance is placed to the right side of the preceding Arabic utterance and goes from left to right, until the speaker switches again to Arabic (see figure 4.1 below). If a speaker starts with English, then the direction of the turn is to the left until a switch into Arabic is made, which changes the direction to the right.
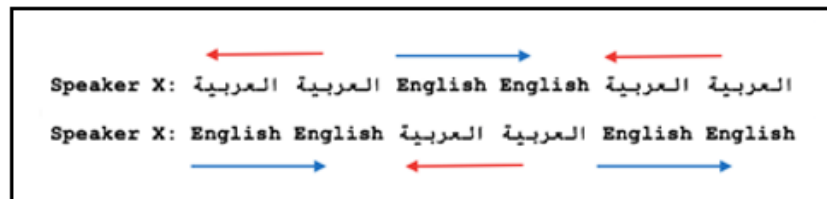
Figure 4.1: The direction used in transcribing CS instance

Since the two languages are written very differently, I made changes to the transcription conventions (see below) usually followed by most scholars studying aspects of CS between languages that are derived from Latin (See Cashman, 2005; Bailey, 2000). For example, letters are usually capitalised to highlight utterances produced in a louder volume; however, because Arabic letters do not have capitalised versions, I chose to underline those utterances instead. Instances of overlapping and latching talk are also not always marked unless they are relevant to the CS process or when an instance of overlap helps to elucidate the evaluative stance and why it is taken.

Plain	Arabic
Bold	English
(*Text*)	Translation
<u>Underlined</u>	Loud
(Text)	Not clearly identified talk
Text	Quieter talk
< >	Mode of production
/	Overlapping or interrupting talk
//	Simultaneous start of talk
=	Latching talk
.	Abrupt stop
(.)	Natural Pause
^Text^	Emphasis
Text:::	Lengthening of the preceding sound
(…)	Untranscribed interactions
[ ]	Describing the setting or non-verbal communication

For convenience reasons, whole translation is often used rather than literal translation - a strategy followed by Gafaranga (2005) - as long as the meaning implied by the speaker is clearly conveyed without the need to dedicate two lines of translation for both types. For example, the order of the Arabic and English utterances in the translation may not be produced in the same order as that of the original. In example 4.4 below, Zainab starts with the object of the sentence - the English insertion of `tricks' - then switches to Arabic to start her sentence with the verb as it is usually the case in Libyan Arabic. In the translation, however, I start with the verb and place the object after verb. Therefore, instead of translating the sentence as `tricks, I think it teaches', the whole translation would be: `I think it teaches tricks'. The literal translation for 'نحس' is `I feel', however, the meaning intended for this phrase in Libyan Arabic is `I think'.

Example 4.4

Zainab: =**tricks** نـحس فـيهـا تـعـلم

        (*I think it teaches tricks*)

That said, a literal translation is sometimes used deliberately to draw attention to the reason why the speaker switched to the other language specifically. There are cases where order matters and a literal translation is preferred as is the case in example 4.5 below.

Example 4.5

Kamila: This is قصدي **a, a subjective /thing** عرفـتي؟

        (*This is, I mean, a, a subjective thing, you know?*)

Instead of giving a whole translation - `This is a subjective thing, I mean'` - a literal translation is used to keep the original word order, highlighting a ubiquitous CS pattern the speakers exhibit, that is inserting an Arabic filler `I mean'` within the boundaries of an English clause. The role of this filler is also important as it seems to facilitate the CS instance into English `a subjective thing'` where Kamila is taking up an evaluative stance.

      Since whole translation is used, there are many instances where linguistic items are added, removed and changed when translated. In the example below, Fadia inserts the English word *self* within the boundaries of the Arabic clause `how many (...) do you have?'` As is the case with many other English insertions in Arabic, the insertion *self*, which is produced in the singular form, is reformulated into the plural form when translated in order to produce a meaningful equivalent to what Fadia meant.

Example 4.6

Fadia: قـد اش عـنـدك/ **self**?

Also, when an Arabic utterance is repeated, it is also repeated in the translation so that the translation sounds as authentic as possible. For the purposes of efficiency and due to time constraints, the Arabic utterances were not transliterated, but only translated. That is because the focus of the thesis is the social and evaluative significance behind the participants' CS, to which the transliteration process does not add.

The next stage to be discussed is the decision(s) made as well as the criteria followed when selecting CS instances that are most relevant to the focus of the study.

4.6.2 Selection Process

4.6.2.1 Switching direction

Considering that Arabic is the participants' first (dominant) language, the focus when selecting CS instances is particularly on occurrences of a switch into English: the L2 for most of the participants (late bilinguals). Thus, Arabic is the Matrix language/unmarked code in the majority of the switches that the participants make, especially in peer-group interactions. English - especially at the beginning of the sentence - is often used as the marked code despite the participants' high command of it. English is utilised purposefully to play a specific, functional role, which could either be referential, discourse-related or identity-related (the main focus of the current study). Therefore, the CS instances to be focused on in this study are those made from Arabic *into English* specifically, rather than those made from English *into Arabic*. Thus, when a reference is made to a CS instance, it usually refers to an instance of CS into *English*. This means that even when an English utterance, particularly an instance of alternation, is not immediately preceded by Arabic, it is still regarded here as an instance of CS.

4.6.2.2 Type of CS instances

Another criterion for selecting CS instances is the type of instance (insertions vs. alternations) and the identity-related effects they produce. Due to their referential

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nature, English insertions utilised by the participants are discussed, but not in as great a detail as the other types of instances are. Rather, the functional and identity-related nature of English alternations are more interesting and relevant to the aim of the current study: investigating the identity-related aspects of CS. For instance, the English alternation `it's nice` made in example 4.7 below is an evaluative one, and therefore its function is indicative of the attitudes the evaluator adopts, unlike the English insertions of `bank account` and `bank details` made in example 4.8, which are merely referential and are not directly identity-related.

Example 4.7

`Zainab:` لا **it's nice** نقصد
        (*No, it's nice, I mean*)

Example 4.8

`Zainab:` متاعي **bank details** بعدين: ع: عطيتهم **bank acco:unt,** ودرت
        (*And I opened a bank account, then I sent them my bank*
        details)

Thus, the focus throughout is confined to instances of alternation, except for the rare instances where insertions serve an identity-related function.

4.6.3 Categorisation Process (Via APPRAISAL)

After listening to and transcribing audio recordings, and selecting the most relevant instances of CS - according to the criteria mentioned in the above sections - I explore the stances speakers take up, and thus the evaluative forces that could be inferred from these instances. To carry out the latter task, I apply the APPRAISAL model I reviewed earlier (see section 3.2 of chapter 3 above). Throughout, I combine this model with the qualitative tool of DA (discussed in section 4.1.4 above). Essentially, I consider DA a 'systematic reading and listening, choosing and collecting [of data]' (Johnstone,

2000:104). Therefore, to examine the identity-related significance of the participants' CS or, to be more specific, their evaluative stance, I take a bottom-up approach, utilising the APPRAISAL model in particular to identify the lexicogrammatical, as well as the discourse-semantic features through which participants take up attitudinal stances through their CS instances.

4.6.3.1 How is attitudinal APPRAISAL/stance realised?

To reiterate, APPRAISAL, as I approach it here, is realised lexicogrammatically and discourse-semantically, through the language choices the study's participants make. In the CS instances exhibited by the study's participants, there is a clear choice being made in terms of the concrete language forms they exploit. Being a model or a system within SFL, I use APPRAISAL and the SFL-based tools it utilises, to explore the lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic manifestation expressed through what SFL calls 'processes' and 'qualities'. In formal grammar, processes and qualities are usually known as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc., however, because the APPRAISAL theory is based within SFL, I refer to these linguistic features as processes and qualities, in line with the terminology used within SFL.

As attitude is the only category of APPRAISAL that is the focus of this thesis, the next section will give an account of processes and qualities as the two features through which *inscribed* attitude is expressed. The categories of process and quality have a number of different sub-categories.

A. Process (henceforward Pr): mainly refers to events or actions that evaluators (or the study's participants) experience. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:213) refer to processes as the 'impression of experience (…) that consists of a flow of events, or goings-on.' It can also refer to actions where the evaluator is 'being', 'doing' or 'sensing' (2014:216). These experiences are realised in a number of processes, but there are four main sub-categories of these processes that can be identified in the peer-group interactions. These are:[23]

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[23] There are two other processes in SFL: 'existential' and 'verbal' (2014:214) but they are not included here as none of these are used in the participants' interactions.

1. Mental (henceforward Ment): this refers to actions or activities that involve perceiving or using senses, mainly on a cognitive level. The actor or participant is referred to as the 'sensor'. Mental processes include verbs such as 'think' or 'refuse'.

Example 4.9

'I **like** your slippers' [Pr: Ment]

2. Material (henceforward Materi): this involves actual or physical activities. Examples may include verbs such as 'break' and 'fall'.

Example 4.10

'It usually **breaks** easily' [Pr: Materi]

3. Relational (henceforward Relati): this is an expression of the relationship between two entities. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:170) define it as an expression of the 'outer and inner aspects of our experience'. Examples may include verbs such as 'have' and 'become'.

Example 4.11

'You know I can't **resist** coffee' [Pr: Relati]

4. Behavioural (henceforward Behav): this involves certain conducts and reactions or what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:171) define as the 'outer manifestations of inner workings'. Examples may include verbs such as 'laugh' and 'cry'.

Example 4.12

'You're **joking**' [Pr: Behav]

B. Quality (henceforward Qual):[24] It is the linguistic feature used to make a reference to an entity, to describe or evaluate it. The most common feature is that of 'attribute'. A quality could also refer to the manner in which something happens or a process occurs (e.g. 'circumstance').

Below is a list of the type of qualities that occur in the participants' interactions.

1. An **attribute** in a relational clause: 'It's <u>nice</u>, you know?'   [Qual: attrib]

2. A **nominalised** *quality*: 'It's a <u>feast</u>, by the way'   [Qual: nomi qual]

3. A **nominalised** *process*: 'It's like a <u>waste</u> of electricity'   [Qual: nomi pr]

4. An **epithet**: 'The <u>silly</u> sense of humour'   [Qual: epith]

5. A **circumstance** in a material process: 'It's <u>always</u> like this'   [Qual: circum]

6. An **attribute** in the form of an *adverb phrase*: 'I mean <u>like a pun</u>' [Qual: attrib

(Adv phr)]

7. An **attribute** in the form of a *prepositional phrase*: 'Like they're   [Qual: attrib

<u>for babies</u>'   (Prep phr)]

In addition to these grammatical and lexical items, Eggins & Slade (1997:53-54) argue that spoken discourse in particular can be analysed on the 'discourse structure' level as well. The meaning in this case is not often realised on lower structural levels (grammatical or lexical); it is realised through a 'discourse unit' that conveys the meaning beyond the clause/sentence and illustrates how a certain linguistic unit (clause, phrase, etc.) is utilised to fulfil a specific pragmatic function (Eggins & Slade, 1997:44). When evaluative stances are realised beyond the level of sentence, APPRAISAL is often 'invoked' (Martin & White, 2005:61-62) as a discourse unit 'is not directly evaluative but (…) is intended to invoke an attitude' (Thompson, 2014:82). In invoked instances of APPRAISAL, the evaluation is not realised through individual linguistic (lexical) features, but it is usually realised through the sum of the linguistic items used which - combined - imply an instance of evaluation.

---

[24] Based on the data elicited for this study, I added two other linguistic features (point 6 and 7) to accommodate some of the examples found in the data.

Dealing with invoked instances of APPRAISAL was particularly challenging and difficult to account for or decide how to code as it is not always clear how they are linguistically realised. Thus, it is worth pointing out that it is at this particular level that the APPRAISAL model needs revisiting. This lack of a set of features which could assist in coding invoked instances of APPRAISAL meant that I had to add two features - 'prosody' and 'beyond sentence' - to account for CS instances where an attitude is implied but is not realised through a specific linguistic item. Instead, it is the sum of the words as a whole which contributes to the attitude expressed (in the case of the 'beyond sentence' feature) or through changes of intonation and the tone of voice (in the case of the 'prosody' feature - a feature that was also picked up by Bullo, 2010:279). It is worth mentioning here that APPRAISAL instances realised through prosody are considered inscribed as the prosody can be realised using a specific item or interjection (see point C below). When an APPRAISAL stance is realised 'beyond sentence' as well as through 'prosody', then the APPRAISAL instance is considered to be invoked.

C. Prosody (henceforward Proso):[25] refers to the features used to express elements of surprise and excitement or disgust. These may include a number of interjections such as 'Oh', 'Wow' and 'Eww'. In example 4.13 below, Fadia is using an interjection/set phrase `'oh my God'` to express an attitude of negative AFFECT (dissatisfaction) and disgust with the type of work being conducted by a medicine student in a documentary she had watched. It is particularly the tone with which she produces this phrase and the context in which it was produced that generates the effect of the attitude of AFFECT.

Example 4.13

`'I was like oh my God!?'` [Proso]

Instances where attitude is realised through prosody complicated the process of coding instances of APPRAISAL since the way I apply this feature is not always straightforward as I sometime use it - together with the 'Beyond sentence' feature (see point D below) -

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[25] It is worth pointing out that the addition of these two features (prosody & beyond sentence) to the existing classification may contribute to extending the APPRAISAL framework.

to account for invoked instances of APPRAISAL, as is the case with the next example.

D. Beyond sentence

<u>Example 4.14</u>

'<u>Change the subject</u>' [Beyond sentence/Proso]

In this example, Kamila is expressing her dissatisfaction with the topic Fadia is talking about; a documentary where a medicine student is giving details about the type of work (working with corpses) she conducts in the lab. Kamila's attitude, however, is not clear from the exploitation of specific linguistic items, but through the sum of the words in the utterance 'change the subject'[26] This effect is also reinforced by her tone of voice which indicates a sense of disgust and impatience, especially that this utterance was preceded by a similar one: '**Ohh,** enough, **change the subject, ok?!**'[27] but Zainab continues discussing it with Fadia and is surprised by Fadia's documentary choice. This attitudinal stance occurs very often and contributes to a large number of invoked attitudinal stances.

4.6.4 Identification of main categories of the APPRAISAL model

According to Eggins & Slade (1997:54), the process of examining instances of APPRAISAL in spoken interaction involves 'identifying APPRAISAL items', 'classifying' them, i.e. deciding which category they fall under, and finally interpreting these items. Before, the focus used to be only on speakers' feelings/emotions, which is the most recognisable type of AFFECT stance according to the previous, general classification mentioned above (see section 3.1.1). However, the APPRAISAL model provides a more detailed

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[26] I am aware that carrying out a pragmatic analysis of this example could yield interesting results in terms of what Kamila seems to imply through her utterance. This is particularly due to the potential power implications her use of the imperative 'change' brings. Although the use of the imperative typically sounds forceful, I would argue that due to the differences perceived by the participants towards the evaluative force of Arabic and English (discussed in detail in chapter 5 and 6), Kamila might have deliberately chosen English here. Through English, Kamila believes that she can express herself without sounding rude or impolite; an effect that the use of Arabic would have probably implied had it been used to convey the same message (see excerpt 6.2.2 below for a similar discussion). Although it can be seen that such a CS move is undertaken for relational reasons and not only for showing APPRAISAL, the area of (im)politeness/facework is beyond the scope of the current thesis (see the following footnotes: 46, 86, 89, 102, 119, 135 & 144) as well as the conclusion chapter for a further discussion on the current's study implications and potential contribution to research on facework/relational work.

[27] The bolded parts of the utterance are produced in English while the rest is produced in Arabic.

classification and a critical lens through which a speaker's entire range of attitudes, including emotions and points of views, can be analysed (Martin & White, 2005:2).

For this study, examining instances of evaluative stance (attitudes) involves three stages, following the examination process proposed above by Eggins and Slade (1997). First, I identify the lexical items used across a range of lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic categories (e.g. processes, attributes, etc.): items through which an instance of APPRAISAL is realised. Second, I investigate which attitude category the items or a specific instance of CS falls under. This step involves interpreting the evaluative meaning that can be inferred from a certain instance of CS in the context in which it is made. Then, I decide whether an instance of attitude is motivated by affective values (attitude of AFFECT), aesthetic values (attitude of APPRECIATION) or moral disposition (attitude of JUDGEMENT). Finally, I allocate a specific attitudinal category to the APPRAISAL instance, after which I also specify the name of the participant who made the evaluation and whether they or another participant was the object of evaluation. For each evaluative utterance, these features are specified:

1. Language in which an utterance is produced (Arabic vs. English)
2. The example that includes the instance of evaluation.
3. The attitude category, which is preceded by the mode in which the attitude is made (inscribed vs. invoked) and the orientation of the evaluation (positive, negative or neutral).
4. The linguistic features, which are underlined in the example, through which an evaluative stance is realised.
5. The name of the participant who took up the evaluative stance.
6. The object of the evaluation or, in some examples, the evaluator.

These six features are demonstrated and discussed in more detail in the next section. Also, a list of the full specification of these features, for each example occurring in peer-group interaction 1, can be found in appendix 3.

4.6.4.1 AFFECT

The first category of AFFECT (henceforward AFF) refers to 'situations which trigger the emotion' (Bullo, 2014:66) and is used as an expression of one's - as well as others' - positive or negative feelings. The speaker can either be the person who is experiencing the emotion (emoter), in which case the AFFECT instance is 'authorial' (henceforward A), or she can be the (reporter) in which case the AFFECT instance is 'non-authorial' (henceforward NA) (2014:66). AFFECT can be divided into four main sub-categories, and these are: 'inclination', 'happiness', '(in)security' and '(dis)satisfaction' (Martin & White, 2005:46). These sub-categories are far from rigid and can overlap, however, I present a short explanation of what I mean by each and how I use them to classify attitudinal stances in my data, based on how they are outlined in Martin & White (2005:48-50).

A. Inclination (henceforward incli): refers to a speaker's desire/willingness (positive) or fear (negative) to do something. I also use it to refer to the extent to which a speaker is inclined to feel and believe regarding a statement or a viewpoint.[28]

Example 4.15

'He <u>wants</u> to kill' [English (henceforward En.), + AFF, NA: incli, Pr: ment][29]

Through switching to English (En), Fadia here is expressing AFFECT (AFF) assigning negative values (-/+) of non-authorial (NA) inclination (incli) to the 'monster' character in *Frankenstein* who has a desire to kill others due to his nature as a monster. This is an instance of negative attitude that is constructed through a process (Pr), using a mental (ment) verb 'wants to (kill)'.

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[28] It is worth mentioning here that Martin's and White's definition of inclination could be linked to 'commitment', in addition to emotional inclination. It is particularly the second part of the definition where there seems to be an element of perspective taking and commitment to beliefs, making this stance of AFFECT similar to that of epistemic stance or the attitude of 'engagement', as defined by Martin and White (2005). This overlap between these categories of attitudinal APPRAISAL is one of many other limitations of the APPRAISAL model, an aspect that could pose a challenge for analysts when attempting to classify utterances using some of the vague classifications proposed by this model (see section 7.2 below for a discussion on limitations of the APPRAISAL model).
[29] [English, Positive AFFECT, Non-Authorial: inclination, Process: mental].

Example 4.16

'I <u>have no</u> idea' [Arabic (henceforward Ar.), - AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati][30]

In her response to my question about the correct pronunciation of a word, Fadia is expressing negative value of authorial attitude of carelessness/lack of interest in knowing the answer to the question.

B. Happiness (henceforward happi): refers to 'affairs of the heart' (Martin & White, 2005:49); and degrees of delight and enjoyment (positive), or those of sadness and despair (negative).

Example 4.17

'<u>Thank</u> God' [Ar, + AFF, A: happi, Proso/Interjection (henceforward interj)] [31]

In response to my question of how her family is doing back home, Fadia is expressing positive values of authorial contentment on her family's conditions.

Example 4.18

'<u>Sorry sorry</u>' [En, - AFF, A: happi, Qual: attrib] [32]

Kamila is expressing negative, authorial emotions, expressed through a display of apology to me at the end of a misunderstanding between us.

C. Security (henceforward sec): refers to the extent of one's feeling of confidence/trust. It can also refer to emotions of surprise (positive) and shock (negative).

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[30] [Arabic, Negative AFFECT, Authorial: inclination, Process: relational].
[31] [Arabic, Positive AFFECT, Authorial: happiness, prosody/interjection].
[32] [English, Negative AFFECT, Authorial: happiness, Quality: attribute].

Example 4.19

'Oh what?!' [En, - AFF, A: sec, Proso] [33]

Kamila is expressing negative, authorial feelings of 'uncertainty/insecurity' regarding the reason Fadia mentioned her name in a sarcastic comment the latter made in a previous turn to the current one Kamila is making.

D. Satisfaction (henceforward satisf): refers to the extent of a speaker's sense of pleasure/achievement.

Example 4.20

'American sense of humour, Yes!' [En, + AFF, A: satisf, Proso/Interj][34]

Fadia is expressing positive, authorial feelings of enjoyment and preference for the American sense of humour over the Egyptian sense of humour.

4.6.4.2 APPRECIATION

The APPRECIATION (henceforward APP) category deals with evaluating an object, commenting on its 'composition', its 'value' and one's 'reaction' to it (be it a reaction to the object's quality or its impact on the speaker) (Martin & White, 2005:56). Martin & Wight (2005:45) argue that attitudes expressed in APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT (see the following section) are usually made according to societal norms and social expectations. However, most instances of APPRECIATION made here are made according to the evaluator's personal taste/point of view. These sub-categories are:

A. Composition (henceforward comp): refers to the object's structure, for example, how simple or complex, new or old an object is, etc.

---

[33] [English, Negative AFFECT, Authorial: security, Prosody].
[34] [English, Positive AFFECT, Authorial: satisfaction, Prosody/Interjection].

Example 4.21

'It's <u>sticky</u>' [En, - APP: comp, Qual: attrib][35]

Zainab is making a negative comment on the texture of the strong white flour in comparison to wholemeal flour.

B. Valuation (henceforward val): refers to the value or the worth of an object, such as how 'authentic', 'real' it is, etc.

Example 4.22

'As a <u>healthy</u> thing' [En, + APP: val, Qual: attrib][36]

Fadia is reassuring me that my weight gain is a 'healthy', good thing.

C. Reaction-quality (henceforward React): refers to how beautiful or impressive an object is.

Example 4.23

'That's really <u>nice</u>' [En, + APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib][37]

Kamila here is impressed by the good quality of Fadia's wool scarf.

It is worth mentioning here that the sub-categories of each of the three main attitude categories may overlap and a clear-cut distinction between them cannot always be made. For example, Kamila's appreciation of the scarf may not only be based on its quality, but also on its composition as she and the other participants then go on to comment on the substances (wool, in this case) from which the scarf is made.

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[35] [English, Negative APPRECIATION: composition, Quality: attribute].
[36] [English, Positive APPRECIATION: value, Quality: attribute].
[37] [English, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: quality, Quality: attribute]

D. Reaction-impact (henceforward React): particularly refers to the speaker's perception of an object, an event or a statement, and the impact (henceforward imp) one of the latter makes on the speaker and the way they feel, as a result.

Example 4.24

'It was such a <u>pain</u>' [En, - APP, React: imp, Qual: nomi qual]³⁸
Aya is commenting on how difficult and boring (negative APPRAISAL) she found her dissertation project, which she did not choose to do but ended up picking.

Example 4.24 here shows that the blurry boundaries between categories in the APPRAISAL model can also be found between the main categories and not only the sub-categories (example 4.23 above). The instance of APPRECIATION here [React: imp] can be very easily confused with/understood as an instance of AFFECT - (dis)satisfaction - because in both cases, the speakers are experiencing some emotions due to an external stimulus, which can be less obvious or tangible in some examples of AFFECT where feelings are usually believed to be internal. The linguistic realisation of each instance can help on some occasions in differentiating one from the others. For example, an AFFECT instance is usually expressed through verbs while that of APPRECIATION is often realised through adjectives. However, the sense of APPRAISAL can sometimes be very similar and the two categories may become very blurred. Instances of 'hybrid realisations' are also referred to and acknowledged by Martin & White (2005:61). To illustrate this point further, I will consider this next example.

Example 4.25

'How <u>annoying</u>!' [En, - APP, React: imp, (- AFF A: Happi)/, Qual: attrib]³⁹

Kamila here is recalling a past negative experience she and Fadia went through. The

---

³⁸ [English, Negative APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: nominalised quality]
³⁹ [English, Negative AFFECT, Authorial: happiness/ Negative APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: attribute]

adjective `annoying` refers to the incident and how it impacted on Kamila. However, 'annoying' also denotes how Kamila felt at that point and her feelings towards the inconvenient situation she found herself in, making the utterance an example of AFFECT [- AFF A: Happi] too. For the sake of clarity, similar examples where two attitudinal categories blur are categorised according to the linguistic item that determines the attitude. In this case, therefore, the example is categorised as one of APPRECIATION, based on the use of the adjective `annoying`.

4.6.4.3 JUDGEMENT

The final category of attitude is JUDGEMENT (henceforward JUD)*, that is, giving one's opinion of another person's conduct and admiring or criticising their behaviour (Martin & White, 2005:52). The two main sub-categories that are listed under JUDGEMENT are sanction and esteem; where someone's degree of 'propriety' and 'veracity', or 'normality', 'capability' and 'psychological disposition/tenacity' are being judged respectively (*Ibid*).

A. Social Sanction (henceforward SS): refers to the evaluation of one's behaviour from an ethical point of view e.g. whether one is 'honest', 'moral', etc.

* SS (Propriety, henceforward prop):

Example 4.26

`'And do you drink it, Aya?'` [Ar, (I) + JUD, SS: prop, Beyond sentence][40]

Example 4.27

`'Do you drink it [laughing] after you've made it?'` [En, (I) + JUD, SS: prop, Beyond sentence]

---

[40] [Arabic, Invoked Positive Judgement, Social Sanction: propriety, Beyond sentence].

In both of these examples (same meaning conveyed in both languages), Narjis is asking Aya whether she drinks the healthy coffee drink she made as part of her project. Narjis here is, jokingly, making a negative judgement on Aya's attitude of promoting a drink that she does not actually drink: a behaviour that renders her a person with double standards. The pragmatic effect created by Narjis's utterance can only be perceived if the context in which the utterance occurred is considered. Unlike the previous examples discussed in the first two categories - AFFECT and APPRECIATION - the APPRAISAL made in this example is not inscribed, but is invoked (I) instead. Invoked instances of APPRAISAL are not usually borne out as a result of using one specific linguistic feature, rather, they are borne out of the 'interaction of multiple elements of the utterance' (White, 2001:11). Martin and White (2005:43) also argue that APPRAISAL may 'spread out and colour a phase of discourse as speakers (…) take up a stance'. As is the case in this example, it is important to look beyond the 'grammatical semantic level to the level of discourse' or beyond the level of sentence (Bullo, 2014:65). Therefore, context is of great importance in examining instances of APPRAISAL in general, particularly the invoked ones, especially when it comes to orientation. On the surface, this instance of APPRAISAL sounds negative or slightly critical, however, after considering the context and the tone in which the utterance is produced, it becomes clear that Narjis is only joking or teasing Aya for her disposition. As a result, and based on the implied/intended meaning in such examples, I choose to mark the orientation as positive and not negative.

* SS (Veracity, henceforward ver):

Example 4.28

`'Wait wait wait!'` [En, (I) - JUD, SS: ver, Beyond sentence/Proso][41]

On the surface, this example does not imply that Fadia is 'evaluating at all' (White, 2001:15) or making an APPRAISAL of anything, as there is no direct evaluative language used. However, when considering the context (see example below 4.29), it can be understood from Fadia's latching turn in line 5 that she is surprised by the new piece of

---

[41] [English, Invoked negative JUDGEMENT, Social Sanction: veracity, beyond sentence/Prosody].

information she heard Zainab telling me (L.3).

Example 4.29

1 **Zainab:** <Eating pizza> في وسط (.) حبة البركة فيها مدايرا امم:
العجينة؟

    (*oh you put Nigella Sativa in the*

    dough?)

2 **Hanan:** هادي يسموا فيها حبة البركة؟

  (*is that called Nigella sativa?*)

3 **Zainab:** إيـه=

  (*Yes*)

  (…)

4   الـكمـون الأسود

  (*Black cumin*)

5 **Fadia:** الـكمـون الأسود هو حبة البـركة؟ **wait wait wait**=

  (*Wait wait wait, the black cumin is the same as*

  Nigella sativa?)

6   <u>علاش مـا تـقـولـوش كمـون أسود!</u>

  (*Why don't you say black cumin?*)

  (…)

7   <u>تـى نحسابه حاجة تـانية أنـا!</u>

  (*I thought it was something else*)

As one could see in lines 6 and 7 above, Fadia goes on to question Kamila and make sure she understands what Zainab meant. It can be argued that Fadia here is indirectly (implied through her voice tone) questioning Zainab's credibility; thus, the example is an instance of an invoked JUDGEMENT.

B. Social Esteem (henceforward SE): refers to the evaluation of one's behaviour, personal characteristics or performance. JUDGEMENT in this case is performed in relation to how 'normal', 'capable' or 'tenacious' the person who is the subject of the JUDGEMENT is.

* SE (Normality, henceforward norm):

Example 4.30

'A <u>PhD student</u> room' [Ar, + T/ APP, React: qual> JUD, SE: norm, Qual: epith][42]

Fadia is making an appreciative comment on my room, particularly referring to how organised it is, using the nominal phrase `PhD Student`. This example illustrates an instance of a 'token' (henceforward T)[43] where an APPRAISAL instance seems to fulfil a specific function, but it actually fulfils another when the context is considered. In contrast to the previous JUDGEMENT instance where no direct evaluative language is included, this instance is an evaluative one although the attitudinal category is not the one that is actually intended by Fadia, which is APPRECIATION. Although Fadia is indeed impressed by my room, her tone is somewhat teasing as she and the others know how dedicated I am to my studies in general. I, therefore, argue that Fadia is teasing me through questioning my 'normality' and perfectionism. Again, I mark the orientation in this example as positive, taking into consideration the playful manner in which the speaker made the judgement, and especially that Kamila then echoes her stance and calls me `A real PhD student`.

---

[42] [Arabic, Token of positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: quality, Positive JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: normality, Quality: epithet].

[43] In cases where an attitudinal stance (JUDGEMENT, in this case) is taken through another (a token of APPRECIATION, in this case), the APPRAISAL stance is counted as that of JUDGEMENT (the implied stance) and not APPRECIATION.

* SE (Capacity, henceforward cap):

Example 4.31

```
'I'm a little bit slow today' <laughing>  [En, + T/ APP: val> JUD, SE: cap,
Qual: attrib]⁴⁴
```

In this example above, Fadia is making fun of herself for being a bit 'thick' that day, making a negative judgement of her mental performance. Similarly to the previous example, this is a 'token' where, on the surface, Fadia seems to be merely giving a description (APPRECIATION) of her comprehension abilities, but one could infer from the context and her joking tone (implied through her laughter) that she is displaying a sense of non-serious self-deprecation, making the APPRAISAL instance a positive one. The example below provides more context as to the reason behind considering this instance of JUDGEMENT a positive one:

Example 4.32

```
1 Fadia:  قـالـت كـمـيـلة 'I'm a little bit slow ^today^' <laughing>
           (Kamila would say 'I'm a little bit slow today')

2 Kamila: O what?

           (…)

3 Fadia: <to Kamila> (.) على قـولـتك
                       (As you usually say)
4 Kamila: آ:ه
           (Ooh)

           (…)

5 Kamila: أنـا I'm always slow Fadia! <Laughing>
```

---

⁴⁴ [English, Token of positive APPRECIATION: Value, JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: capacity, Quality: attribute].

(*I, I'm always slow, Fadia!*)

6 Fadia & Hanan: [Laughing]

7 Fadia: <to Kamila> أنـا بـنقـول علـى روحـي. **I.** لا علـى قـولـتك / أنـا .

'**I'm a bit slow**'

(*No, as you usually say, I, I, I'm talking about myself, that I'm a bit slow*)

What Fadia seems to be doing here, in addition to making fun of herself for being 'thick', is that she is taking up this stance by involving her friend - Kamila - in the conversation: `Kamila would say` (L.1) and `as you usually say` (L.7). Thus, it can be argued here that what Fadia also intended to do by taking up this stance is to bond with Kamila and maintain harmony with her by making a reference to a phrase that the latter often uses in similar situations.

The next example is an instance where the JUDGEMENT sub-category of capacity can be difficult to distinguish from that of APPRECIATION (Reaction: qual) as someone's personal characteristics/performance can be confused with the result of that performance. In the example below, Fadia is expressing her appreciation of my sense of organisation reflected in the calendar Fadia saw on the wall. This can be perceived as an instance of JUDGEMENT where Fadia is admiring my sense of organisation, but it can also be seen as an instance of APPRECIATION where Fadia is carrying a positive evaluation of how my room looks.

Example 4.33

1 Faida: الـــ **notes** متـاعـاتك شفت

(*I saw your notes*)

2   منظمة **is so** / حنـان **wow** قـلت

(*I thought wow, Hanan is so organised*)

3 Hanan: /Oh my God!

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4 Fadia: لا قصدي شفتهم هكي **//I read some stuff**

      (*No, I mean I just had a look. I read some stuff*)

5 Hanan: إيه (.)// لالا عادي

      (*Yeah, no, no. It's ok*)

6 Fadia: بس شفت الجدول/

      (*But I only looked at the timetable*)

7 ⟶   **^so::^ nice**

It is worth mentioning that these infrequent, blurred instances of AFFECT and APPRECIATION or APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT do not necessarily have negative implications on the analysis and the way APPRAISAL instances are classified. This is because the main purpose behind utilising the APPRAISAL model is to identify APPRAISAL stances in the data, their orientation (positive vs. negative) and whether they are made in Arabic or English. In other words, what is important is examining the evaluative nature of the stances participants take up and whether they are of an expressive nature (e.g. APPRECIATION or JUDGEMENT) or not. It is through recognising participants' expressive stances against the cultural values they adopt or draw upon, that it is possible to interpret the motivations behind such stances in detail. It is important to remind the reader, however, that the APPRAISAL model is known for its blurry boundaries and that some of my categorisation - despite the amount of explanation and justification given to make the categorisation process systematic and objective - might be challenged by other analysts.

* SE (Tenacity, henceforward tenac):

Example 4.34

'I thought you were studying' [Ar, (I) + JUD, SE: tenac, Beyond sentence][45]

---

[45] [English, Invoked Positive JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: tenacity, Beyond sentence].

Again, there is no direct evaluative language in this example, however, Fadia is making fun of my obsession with the TV series *Friends* (See the context of the example below) and lack of determination to stop watching it.

Example 4.35

1 Fadia:	**Friends?** إنـت عليهـم تـتفـرجي قــاعدة	
	(*You're still watching Friends?*)	
2 Hanan:	تخيـلي لـلأسف قــاعدة؟!	
	(*Yeah, unfortunately, can you imagine?*)	
3 Kamila:	والله؟	
	(*Really?*)	
4 Hanan:	مـرة مـرة	
	(*Sometimes*)	
5 Fadia: ⟶	نـحسابك تـقـري	
	(*I thought you were studying*)	

Overall, many JUDGEMENT instances in my data are either invoked or are realised through instances of APPRECIATION (tokens). When instances of JUDGEMENT are realised under a different value or through a 'token', I still regard these as inscribed instances as there is some kind of evaluative language used in the utilisation of these instances of APPRAISAL. However, when the APPRAISAL instance is realised beyond the sentence level, these are regarded as 'invoked'.

4.6.5 Macro level evaluative stances (Interactional identities/effects)

After examining the different stances the participants take up - through the three categories of attitude: AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT - I noticed that the participants are not only *appreciating* for the sake of evaluating an object or *judging* themselves or others only, or what can be called 'micro level' evaluative stances.

Instead, the participants are performing a 'macro level' of evaluation, for instance, being expressive (through AFFECT), giving compliments and being nice to others, and achieving or enhancing an in-group bond (through APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT). Thus, these micro level stances elicited from the attitudinal categories discussed above do not necessarily tell us about the pragmatic effects of the participants' evaluative utterances; however, the macro level evaluative stances invoke deeper interactional and evaluative effects. I argue that the pragmatic effects - (or what I referred to as 'interactional identities' in section 2.2.4 above) - highlighted through macro level stances have more potential in clarifying the ideological/cultural motivations of speakers when producing evaluative stances. I, therefore, would like to argue that the majority of the evaluative stances the participants take up have a macro level, pragmatic effect[46] that the speaker intended, but which is not necessarily evident unless the interactional context is considered (an application of this is discussed later in chapter 6). An instance of AFFECT or APPRECIATION does not necessarily have an actual social/interactional dimension if considered as a micro level stance only. However, the interpersonal aspect of evaluation is more salient when the social/pragmatic purpose behind such stances (individual or relational) is made the focus of analysis.

The identification of these two different levels of an APPRAISAL instance has not, to my knowledge, been explored previously by scholars who utilise the APPRAISAL model as an analytic tool. Mostly, it is the micro level that is the focus of analysis. However, I argue that considering the micro and macro levels of the evaluative nature of stances can enable us to make better sense of these stances.

4.6.6 Quantification Process

To find out the significance and frequency of the evaluative stances that participants make when they code-switch as hypothesised so far, I decided to make a comparison between the total number of the evaluative (attitudinal) stances made in both Arabic

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[46] I am aware of the implications that this idea of 'macro level' effects of the participants' evaluative stances may bring about to the face theory and research on (im)politeness and facework (more about this in footnote 86, 89, 102, 119, 135 & 144 below). Despite being an important aspect to be further pursued in future studies on facework/relational work, the scope of this study does not allow for any further elaboration (see the conclusion chapter for a detailed discussion on directions for future studies in relation to facework).

and English in the first peer-group recording. This recording is chosen because it is the longest of all the recordings and also the only one (in addition to another shorter recording) with all four participants taking part. To avoid any possible bias where the evaluative instances made in English might be higher, I am not only considering instances where CS (into English) occurs. Instead, I am considering all instances of evaluation, including those where Arabic is used separately.

The aim of this quantification task is to examine which language the participants utilise for sense-making and performing evaluation, and whether or not the evaluative stances taken up in English outnumber those produced in Arabic. Furthermore, the number of English evaluative stances each participant takes is investigated in relation to their English proficiency level. For example, the participant who is the least fluent - Zainab - is expected to make the least, compared to the more fluent participants: Kamila and Fadia. Other aspects to be compared are the ratio of the positive instances of evaluation in relation to the negative ones, as well as the ratio of the inscribed instances of evaluation in relation to the invoked ones.

That said, it should be noted that although this process provides a useful illustration of the relative frequency of the evaluative stances speakers take during a peer-group recording and the language in which these stances are taken, it should not be seen as representative of the actual number of stances taken in the rest of the recordings. In addition to the factor of time, the qualitative nature of this study arguably renders the process of quantifying all the evaluative stances made in every recording redundant and arbitrary. I would argue that this redundancy originates from the fact that everyday language produced in naturally occurring settings is very fluid and cannot be quantified accurately. For instance, it is very likely that the number of turns interactants take varies greatly and is hardly equal in each interaction. In each group, there is usually one speaker who dominates and one who does not talk as much as everybody else, for many reasons. Also, a speaker who code-switches ten times in a period of two minutes may not code-switch or take up an evaluative stance for as long as twenty minutes, depending on the context, and the relevance of the topic, as some topics may trigger more CS instances than others. However, this process is still valuable

in the way it gives an indication of how frequent the evaluative stances in English occur and thus gives an indication of how regularly the participants utilise them in their interactions.

4.6.6.1 Issues with carrying the quantification task

To my knowledge, the APPRAISAL model has mainly been applied to identify instances of APPRAISAL (attitude) made in monolingual (English) texts. The only other two languages to which the APPRAISAL framework has been applied are Standard Afrikaans (Bock, 2011), German (Baumgarten & Du Bois, 2012) and Gaelic (Smith-Christmas, 2013) in three works that investigated bilingual speakers' utilisation of CS as an evaluative resource. This scarcity in applying the APPRAISAL framework made the process of applying it to Arabic data and categorising Arabic instances far from straightforward. The translated version of Arabic evaluative instances made it somewhat challenging to classify these instances in terms of the attitudinal category they fall under, and to determine the linguistic features used to make an attitudinal instance. For example, translation could make it unlikely to be faithful to the original linguistic feature used as what is translated as an 'attribute' in English could be originally a 'process'. In example 4.34 below, 'frustrating' was originally 'frustrate me' in Arabic.

Example 4.36

```
Zainab: هكي اللي الكوشة أنا حتى تعقدني
        (Ovens like this are frustrating)
```

Another problematic aspect is determining whether an utterance includes one evaluative stance or two. For instance, in the following example, Kamila is agreeing with what I said - that Fadia's opinion was strange - and thus performing an identical evaluation to the one I performed.

Example 4.37

```
Kamila: [Ar] 'Yeah yeah this is strange'
```

Considering that 'yeah' refers to the evaluative instance of `strange`, I consider this utterance as one instance and not three. Another criterion that helps decide the number of evaluative instances is whether a pause is made between the parts making up the evaluative stance. In this example, Kamila produces the whole utterance without a noticeable pause, thus, I consider it to be one instance. In the next example, however, the evaluative instances identified are two as a pause can be heard between `true` and the rest of the utterance.

Example 4.38

Kamila: [Ar] 'True, it's because they are trick-based'

To conclude, this chapter has given an account of the main approaches that are adopted in this study in relation to data collection and analysis. It has also provided detailed information about the study's participants, focusing on my role and positioning as an insider researcher as well as justifying it. The chapter ended with a detailed discussion of the main analytical approach for this study: the APPRAISAL model. The chapter particularly focused on how this model can be applied to the current study's data and utilised to categorise and interpret them. This takes us to the next chapter where the main focus is on identity-related CS instances obtained from the series of small peer-group interactions. In doing so, the chapter provides a brief discussion of the different types of the participants' CS instances and their significance for taking up evaluative stances and expressing attitudes. The chapter also goes into detail about the different instances of attitudinal APPRAISAL taken by each participant, focusing on the nature and the function of such instances.

5: Results

This chapter presents and discusses the main types of CS instances that the Arabic-English bilingual participants deploy. In line with the central aim of the thesis, the chapter mainly focuses on the identity-related code-switches and how these bilingual participants use CS to enact and (re)construct different aspects of their individual and relational/interactional identities. The chapter also gives an account of the different functional realisations of these CS instances and the several evaluative (attitudinal) stances they indicate. Although this study is mainly qualitative, this chapter provides a brief quantitative analysis to give an indication of the frequency of such CS instances and the evaluative force often inferred from them. The chapter ends by discussing the variability existing within these code-switches/evaluative stances, how they are utilised differently by different participants and the possible reasons behind this variability. Throughout the chapter, the results and quotes obtained from the questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews are included in support of the different observations made around the identity-related motivations behind (evaluative) CS instances.

5.1 CS as an unmarked speaking style

After an analysis of the CS instances elicited from peer-group interactions, the main source of data in this study, the results show that CS is generally the unmarked speaking style that all participants display in their in-group conversations. The CS instances that the participants exhibit follow different patterns in terms of the socially-related functions for which they are utilised. Before discussing these instances in detail, I first report on the extent of the participants' awareness of their CS and their thoughts about it as a communicative asset.

5.1.1 Monolingual vs. bilingual mode

Based on the participants' questionnaire responses, where I could elicit some of their linguistic affiliations and views on CS, it is evident that these speakers tend to be quite

aware of their linguistic practice and are able to reflect upon it extensively. Their CS behaviour seems to be a subconscious act because, despite being aware of it most of the time and of their utilisation of it for some specific purposes, it does not seem to be a linguistic practice that they have full control over. This can be noticed in some of their responses where they express their occasional lack of complete control over their CS habits and the difficulty they experience when they need to keep the two languages separate. For example, Kamila says that although she speaks mostly English when non-Arabic speakers are around and part of the conversation, she thinks that it is very likely that she 'sometimes slip[s] into Arabic'. Similarly, Fadia says that she does not always manage not to code-switch when speaking with an Arabic monolingual despite knowing that they do not speak English. However, she compensates occasionally for this slip by providing a translation:

Excerpt 5.1[47]

1 Fadia: لان ما فيش تعبير آآه
   (*Because there is not an expression, eee*)

   (1.0)

2 Fadia: عندي في راسي يجيني في. بالعربي يجيني بنفس السرعة أو حاجة تعبر عاللي أنا بنقوله بنفس الطريقة
   (*In my head in Arabic that* ==comes as quickly as the other – English – expression==, *or an expression that conveys the same meaning I want to convey, in exactly the same way*)

3 Hanan: امـمم
   (*Emm*)

4 Fadia: لدلك نلقى روحي نستخدم حاجة انجليزية (.) بس لأني واعيه إن الشخص اللي قدامي /مش حيفهمها
   (*So I find myself using an English word, but because*

---

[47] Throughout this thesis, the word 'Excerpt' is used to present the participants' comments on their CS practice, i.e. the 'non-language' data.

I'm aware that the person I'm speaking with won't
  understand it)

5 Hanan: تف/. تضطري تـرجمي

  (*So you have to translate it*)

6 Fadia: نـترجمهـا علـى طـول

  (*I translate it straight away*)

7 Hanan: تـستدركي يـعني

  (*You rectify the situation*)

8 Fadia: ==I stop== ونـلاحظ فـي روحي نـدير فـيها هـادي هـلبا يـعني مـش . مـش
  ==code-switching==

  (*And I noticed that I tend to do this a lot, ==I mean,==*
  ==*not that I stop* code-switching==)

9 Hanan: ايـه

  (*Yeah*)

10 Fadia: ==it. it still. it still happens==(.)

These responses indicate that operating in the monolingual mode requires more effort
from the participants and that they have a general preference for functioning in the
bilingual mode over the monolingual mode. The complementary relation which exists
between the two languages further demonstrates the effectiveness and convenience of
the practice of CS and which renders the separation of Arabic and English a relative
challenge for most of them. The effort usually needed to control their CS practice is also
reflected in their hesitant answers to my question of whether they think they are
capable of smoothly maintaining a conversation with an Arabic/English monolingual
speaker. Most of them think that it will not be problematic but three of the four late
bilingual participants (Fadia, Aya and Kamila) expect that it would be through English,
rather than Arabic, that they could maintain a longer conversation in the monolingual
mode. Fadia explains this preference further in the following excerpt:

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Excerpt 5.2

```
Fadia: I think using only English would be a little bit easier
       (…) because of the context. living in England
```

Aya is another participant who expressed a particular appreciation of the liberation that the CS practice offers to her as a bilingual:

Excerpt 5.3

```
[Aya is telling Hanan about one Arabic monolingual friend they
know and how she sometimes uses English words with her,
unintentionally]
```

```
1 Aya:    قصدي لأن تعودنا احنا إن خلاص مافيش limits(.) it's like
          /yo.
          (I mean because we're used to, that's it there are no
           limits, it's like you)


2 Hanan:  /مخلط
          (Mixed)


3 Aya:    You're free(.) you can use with. <Laughing>


4         you're not stricted to one  فهمتيني؟
          (You know? you aren't restricted to one)
```

Although the participants' responses show a preference for using English when holding longer conversations, Arabic (the L1 of those participants) would still be the prominent language used for holding longer interactions, compared to English. Unsurprisingly, the least advanced participant of the late bilingual group finds maintaining a conversation in Arabic only, rather than English, a much easier task to carry out:

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Excerpt 5.4

1 Zainab: لا عادي عادي جدا=
      (*No, it's absolutely fine*)

2 Hanan: difficult/ / إن مش/: emm **fairly easy** معناها تحسيها?
      (*So, you think emm, it's fairly easy, like not*
      difficult?)

3 Zainab: /yeah yeah /yeah(.) yeah it's easy

Having said that, Zainab is aware of the difficulty she may experience if she needed to talk about a topic related to her PhD work that she only carries out in English. In the next excerpt, she comments on the difficulty of performing in the monolingual (Arabic) mode:

Excerpt 5.5

1 Zainab: لكن نحس فيها
      (*But I think*)

      (1.0)

2   **Somehow eee** فيها **effort somehow**
      (*It's somehow eee, it's effortful somehow*)

Interestingly, the one participant who seems to be the most comfortable using one language at a time is the early bilingual 'balanced' - Narjis. She comments:

Excerpt 5.6

1 Narjis: لا عادي عندي ما /في مشكلة
      (*No it's fine with me, no problem*)

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```
2 Hanan:    التنتين متل. /نفس الشي/
            (Both are the same to you)


3 Narjis:   /إيه (.) نفس بعض/
            (Yes, they're the same)
```

These differences regarding the participants' perception of the two languages and how they think they utilise them are also reflected in their CS practices, an issue that is explored later in the chapter (see end of section 5.2.2).

5.2 Patterns of CS: practical vs. identity-related (attitudinal) motivations

The two out of four options that all of the five participants ticked as the two main reasons that explain 'why they think they code-switch' are: 'to express emotions' and 'to refer to specific expressions that cannot be translated'. After analysing the participants' peer-group interactions, I found that these two reasons accurately describe the motivations behind most of the participants' CS instances. For the rest of this thesis, I refer to the first reason as 'identity-related' while 'practical' is used to refer to the second reason. 'Practical' refers to instances where CS has a referential function, such as filling a lexical gap for a word or an expression that either language (Arabic or English) lacks: a function that is usually fulfilled through insertions (discussed in section 2.1.2, chapter 2). 'Practical' CS may also include using CS for non-referential functions, such as discourse organisation where both languages are used to produce a coherent sentence, and to accommodate specific situational components, such as the topic, the interlocutor, context, and so on. Although not referred to in the questionnaire, this is also one of the main motivations CS is often utilised for. This function is often realised through alternations (discussed in section 2.1.2 above). The identity-related reason, however, mainly refers to using CS to negotiate different aspects of the participants' identities, in a more subtle way, through taking different evaluative stances to create a number of interpersonal effects. I start by discussing the first type: practical CS.

5.2.1 Practical CS

The first example of practical CS to discuss here is that of insertion, which is by far the most common patterns of CS deployed by the participants. Example 5.1 below provides an instance of insertions.

Example 5.1

1 **Fadia:**   كعك مـدايـره كمـيلـه <mark>**wholemeal**</mark>!
          (*Kamila made wholemeal biscuits?!*)

          (…)

2 **Zainab:** يـعنـي؟ <mark>**digestive**</mark> كـأن
          (*It's like digestives, basically?*)

3 **Kamila:** إيـه بـالـزبط **digestive** =كـأن أيـوا
          (*Like, exactly digestives. Exactly, yeah*)

The insertion here is that of the English adjective 'wholemeal', which is embedded into the sentential structure of Arabic, preceded by Arabic noun 'biscuits' كعك, together creating the noun phrase 'wholemeal biscuits'.

    In this example, 'wholemeal' indicates the speaker's experience of a particular type of product that she and the rest of the group started to consume after living in the UK and had not previously consumed when living in Libya. Despite it being widely consumed there too, I think this word is probably produced in English because they did not pay much attention to the product when they were in Libya or because it was not as available there as it is in the UK (*insider knowledge*). The use of the Arabic equivalent to wholemeal would also be suitable here, but the English one seems to be easier to retrieve in this case most of the time. As for the other insertion in line 2, the English nominal insertion of 'digestives' also refers to a product the participants first encountered in the UK and not back home in Libya. The noun insertion of

'digestive' here evokes the speaker's everyday experience of a shopping context in the UK and functions as a lexical gap filler that expresses accurately a concept they did not encounter first in Arabic.

The next example illustrates another instance of how participants use CS for practical reasons, such as organising discourse.

Example 5.2

`Narjis:` (.) إيه قصدك حتى لو ما عجنتيها **It's still ok**
     (Yeah, you mean even if you don't knead it much, it is
     still ok)

The Arabic clause here: 'إيه قصدك حتى لو ما عجنتيها' alternates with the English one: 'it's still ok', which completes the meaning of the Arabic clause, eventually creating a coherent sentence that is made up of two different codes.

5.2.2 Identity-related CS

When looking at the rest of the CS instances into English, I noticed that many of these are utilised to take up or shift temporary stances, both individual and relational. As is discussed later in this section, these CS instances can be best perceived in the light of the evaluation (AFFECT, APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT) speakers perform and the stances they take up. Unlike the practical function that CS serves, most participants do not seem to be aware of the identity-related function of their CS, which is the focus of this study. For example, during my interview with her, Kamila says that being a bilingual is only 'a practical and beneficial thing' to her in general. It is only at a later stage of the study and when she is asked to comment on some of her identity-related CS instances that Kamila realises that she uses CS for more subtle or personal reasons than she first thought:

Excerpt 5.7

`1 Kamila:` لو **feelings**(.) أنا **I know how to express my**

```
feelings(.) ^better^ in English(.)
```
(If it's feelings, I, I know how to express my
feelings better in English)

```
2           لـكن لـو حـاجة تـانـية no(.) I don't
```
(But if it's something else, no, I don't)

Another two late bilingual participants also alluded to this point during interviews. In an attempt to explain why she personally code-switches, Aya, for instance, seems to have an experience of the different stance or identity aspect that CS helps her to highlight.

Excerpt 5.8

```
1 Aya:   depends on the situation really(.)
```

```
2           مـرات إن: نـحسه أسهل to say it in English(.)
```
(Sometimes like I think it's easier to say it in
English)

```
            (…)
```

```
3           I guess sometimes the way you feel about English and
            Arabic is different
```

Likewise, Fadia thinks that `sometimes code-switching conveys seriousness or a change in tone`. She explains this in her comment below:

Excerpt 5.9

```
Fadia: There are different moods to when speaking one language
       or the other but generally both, to me, seem to be
       dependent on the context (…) speaking English is easier
       because of the context
```

I now turn to the next example, which provides a clear illustration of how CS is used to achieve identity-related purposes.

Example 5.3

```
1 Fadia: (.)أنـا بـاسم يـوسف(.) نـتفرج علـيه
        (I watch Bassem Yousef)


2       I think he's funny⁴⁸(.)


3       بـس مـش مـش كـل حـاجـاتـه تضحكنـي ⁴⁹ مـنعـرفـش علاش
        (but I don't find all things he says are funny, I don't
        know why)
```

Fadia here switches from Arabic into English in line 2 and then back to English in line 3. The first switch is one where she makes a positive JUDGEMENT about the performance of the Egyptian comedian Bassem Youssef: a JUDGEMENT realised through the adjective 'funny'. Then, she makes a second switch, but in the other direction - into Arabic - to take another evaluative stance - negative JUDGEMENT - that is directed at the comedian's skills, expressing an opposite view about some of his performances. The negative judgement this time is not directly realised through a negative form of 'funny' i.e. 'not funny'. Instead, Fadia expresses her stance through a negative verbal construction in Arabic 'not (…) make me laugh'.⁵⁰ However, for the sake of simplicity and since the stance would still be an evaluative (attitudinal) stance regardless of the translation chosen, I translate this to 'not funny' and consider this an example of negative JUDGEMENT rather than including the verb 'not (...) make me laugh' and consider it an instance of negative AFFECT. The first CS instance here can be regarded as a shift Fadia makes from stating a fact ('watching Bassem Youssef') to making a subjective comment through an evaluative JUDGEMENT 'I think he's

---

⁴⁸ [English, Positive JUDGEMENT, Social esteem: capacity, Quality: attribute].
⁴⁹ [Arabic, Negative Token of APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, JUDGEMENT, Social esteem: capacity, Quality: attribute].
⁵⁰ This is a clear example of the difficulties I faced while categorising instances of APPRAISAL. This can be either an instance of JUDGEMENT or AFFECT, based on whether I choose to translate تضحكنـي into 'not funny' or 'not … make me laugh'. The point, however, is that either attitudinal category is an instance of APPRAISAL/evaluative stance, which is my argument here.

`funny'`. The switch into Arabic also fulfils a similar function; it functions as another evaluative instance of some of the comedian's performances `'but I don't find all things he says funny'`, although it is a negative evaluative stance, in contrast to the positive stance taken in English.

This example shows how the speaker is utilising both Arabic and English to convey her message and it is clear that she is not assigning a particular role to either language. As the rest of the data illustrates, there is not much of a difference between the function that either language achieves. However, there seems to be a particular pattern emerging where English utterances - rather than Arabic ones - are repeatedly used to take up evaluative stances, which can be specifically expressive and positive as in the case of example 5.3 above. The social moves the participants utilise English for, such as performing positive evaluations, making compliments or displays of appreciations and excitement seem to be deliberately made through English rather than Arabic. The next chapter (chapter 6) includes a detailed discussion of these evaluative stances and provides examples that illustrate how each of these stances are taken through the three main attitudinal APPRAISAL categories: AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT.

As mentioned earlier in this section, most participants do not perceive their CS as identity-related unless I discuss a specific example with them. In the participant commentary session with each, most say that their CS is a way of adjusting to a situational component, whether that was accommodating to an interlocutor or talking about a language-specific topic. In the examples below, Fadia and Zainab, for instance, both think that their CS is motivated by a change in situation: 'situational CS'. In example 5.4 below, Zainab replies to Narjis's question in English, using the same utterance `'very nice'` Narjis uses at the end of her turn in line 1.

Example 5.4

1 **Narjis:** عالـــ تحكيلي قعدت **project** تبعها **very nice**!(.)
         (*She told me all about her project, very nice!*)

2   و: تـبع الـمدارس
                 (*The one about the schools and*)

3 Zainab: Yeah it's <mark>very nice</mark>[51]

4 Narjis: حكتلك عنو؟
                 (*Has she told you about it?*)

5 Zainab: Yeah

Zainab thinks that her CS is mainly triggered by Narjis's use of English. However, she also thinks that her CS, particularly with Narjis, is a tool to accommodate Narjis's preference for English over Arabic. While this might be true, I would argue that her CS instance in line 3 is an example of a positive, evaluative (APPRECIATION) stance like that found in the CS instance in example 5.3 and many others yet to be discussed. In example 5.5 below, Fadia similarly thinks that her CS into English is triggered by Narjis's preference for English over Arabic.

Example 5.5

[Narjis is handing in the coffee to Fadia]

1 Narjis: تـفضلي فـادية
                 (*There you go, Fadia*)

2 Fadia: بـارك الله فـيك
                 (*Bless you*)

3 Narjis: ويـبـارك فـيك يـا رب
                 (*Any may Allah bless you too*)

4   Fadia: <mark>Thank   you   ^so   much^</mark>[52]

---

[51] [English, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: quality, Quality: attribute]
[52] [English, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: adjective phrase/prosody]

She further explains:

Excerpt 5.10

```
Fadia: Perhaps it's related to the fact that Narjis uses
       English a lot and I was used to using it with her as
       much as Arabic (…) even a bit more than Arabic
```

As is the case in the previous example, Fadia's CS can be considered identity-related as she is clearly using English here to take a positive, evaluative stance that highlights her APPRECIATION of Narjis for the coffee she made. Interestingly, Fadia acknowledges this as a possible reason for she also adds:

Excerpt 5.11

```
Fadia: I replied back in Arabic and added the 'thank you so
       much' in English just to confirm my appreciation of the
       effort.
```

After an analysis of the CS patterns that the participants exhibit in the one-to-one semi-structured interviews, it becomes clear that these patterns resonate with the ones exhibited in the peer-group interactions, both in terms of frequency and their identity-related nature. There are also many instances where the participants' commentary on their CS practice triggers a switch into English or is expressed through a positive evaluative stance that is taken in English. For example, in her response to my question, which is formulated and asked in English: 'Can you tell me what it means for you that you're a bilingual?', Aya does not stick to English, instead switching between Arabic and English repeatedly over lines (1 - 4). What is of significance here is that Aya does not only code-switch into English to perform an instance of positive evaluation, which is realised through her attitude of AFFECT in line 4: `enjoy`, but she also switches into English to make a positive comment on the practice of CS itself - `mixing languages`

- and how she views it.

Excerpt 5.12

```
1  Aya: I think it's kind of fifty fifty(.) Like
```

```
2              مـرات نـحس إن
            (I sometimes feel that)
```

```
            (2.0)
```

```
3              مـرات نـحس إن احنـا عرب معنـاها مفـروض إن نـتكلمو عربـي قصدي
                علاش نـتكلمو. نـستخدمـوا كلمـات انـجليـزيـة؟
            (Sometimes I feel. Sometimes I feel that we're Arab so
            we should be using Arabic, I mean why do we speak. Use
            English words?)
```

```
4              لكن فـى نـفس الـوقت أنـا personally(.) ^I^. because ^I^
            enjoy⁵³ (.) I enjoy mixing languages <laughing>
            (But at the same time, personally, I, because I enjoy. I
            enjoy mixing languages)
```

In a similar example, Zainab code-switches into English to perform two instances of positive evaluation: positive JUDGEMENT in line 3: `don't stress you out` and positive AFFECT in line 5: `feel relaxed`.

Excerpt 5.13

```
1 Zainab:  th. مـمكن لأن الـلي حوال. لان تـعرفـي الانـجليـزي أصلا
            (Maybe because those around, because you know how
             English people are, they actually)
```

```
2 Hanan:    صح=
```

---

⁵³ [English, Positive AFFECT, Authorial: satisfaction, Process: mental]

```
               (Correct)


3 Zainab:  They don't stress you out⁵⁴ /anyway يـعـنـي
           (They don't stress you out anyway, I mean)


4 Hanan:   /إيـه إيـه إيـه
           (Yeah, yeah, yeah)


5 Zainab:  فـنـحس فـي روحي I feel: relaxed⁵⁵
           (So, I find myself feeling relaxed)
```

The participants' tendency to code-switch in different contexts repeatedly confirms the unmarked nature of this practice. CS does not only occur when interacting with other bilingual speakers/in a group, but it also occurs in one-to-one sessions where the other bilingual interactant (the interviewer here) is not code-switching. Nevertheless, the form through which Zainab expresses herself (CS) can be regarded as the result of my mere presence as a bilingual friend and interviewer, a factor that may have increased the frequency of her CS.

In this regard, Rapley (2001:304) suggests that the form that interview data take can be seen as 'a reality constructed by the interviewee and the interviewer'. What is also interesting about these two instances (excerpts 5.12 and 5.13) is the connection made between the meaning behind Aya's and Zainab's utterances and the format these utterances take. In these two examples, Aya and Zainab code-switch into English to convey a particular meaning and perform positive evaluation, which is the main identity-related aspect that has been argued so far to be the motivation behind the participants' CS into English. In other words, it is through these CS instances into English that the participants' positive attitude towards CS and their positive experience with people in the UK are expressed and highlighted. Along the same lines, Burkette (2013, cited in Burkette, 2016:334) argues that

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⁵⁴ [English, Positive JUDGEMENT, Social sanction: propriety, Process: relational]
⁵⁵ [English, Positive AFFECT, Authorial: inclination, Quality: attribute]

in an interview conversation, narrative content can work in tandem with grammatical features as speakers express their opinions, construct their identities, and enact stances

5.2.3 Evaluative stances: Arabic vs. English

During the participant commentary session I conducted with Kamila, she accurately summarises her perception of her utilisation of both languages and the different functions she assigns to each of them. Kamila says that she finds herself using English to express her emotions (evaluative stances) while she mostly utilises Arabic for talking about factual aspects of a topic or when there is a need to elaborate on a specific point. In her commentary on her CS in the next example (Example 5.6 below), Fadia also seems to agree with Kamila on her perception of Arabic.

Example 5.6

1 Fadia: قـالـت كـمـيـلـة `I'm a little bit slow ^today^'` <laughing>

2 Kamila: O what?

3 Hanan: =Who is slow?

4 Fadia: <to Kamila> (.) علـى قـولـتك
                  (*As you usually say*)

5 Kamila: آ:ه
      (*Ooh*)

6 Fadia: =<mark>**I'm a little bit slow today**</mark>[56]

7 Kamila: أنـا **I'm always slow Fadia!** <Laughing>
      (*I, I'm always slow, Fadia!*)

8 Fadia & Hanan: [Laughing]

---

[56] [English, Positive Token of APPRECIATION: val, JUDGEMENT (of oneself - Faida), Social Esteem: capacity, Quality: attribute]

9 Fadia: <to Kamila>‏ أنـا بـنقـول على روحي. **I.** لا على قولـتك / أنـا.

                                     `'I'm  a bit slow'`

                                     (*No, as you usually say, I, I, I'm talking about myself, that I'm a bit slow*)

Here, Fadia first switches into English in line 1 and 6 to take a positive evaluative stance (implied through a playful self-JUDGEMENT), using a sarcastic phrase in English: `'I'm a little slow today'` that Fadia knows that Kamila often uses. Later in the conversation, Fadia switches into Arabic in line 9 to explain to Kamila the reason she mentioned her name: *'No, as you usually say, I, I, I'm talking about myself, that I'm a bit slow'.* In the following excerpt, Fadia explains to me the reason behind her CS into Arabic in line 9:

Excerpt 5.14

```
Fadia: Yeah, I spoke in Arabic to make my point but I used
       English in the first instance because I wanted to quote
       what Kamila said. I then had to explain what I meant
       Because no one understood so I elaborated on the point
       in Arabic (emphasis added).
```

Kamila's and Fadia's perception of Arabic is further supported by and reflected in the way Arabic is used, as opposed to English, in different peer-group interactions. For example, there is usually at least a period of ten or more minutes in an hour where participants speak dominantly in Arabic and use hardly any English. These parts of the interaction tend to include detailed discussions about current affairs and news about Libyan politics, which most late bilingual participants reported listening to in Arabic and not in English. Furthermore, the participants usually discuss Libyan-specific topics, gossip, or tell each other funny anecdotes in Arabic rather than English. If English is used at all, it is mostly confined to a few insertions. Because of limitations of space and in keeping with the focus of this study, I give only a brief illustration of this point:

Example 5.7

1 **Kamila:**   حتى زمان(.) كانوا الشعب الليبي كلهم. قصدي أغلبهم
                 يعني(.) كانوا من طبقة واحدة
                 (*Even before, Libyan people were all. I mean most of*
                 them. They used to be all the same level)

2 **Hanan:**   صح (.) صح//
                 (*True true*)

3 **Kamila:**   //كلهم. كلهم الدخل متاعهم متوسط(.) كانوا هكي الأغلب
                 (*All of them. They all had average incomes. Most of*
                 them were like this)

4 **Zainab:**   إيه
                 (*Yeah*)

5 **Kamila:**   توا في فجوه/ه راه! فجوة كبيرة توا!
                 (*But now there's actually a gap! A big gap now*)

6 **Zainab:**   /فجوه
                 (*A gap*)

7 **Hanan:**   حتى أنا وما نعرفش علاش صايره!
                 (*I know, but I don't know why is this!*)

8 **Zainab:**   ولى الغنى الفا:حش
                 (*It's excessive richness*)

9 **Kamila:**   علاش! لأن ولى فيه الـــ: ناس تخنب في الفلوس وناس ما
                 عندهاش فلوس!
                 (*You know why? Because there are the, people who*
                 steal and those who don't have money)

10 **Zainab:**   إيه
                 (*Yes*)

11 **Hanan:**   قصدك توا إن بعد التورة(.) //إن:

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12 Kamila: إيـه! هلبا نـاس خنبـوا لأن هلبا هلبا!

(*Yes! Because many people stole money, many many*)

13 بـالـدات هـادوا جمـاعة الـكتـائب والـجو هادا(.) هادا كلـه فلـوس خشوا علـيـهم بـالـهبل

(*Especially those associated with militias and stuff like that. These people got lots of money, in one go*)

This example is an illustration of an Arabic-only interaction that lasts about 28 seconds. The three participants, particularly Kamila, use Arabic exclusively to comment on the current changes taking place in the social structure of Libyan society after the revolution. Although this interaction is not long enough to show the participants' lack of need to code-switch into English in this context, it can still be noticed that the context requires the participants to use Arabic only. Since they hear about this topic in Arabic-speaking news outlets and from Libyan relatives, using Arabic is more convenient and happens automatically here. This is particularly true for some words, which have become widely used after the revolution, such as 'militias'. The Arabic equivalent to that كتـائب is used so often that retrieving it in Arabic is likely to be much easier in Arabic than in English. Thus, although switching into English is unmarked, Arabic - as the L1 of all the participants - is still used for holding interactions for longer periods of time, especially when addressing specific topics.

Another difference between the participants' utilisation of the evaluative function of both languages is to do with the extent of the effectiveness of either and the emphatic force underlying them. Similarly to the evaluative/subjective function of the English phrase 'I'm a little bit slow today' used in the previous example, English is again used in the next example (Example 5.8) to make personal remarks where Fadia is telling me how much she enjoyed (realised through positive APPRECIATION) a documentary she had recently watched.

Example 5.8

1 **Fadia:** والغريب ان في البرازيل عندهم أقل عنصرية من الـــ أمريكا!
(*The weird thing is that there's less racism in Brazil than in America*)

2 طول لهادا عرفتي؟ **they're** / <mark>open-minded</mark>[57] ليش؟ لأن
(*Why? because they're open-minded, open about this, you know?*)

3 **Hanan:** واخدين/
(*They got used to*)

4 **Fadia:** عندهم: عندهم تنوع كت . كبير عرفتي؟
(*There's too mu. a huge diversity there, you know?*)

5 بـس <mark>very interesting!</mark>[58]
(*But it's very interesting!*)

6 **Hanan:** حتى غادي نحس الناس::
(*Even there, I feel that people*)

7 **Fadia:** باهي؟! **DNA**= مش داروا تحليل
(*They analysed his DNA, ok?*)

(...)

8 <mark>حاجات غريبة</mark>[59]!
(*Weird stuff*)

9 <mark>very interesting</mark>[60] documentary

Unlike Arabic, which is mostly used to give a general account of the documentary in line

---

[57] [English, Positive JUDGEMENT, Social esteem: propriety, Quality: attribute]
[58] [English, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: attribute]
[59] [Arabic, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: attribute)
[60] [English, Positive APPRECIATION, Reaction: impact, Quality: attribute]

1 and 7, English is instead used on three occasions for taking three, positive evaluative stances: A positive JUDGEMENT in line 2 and two instances of positive APPRECIATION in lines 5 and 9. Below, Fadia explains the possible reason behind her CS into English here:

Excerpt 5.15

```
Fadia: I was also expressing my personal opinion as it was very
       interesting to me and again, I normally use this
       expression ''very interesting'' a lot'
```

However, when focusing on the one instance where Arabic is utilised to make an evaluative stance (L.8), one can notice that the evaluative English utterance `very interesting` is used both before - line 5 - and after - line 9 - the Arabic one in line 8. This suggests that even when Arabic is used in performing an evaluation, English utterances seem to be more effective and thus, are needed to emphasise what has been already expressed in Arabic. That said, it is worth mentioning that Fadia's and Kamila's perception of the evaluative force of both languages is not necessarily shared by all the participants, and not even by all the late bilingual participants. For example, Zainab's CS patterns seem to be slightly different from the rest (Aya, Kamila and Fadia), particularly when it comes to the intensity of her evaluative CS into English.

A number of observations have been made in the current chapter so far. They can be summarised as follows:

1- The majority of the evaluative and APPRAISAL-laden instances, which are mostly positive, are repeatedly and noticeably exhibited through switches made into English rather than Arabic. A detailed discussion of this observation, the reasons that led to it and the potential social significance behind this CS pattern will follow in section (5.3.2) below.

2- The late bilingual participants with a more advanced level of English (Kamila, Fadia and Aya) make more evaluative stances when switching into English than

the less advanced L2 speaker (Zainab) does. Section (5.3.3) below includes a discussion of this observation and also provides a number of potential explanations for it.

In order to explore these observations in detail, I carried out a quantitative analysis to help uncover some of the underlying patterns. The results of this analysis are reported in the next section.

5.3 Quantitative Analysis

In this quantitative task, I categorised and quantified all of the evaluative stances, which are realised through instances of (attitudinal) APPRAISAL found in the CS instances that occurred in one of the six peer-group interactions, focusing on the **language** (Arabic and English) and the **participant** who made the APPRAISAL (stance taker). This categorisation process is carried out following the stages detailed in section 4.6.4 above. As mentioned earlier in this section, only one peer-group recording is quantified so this is not intended to be an accurate representation of the number of stances participants take in the rest of recordings. Instead, it should be considered a useful indication of the frequency with which such evaluative stances are taken by each participant, and the language through which these stances are mostly taken. This quantification task also does not yield results about the evaluative instances made by all of the five participants; instead, it only discusses the results based on three of the late bilingual participants: Kamila, Faiha and Zainab. The other two participants, Aya and Narjis, did not take part in this peer-group recording and space and time do not allow for quantifying instances made in other recordings these two participants participated in.

The main results are as follows:

1. Almost half of the overall evaluative stances are taken in English, through code-switches into English. This then shows that expressing attitudes is regarded as the triggering force behind the participants' evaluative CS into English.
2. The number of positive evaluative stances taken in English is higher than the number of negative stances.

3. The more advanced late bilingual participants take more English evaluative stances than the less advanced participant does.

The next three sections (5.3.1 - 5.3.3) provide a commentary on each of these three points.

5.3.1 The total number of APPRAISAL stances in both languages

The results yielded by the quantitative analysis show that there is not a big difference between the total number of the evaluative stances made in each language. Out of a total of 628 evaluative instances that occurred in this peer-group recording, those made in Arabic (335) make up 53.4% of that total (See table 5.1 below). This is a surprisingly low number when we consider that Arabic is the participants' L1.

Table 5.1: The total number of APPRAISAL stances in both languages

Total number of APPRAISAL stances	628
English	293 (46.6%)
Arabic	335 (53.4%)

5.3.2 The overall orientation of APPRAISAL instances in both languages

There is a noticeable difference between the number of the overall positive (331 and negative evaluative instances (234) made in this peer-group recording (See figure 5.1 below). The overall positive stances that the participants take make up more than half (52.7%) of the total stances, across the different orientations (Negative: 37.3%, Neutral: 10%).
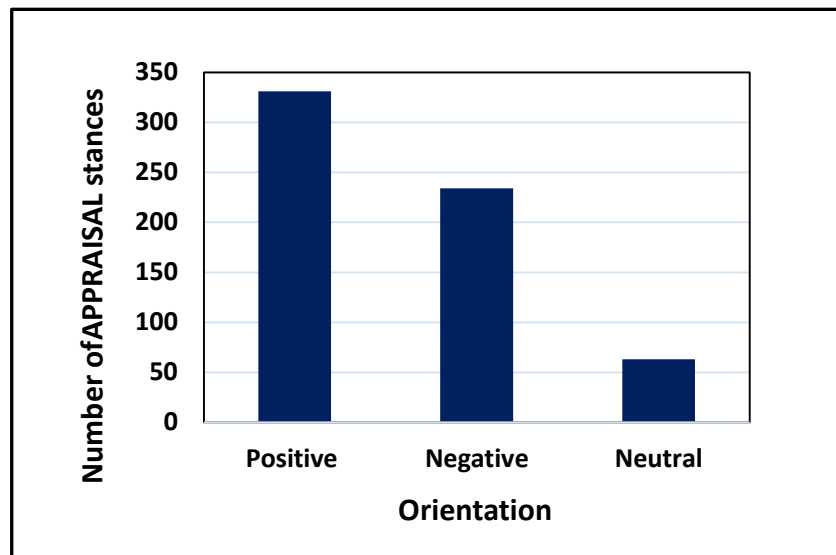
Figure 5.1: The overall orientation of the total number of APPRAISAL stances

Table 5.2 provides the frequency of the positive stances taken in each language. It shows that the positive APPRAISAL stances taken in English alone (56.25%) do not outnumber those made in Arabic (60.75%) (unlike the initial observation made earlier at the end of section 5.2.3). This can be explained by the fact that Arabic is the participants' L1; thus, they are more likely to use it to take up evaluative stances, whether they were positive or negative. However, it can be noticed from the figures in table 5.2 below that within English alone, the number of positive stances does indeed outweigh the number of negative stances (43.75%), therefore supporting the hypothesis presented at the end of section 5.2.3. However, it is worth mentioning here that the examination of the orientation of stances does not seem to eventually help when interpreting the data as the percentages of positive and negative stances taken in each language are very similar. Also, the examples explored in the discussion chapter demonstrate that the distinction between positive and negative stances does not appear to be of great significance as neither positive stances necessarily refer to 'good' stances nor negative ones to 'bad' stances. What seems to matter the most is that stances of both orientations are of expressive nature and are used to show APPRAISAL.

Table 5.2: The total number and percentage of APPRAISAL stances and their orientation in both languages

Language	Positive APPRAISAL	Negative APPRAISAL
English	**153** (56.25%)	**119** (43.75%)
Arabic	**178** (60.75%)	**115** (39.25%)

To go back to the participants' noticeable utilisation of English for positive instances of APPRAISAL, it is argued that such positive stances seem to be linked to the participants' experience of the UK as well as their experience with British people in general. In the one-to-one interviews with the participants, all of their responses to my question: 'How would you evaluate your experience in the UK?' clearly show their positive experience in the UK and attitude towards the British people. These excerpts below summarise some of the participants' answers:

```
Kamila: Very: positive (…) ee(.) I think people are very
        friendly(.)people are very nice(.) and: yeah
```

```
Fadia:  The mentality of the people is generally positive and
        open-minded (…) I think English people are different to
        Arabs, but (…) there is the good and bad in everywhere
        (…) I admire British people's acceptance of difference
```

```
Zainab: (Very excellent, honestly (2.0) Very excellent on
        different levels)
```

```
Aya:    It's a really(.) great(.) experience(.) umm(.) Very
        enjoyable(.) very worthwhile(.) umm(2.0) It's like(1.0)a
        life-changing experience (…) and people don't. won't
        really judge you
```

One can notice from these excerpts above that the participants repeatedly used a range of adjectives with positive connotations, for instance, `nice`, `friendly` and `open-minded`. Because of these positive attitudes, it is probably not very surprising

that these participants would adopt the style of emotional expression of the target community - British society - they have been socialised in. Therefore, I argue that using CS in taking evaluative stances, particularly the positive ones, is driven by the certain values and social meanings ('nice', 'polite', 'friendly', etc.) that the participants assign to the English language and the way it is specifically used by members of British society (a more detailed discussion follows in the next chapter). The CS pattern that the participants exhibit, particularly for expressing emotions through the attitude of AFFECT, may also be understood in relation to how the participants think Arabs/Libyans express themselves differently to British people. This pattern may also be linked to the shared ideological associations the participants make between both languages and their social significance. Excerpt 5.16 is part of a conversation I was having with the participants about my study and how it seems as if we are borrowing English words to express our emotions. Fadia agrees with me and goes on to explain to Kamila why she thinks so:

Excerpt 5.16

1 Kamila: بـس أنـا مـا نـحسش روحي انـجليـزية
             (*But I don't feel I'm English*)

2 Fadia: إنـت لا (.) إنـت مـش تـحسي روحك انـجـ/لـيـزيـة=
             (*you're not, it's not that you feel you're English*)

3 Kamila: /إيـه إيـه
             (*Yeah, yeah*)

4 Fadia: مـتا:عك (.)تعبـري عليـهم بـالطريقـة . ^**emotions**^ إنـت الـ
             بـالانـجليـ/زي
             (*You, you express your emotions in the way, the English way*)

5 Hanan: /بـالـطريـقـة
             (*in the way*)

6 Fadia: **let's say** بطريـقـة انـجليـزية

7 Kamila: **oka::y**!

8 Fadia: **It doesn't mean** .مـتلا مـرات الـليـبيين مـايـعبروش عـلى مـشاعـرهم

(*It doesn't mean, for example, <mark>sometimes there are feelings that Libyans don't express</mark>*)

9 Kamila: =إيـه مـعـاك مـية فـي الـمـية صح. مـعـاك

(*Yeah, I agree, one hundred percent, true, I agree*)

Fadia here thinks that when they, as bilingual participants, express their emotion, these emotions and the phrases they use to express them are influenced by the way British people express them. Interestingly, Fadia links this to the way in which they, as Libyans, express (or more accurately, do not express) their emotions: `there are feelings that Libyans don't express`. What Fadia and Kamila, who agrees with Fadia at the end of this excerpt in lines 8 and 9, discuss here suggests that in Libyan Arabic, things may be left unsaid and that emotions are mostly implied or mostly expressed in a subtle way. This idea is elaborated on in section (6.1) on AFFECT in the next chapter.

5.3.3 The total number of APPRAISAL stances per participant

The quantitative analysis also shows that the second observation made above (end of section 5.2.3), namely that the more advanced late bilingual participants deploy more evaluative CS instances into English than the less advanced participant, holds true. Table 5.3 below shows that the total number of the evaluative stances made by Zainab, who is the least advanced L2 speaker of the four late bilingual participants who are taking part in this recording, is indeed much lower (140) than that of the more advanced L2 speakers: Fadia (242) and Kamila (246).

Table 5.3: The total number of APPRAISAL stances made per participant in both languages

Participant	Total number of APPRAISAL stances
Zainab	140
Fadia	242
Kamila	246

However, this difference is even more significant after investigating the number of evaluative stances each of the participants make, in each language separately (see table 5.4 below). This detailed investigation shows that Zainab's utilisation of English for performing evaluation is indeed less frequent than that of Kamila's and Fadia's.

Table 5.4: The total number of APPRAISAL stances made per participant, in each language

Participant	Appraisals (English)		Appraisals (Arabic)	
Kamila	133	**(54.07%)**	113	(45.03%)
Fadia	129	**(53.31%)**	113	(46.69%)
Zainab	30	**(21.43%)**	110	(78.57%)

This difference in frequency is also illustrated in figure 5.2 below, which shows that the English evaluative stances Zainab takes comprise only 21.4% of the total number of stances she made overall. However, it is not surprising, as I discuss in the next section, that the majority of her evaluative stances are made in Arabic, and not in English.
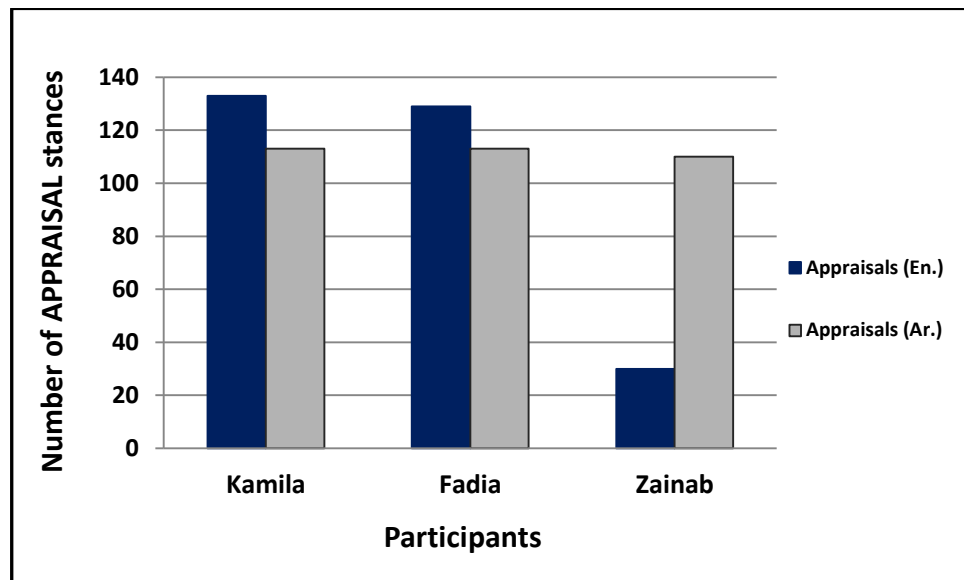
Figure 5.2: The difference in frequency of (Ar. and En.) APPRAISAL stances between participants

5.3.4 Evaluative CS: in-group variation (Late bilinguals)

Despite it being a small group, the late bilingual group members of this study vary in the number of evaluative CS instances they take, as shown in the previous section. When asked about her view of CS, Zainab clearly considers it more a practical skill than a means of expressing an identity-related function: a view that the rest of the late bilinguals (Kamila, Fadia and Aya) do not seem to share to the same extent. On this issue, Zainab says:

Excerpt 5.17

```
1 Zainab:   (.)إنـهـا شي مفـيـد وعمـلي=
            (It's [CS] a useful and practical thing)

2           maybe because I don't code-switch a lot (…) I code-
            switch when when it's necessary
```

The different significance Zainab assigns to using English for performing evaluation (as can be interpreted from excerpt 5.4 above), particularly for expressing emotions

(AFFECT), seems to be attributed - as found in studies cited in Pavlenko (2011:248-249) - to her 'age of L2 acquisition' and 'immersion in L2 context'. These two factors, which are also predictors of learners' linguistic proficiency, are often reported to be used as indicators of the extent to which L2 speakers experience 'conceptual restructuring' too, a process whereby advanced L2 speakers experience a change in the way they acknowledge or express their emotions (Pavlenko 2011:250). For example, studies reported that more advanced and fluent L2 speakers show a greater preference for expressing their emotions in L2 (Reported in Pavlenko, 2011:250). These findings seem to hold true for the participants too if taking into consideration Zainab's 'advanced' proficiency (self-reported and researcher-reported), compared to the rest of the late bilingual group members, who classified themselves as 'native-like'. Thus, Zainab's lack of fluency can be attributed to her late age of L2 acquisition, which I consider, both for her and the other participants, to be the age of arrival to the UK (see section 4.2 above).

Zainab's lack of proficiency can also be explained through her lack of 'immersion in L2 context', which is, I would argue, a consequence of her older age of arrival to the UK, compared to the rest of participants. Due to the relatively younger age at which they arrived in the UK, Fadia, Kamila and Aya probably had greater opportunities for cultural integration into British society. For instance, it is evident based on the three participants' questionnaire answers that they are heavier consumers of English-speaking media, such as American films and songs, than Zainab is. Zainab is the only one who indicates in her answers that she prefers listening to music and watching movies or comedy particularly in Arabic, and not in English. Furthermore, when asked about the language she tends to think in, she says that it is always Arabic (excerpt 5.18 below). Again, the other three late bilinguals say that they often think in English.

Excerpt 5.18

Zainab: (*Maybe it's also because I am the kind of person who,* **when I think, between me and myself,** *I actually speak in Arabic*)

The high linguistic proficiency of Fadia, Kamila and Aya may have also played a role in the frequency of their code-switches as they often utilised ready and natural phrases, which are formulaic in nature. However, based on my observations, Zainab's CS instances seem to be mostly insertions although no quantitative analysis was conducted to measure this accurately due to time constraints.

In addition to her linguistic abilities and preferences, being older, having a job and having had a somewhat more independent lifestyle in Libya prior to her arrival to the UK may have contributed to Zainab's more established sense of identity compared to Fadia, Kamila and Aya, who had not even finished their first degree when they first arrived in the UK. All of these factors, therefore, could explain the difference between Zainab's and the rest of the late bilingual group's utilisation of English for taking up evaluative stances. However, this pattern is also supported by a similar one that is exhibited by late bilinguals in previous studies. For example, Dewaele (2005) found that advanced L2 speakers who are highly socialised in the host culture tend to produce emotional expressions in L2, unlike less proficient speakers. Similarly, a study carried out by Hammer and Dewaele (2015:24) found that

> Higher levels of acculturation (...) in the L2 speaking country correspond to higher self-reported proficiency levels in migrants and an increased perception of the L2 as emotional

This section shows that that the four late bilingual participants in this study can be divided into two sub-groups (Zainab vs. Kamila, Fadia and Aya), based on the function of their CS instances, or more specifically, the intensity of their utilisation of evaluative CS. Having said that, the group of five bilinguals can be divided into three sub-groups when taking into account the function and the evaluative nature of the CS instances that the fifth participant - Narjis, who is an early bilingual - utilises. The next section explores this.

5.3.5 Evaluative CS: early bilingual vs. late bilinguals

As an early bilingual and an 'English-Arabic' bilingual, Narjis's CS instances are different, to a certain extent, to those made by the two sub-groups of the late bilinguals (Kamila,

Fadia and Aya vs. Zainab). This can be attributed to her native command of English and her different perception of it, compared to the rest of the group for whom English is an L2. Although Narjis can be considered a balanced bilingual as she often seems to be comfortable communicating in both languages very smoothly, her early AoA of English means that she usually considers it to be her 'more' native language or the one she is most proficient in, if she were to choose between the two:

Excerpt 5.19

```
1 Hanan:   Which do you ^think^(.)

2          (Eee, like, which language do you think you're
           least(.) proficient in?)

3 Narjis: (Arabic)
```

When it comes to a specific aspect of evaluation, that is expressing emotions or the attitude of AFFECT, Narjis's utilisation of English is not different from the rest of the group, particularly the more advanced, late bilingual participants. This means that even with Narjis, expressing attitude seems to be what motivates her to code-switch, but not necessarily into English. For instance, when I asked her to elaborate on her use of CS to 'express emotions', which is the answer she gives in the questionnaire, Narjis says:

Excerpt 5.20

```
1 Hanan:  (What was on your mind? From Arabic to ^English^ or
          from English to Arabic?)

2 Narjis: <Smiling, a bit confused>
          (From the, from Arabic to English. I mean it's like
          I'm speaking in Arabic)

3         (And suddenly I want to say something that is to do
          with emotions, so I say it in English)
```

	(…)
4	(*Roughly, both of them maybe English*)
	(0.5)
5	(*It helps me a bit more than Arabic does*)

Based on these comments above, Narjis seems to be undecided about her preference for English over Arabic when expressing emotions, implied in the different answers she gives (See lines 2 and 3 vs. line 4). Interestingly, the comment also shows that Narjis's use of CS to express emotions is motivated by different reasons to those used by the more advanced (late bilingual) participants. Narjis does not utilise English because of the specific values or social meanings she assigns to it or the way it is used by native speakers in the UK. Instead, Narjis's English code-switches are to do with her fluency in English and the ease she experiences when speaking in English, as one would imagine a native speaker would experience. This becomes clear from her answer in excerpt 5.21 where Narjis explains the reasons behind her preference for English over Arabic for expressing emotions:

Excerpt 5.21

1 Narjis: I've used English more(.) I've had to use English more(.)

2		(*So maybe that's why, I mean, I find English easier to use*)
3	Hanan:	(*Aha*)
4	Narjis:	(=*Or I find myself, like, I, in some situation, like, it's* **second nature** *to speak English*)
		(…)

| 5 | | (*And I personally, **if I want to,** I mean, **express** * |
| | | ***emotions,** it's ^easier^ to me in the, English*) |

| 6 | Hanan: | (*Yes*) |

| 7 | Narjis: | (*Because the **emotion is very like, it's very deep***) |

| 8 | Hanan: | (*//Yes*) |

| 9 | Narjis: | (*//So, I mean, **you wanna** like all the words that* |
| | | *accurately express what you want to express, I mean*) |

Despite her preference for English over Arabic in taking evaluative stances, Narjis does not seem to be aware of any obvious differences in the evaluative forces underlying Arabic and English as the 'more advanced' sub-group of late bilinguals mostly do (see section 5.2.3 above). This lack of distinction between the evaluative function of both languages is expressed more clearly in the following excerpts - 5.22 and 5.23:

Excerpt 5.22

1	Hanan:	(*But for you it's like 'we can use Arabic and there*
		are also other things that we can express /in')
2	Narjis:	(*/It looks like this is the case, /yeah*)
3	Hanan:	(*/They complement each other*)
4	Narjis:	(*Yes. It's like anything that you want to say in*
		English you can say it in Arabic. It's lke this for
		me)

Excerpt 5.23

1	Hanan:	(*Do you feel like, each language, ee has specific*
		connotations in your head?)
		(*1.0*)

2   (*I mean like, this, for example, when I'm direct, it's better for me to use this, when I'm polite, it's better to use that*)

3 Narjis: (*No, I don't think so*)

          (…)

4   (=*Maybe I do it without being aware of it but*)

5   **Not consciously(.) I'm not aware that I. of it**

Interestingly, Narjis's view of the similar functions that both languages can serve and the lack of preference she has for one over the other when taking evaluative stances, apart from expressing 'deep emotions' (excerpt 5.21 above), is somewhat similar to Zainab's view discussed earlier (see section 5.3.4 above). This is also apparent in her answer in excerpt 5.24.

Excerpt 5.24

1 Hanan: (*So this made me feel that you (0.5) er your CS (0.5) the purpose of it is functional, more than identity-related*)

2 Narjis: (*Yeah yeah*)

          (…)

2   (*This is how I feel. Yes so if this person for example may not understand me so let's use Arabic with them*)

4   لا بحس أنا نفسي(.) إيه
          (*No, I think I'm myself in either. Yes*)

The views and preferences Narjis expressed are reflected in her CS instances, which are different from the other (late bilingual) participants. I discuss some of these CS instances in detail in the following section.

5.3.5.1 Supporting examples of Narjis's CS

Narjis's lack of preference for either language expressed earlier is apparent in her CS instances. Narjis is the only participant who often gives almost equal importance to both languages in conveying her message. This can be seen in the way she uses one language and then the other in order to convey almost exactly the same message. This repetition is indeed a unique CS pattern that none of the other participants exhibit. In the next example, Narjis switches to English: `you have until eighteen, you have to be in education` (L.8), which is a different formulation of the Arabic utterance she made in line 1. Likewise, she code-switches into English in line 6: `after the GCSE, you can leave school`, which is again a formulation of the meaning expressed in line 4, in Arabic.

Example 5.9

```
1 Narjis:  صار . انو جديد قانون عندهم صار وحتى compulsory إنو
          انو تمنطعشن للسنة يضلو in: education
          (I don't really know why they're rushing them? They
          also have a new law, that it's become compulsory,
          that they stay, till age 18, in education)

2          (.) زماننا ع درسنا لما احنا
          (When we studied, in our days)

3 Hanan:  إيه
          (Yeah)

4 Narjis: تشتغلي تروحي المدرسة تتركي ممكن/ سطعش للسنة توصلي لما
          (When you are sixteen, you can leave school and you go
           and work)

5 Hanan:  الـــ بعد معناها . معناها آه/ GCSE?
```

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(*Oh, so, so after the GCSE?*)

6 Narjis: أيــوا بــعد الـــ <mark>GCES you can leave school</mark>

(*Exactly, after the GCSE, you can leave school*)

7 Hanan: اممم

(*Emm*)

8 Narjis: <mark>هلأ صــار لا **you have: until you're eighteen, you have to be in education**</mark>

(*Now, it's not, you have, until you're eighteen, you
Have to be in education*)

Similarly to the other participants, and in accordance with the comments she made above regarding her preference when expressing emotions, the following examples illustrate her constant use of English in performing evaluation.

Example 5.10

1 Hanan: عند. عنــدكم مـن قـبل؟

(*Did you have it before?*)

(1.0)

2 ولا (جديــد)؟

(*Or is it new?*)

3 Narjis: عنـدنــا ايــاهـا بــس انــو قـولـي هو صـار جـديـد انــو <mark>**he's taking an interest**[61]</mark> يـعـني

(*We had it before, but he, if you like, has recently started to, he's taking an interest, I mean*)

Narjis here seems to be specifically switching into English to report her son's attitude

---

[61] [English, Positive AFFECT, Non-Authorial: inclination, Process: relational]

(Non-authorial AFFECT) towards the game of chess. This switch was preceded by a more factual than evaluative statement in line 3: 'we had it before', which was produced in Arabic. The next example shows another instance where Narjis utilises English to take an evaluative stance and express an attitude of JUDGEMENT (through a token of negative APPRECIATION) towards the use of a western musical instrument in an Arabic restaurant that serves traditional meals:

Example 5.11

1 **Narjis:** **saxophone**(.) المفروض بس إشي عربي مش
(It should be something Arabic, not saxophone)

2 **traditional** قصدي مفروض يـ: يتلائم مع جو هالـــ:
(I mean, it should go with this such, traditional atmosphere)

3 **Hanan:** صح=
(True)

4 **Narjis:** **something** =مش عارفة عود ولا/:
(I don't know, oudh or, something)

5 **Hanan:** /صح صح إيـه
(True true, yeah)

6 **Narjis:** =<mark>Saxophone is a bit (1.0) random</mark>[62] <Laughing>

What these previous examples demonstrate is that in addition to utilising English in an evaluative manner (example 5.10 and 5.11), some of Narjis's CS instances are still different to the rest of the group.

---

[62] [English, Negative Token of APPRECIATION: val, JUDGEMENT, Social esteem: normality, Quality: attribute]

5.3.5.2 Possible explanations behind in-group CS variation

In an attempt to investigate the reasons behind Narjis's unique CS patterns and her lack of preference for either language, Narjis agrees with the suggestion I make in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 5.25

1 Hanan: (*That, do you, is it normal to notice this **division** clear in your mind? That, with Arabs, I speak Arabic. It's more natural*)

     (…)

2 Narjis: (*Yes. I feel this, the division. Yeah*)

3   (*It's there*) (Inaudible)

It seems that because of her early exposure to both languages from an early age, Narjis, as an early bilingual, is more likely to have a balanced command of both languages and is thus more capable of expressing herself or a certain idea in both languages than late bilinguals usually are. This has been also found to be true for a group of early bilinguals who outperformed their late bilingual counterparts in a bilingual word retrieval task carried out in Haifa University (Kreiner & Degani, 2015).

There could also be another reason behind Narjis's CS patterns, which is more identity-related. The context in which Narjis acquired Arabic was not as natural as those of the rest of the Arabic-English participants in this study. The Arabic language input she received at an early age, which she mostly spent in the UK, was limited. As a result of this, Narjis does not seem to have a full mastery of the cultural aspects of the Arabic language that the other participants have. When asked about the language she prefers when watching TV and comedy shows for instance, Narjis's prompt response was 'English'. She even added that she finds it difficult to fully understand Arabic jokes.

This lack of awareness of the cultural aspects of Arabic and how it is used is also mentioned by Narjis herself during the one-to-one interview. For instance, she does not seem to be aware of some phrases that are not commonly used by Arabic speakers because she 'translates' whatever phrases she likes in English, into Arabic. This also alludes to her interest in using the language (lines 3 and 5) regardless of how it is actually used by native speakers of Arabic (line 1 below).

Excerpt 5.26

1 Narjis: يـمكن أنـا لـ: لأنـي ^لـمـا^ بـحكي عربـي(.) كـأنـو فـ: عقـلي فـي مكـان مـا(.) بـيترجم الانـجليزي لـلعربـي أكـتر مـن إنـي شرط إنـي استعمل بـالـزبط إنـتو كيف بـتستعملو الـعربـي(.) مثلا لـما بـحكي مـع الـصغار

(Maybe because when I speak Arabic, it's like in somewhere in my mind I don't. English gets translated into Arabic, <mark>I don't necessarily use what you exactly use, in Arabic.</mark> For example, when I speak to the kids)

2 Hanan: مـم=

(Emm)

3 Narjis: =وحتى لـما بـعلمهم دائـما بـقولـهم قـول مـن فضلك(.) قـول لـو سمحت(.) قـول مـمكن(.) لأنـو عندي هـادي الـشغلـة مـهمة كـتير بـتربـايـتي أنـا

(And also when I teach them, I always tell them: 'say excuse me, say please, say if you don't mind' because this point is very important to me when I was brought up)

4 Hanan: إيـه

(Yes)

5 Narjis: 'Please' and 'thank you' هـادا it's ^rea^lly important(.)

('Please' and 'thank you', this is, it's like really important)

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What is interesting regarding the phrases she particularly mentioned: `thank you` and `please` is that they are exactly the same phrases Aya (in excerpt 5.27 below) thinks that (Libyan) Arabs do not use as often as they should.

Excerpt 5.27

1 Aya: (*We, for example, don't even say* **`please`** *stuff like this*)

2 Hanan: (*That's it*)

3 Aya: (*There's no* **`Could I have`** *and* **`can I`**)

                (…)

4   (*We might use them with strangers, but /here they use these expressions even /at home*)

5 Hanan: (/True   /true)

Despite the small size of the sample, variations in the participants' linguistic proficiency and AoA of either language are reflected in the different CS moves they make. As discussed earlier in the previous sections, such differences resulted in subtly different stance-taking strategies that the participants take up in their interactions.

5.4 CS: an individual style or in-group identity marker?

Based on the participants' questionnaire answers and self-recordings, it can be argued that participants regard CS more as an individual style than a relational one. The intensity of their CS in self-recording sessions, which is similar to that observed in their peer-group interactions, indicates that most participants do code-switch, regardless of factors such as *mutuality of practice* and *relationship distance,* with their interlocutor(s). For example, all late bilingual participants reported code-switching with family members or friends (uncle and brothers, in the case of Zainab and Kamila, respectively) who are

less proficient in English or do not usually code-switch back. Those participants also view CS as a convenient practice for them as individuals because it helps them express their emotions. Kamila, who feels strongly about this, views CS as an individual practice that she uses for her own advantage:

Excerpt 5.28

```
Kamila: It helps ^me^, it's not in your advantage(.) it's in
        ^my^ advantage!
```

When asked about the reason behind constant CS with her two brothers who do not usually code-switch back to her, Kamila explains:

Excerpt 5.29

```
1 Kamila: Because they: they've a good command of English and
          they can understand

2 Hanan:  //ok

3 Kamila: //*I guess*
```

```
4 Hanan:  لكن ما تحسيش إن متلا /متلا
          (But don't you feel that, like, like)

5 Kamila:  /It's a sign of closeness (speaking English)? No
```

This excerpt suggests that participants would code-switch even when the practice is not mutual or when their interlocutors do not show the same CS intensity. For instance, in the one hour long session Kamila recorded of herself and Salma (the friend that all other participants recorded with), she used English to take 31 evaluative stances while Salma only code-switched 7 times for the same purpose.

The somewhat insignificant role that mutuality plays in determining whether participants code-switch or not may sometimes mean that they overestimate their interlocutors' proficiency level, as illustrated in the next example:

Example 5.12

1 Kamila: حتى هو نفس الشي <mark>bursary</mark> وتوا عالـــ
      (*And now there's the one for the bursary as well*)

2 Salma: شن هو /التاني؟
      (*What is the other one?*)

3 Kamila: وشني. /
      (*And you know what?*)

4   آآ مش قتلك الـــ: الواحد متاعي **b** الـــ
      (*The b. Eee haven't I told you about my*)

5   **I have to** متاعي كأن بندير فلوس؟ فـ **participants** الـــ
       apply for a bursary
      (*The participants for my study, it's like I'm giving them money, so I have to apply for a bursary*)

6 Salma: <mark>**Ok what does bursary mean**</mark>?

7 Kamila: كأن منحة يعني يعطوني الفلوس
      (*It's like an allowance, like they give me money*)

8 Salma: آآ:ه //
      (*Oh*)

9 Kamila: **participants** // الجامعة عرفتي؟ باش نعطيهم لـــ
      (*The university, you know? so that I give it to the participants*)

10 Salma: **Okay**

Here, Kamila is assuming that Salma, who is a close friend of Kamila, understands what 'bursary' means, because she knows that she has a good command of English. Unlike the factor of mutuality, that of relationship distance seems to play a role in the majority of the participants' willingness to code-switch. The questionnaire answers of four out of the five participants indicate that they are more likely to code-switch if they have a close relationship with their interactor. However, this does not mean that closeness is a main or a determining factor. For instance, Zainab (see excerpt 5.30 below) who reported code-switching with her uncle does not agree that having a close relationship is the reason behind her usual CS with him.

Excerpt 5.30

1 Hanan: (*Ok, do you think that because he's* **close** *to you?*
     because your relationship is like, I mean **informal**)

2 Zainab: (*No, no. /I don't think it is this*)

3 Hanan: (*/Or maybe because he's, as you said, a* **bilingual,** *and*
     spent a long time in the UK)

4 Zainab: =Yea/:h

5 Hanan: (*/So, he understands*)

6 Zainab: (*Yeah, this is it*)

Instead, Zainab thinks that she code-switches with him because he simply understands English. This is the same reason that Kamila provided in an attempt to explain the reason behind her CS with her brothers. The same pattern is exhibited by Fadia who utilised around 43 evaluative CS instances in her half hour recording session with Salma, who exhibited 3 evaluative CS instances only.

In spite of the participants' comments, which show that they view CS mostly as

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a speaker-centred style, participants still use CS for interpersonal ends and for creating interactional effects, such as connecting with each other, as is discussed in the next chapter.

5.5 Different attitudinal, APPRAISAL stances made in performing evaluation

Table (5.5) below shows the number of the evaluative stances taken through each of the three main attitudes of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT. As the figures in the table indicate, the total number of evaluative stances taken through the attitude of APPRECIATION (in both languages) is the highest among the three categories, making up almost half (47%) of the evaluative stances overall.

Table 5.5: The number of evaluative stances, taken through different APPRAISAL categories

APPRAISAL category	Total number of stances (in both languages)
APPRECIATION	295 (47%)
AFFECT	150 (23.9%)
JUDGEMENT	183 (29.1%)
Total	**628**

The total number of evaluative stances taken through each of these three attitude categories is discussed in detail at the beginning of each section (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) of the following (discussion) chapter.

To conclude, this chapter showed the different extents to which the different members of this group of bilingual participants utilise CS, focusing mainly on CS instances that are identity-related and evaluative in nature. It also discussed the different potential reasons behind the in-group variation existing between the participants' evaluative stances, particularly in terms of the frequency at which such stances are taken up

As has been argued in the previous section, the CS style that the participants

exhibit can be utilised not only for negotiating individual aspects of their identities, but also for negotiating and managing interpersonal ones. The rest of the thesis is dedicated to focusing on the CS moves participants utilise and the relational/interpersonal stances they take in order to create interactional effects and manage interpersonal identities and roles, such as expressing emotions, displays of excitement, giving compliments, achieving in-group bond, etc. The three sections of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT in the next chapter (chapter 6) provide specific examples of how participants use CS instances strategically, through different evaluative stances, to create these interactional effects and negotiate the multi-faceted aspects of their interactional identities.

6: Discussion

As has been discussed so far in the previous chapters, attitudes and emotions are considered cultural products; thus, they can be acquired and absorbed or 'accultured' (De Leersnyder et al., 2013). This is particularly the case for sojourners and immigrants after a prolonged contact with members of the host community. In this light, the current chapter argues that participants take up evaluative stances through their identity-related CS practices realised through the choices they make at a lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic level during their interactions. They can be regarded as adopting and exploiting certain channels for carrying out evaluation. These channels are ones that they associate with members of the host culture, in this case, British society, as identified throughout this thesis. According to what has been found in the previous chapter, the late bilingual participants in the group use English often (46.6% of the time) - or, rather, to be more accurate, they code-switch into English. Indeed, as explored above, they appear to code-switch in order to take a number of evaluative, expressive stances. Based on the data findings in the last chapter, I have also argued that expressing attitudes seem to be the triggering force behind the evaluative CS stance (into English) they take up. Based on the participants' CS moves and their commentaries on these moves, it has been illustrated that there appears to be a difference in the perception, and hence the usage of the study's participants, in the function and the evaluative/emotional force[63] underlying Arabic and English. The high number of evaluative code-switches into English indicates that the late bilingual participants in this study show a preference for English[64] when it comes to expressing their (positive) stances and personal attitudes.

The following three sections of this chapter demonstrate how each of the three APPRAISAL categories of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT are utilised strategically in these bilingual speakers' CS acts (into English) to take up a number of expressive evaluative stances, such as expressing emotions, making appreciative

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[63] The term 'force' can be defined as the 'speakers' communicative intention' behind an utterance (Thomas, 1995:18).
[64] This, however, does not mean that Arabic is not used at all in expressing attitudes (see previous discussion on this point in section 5.3.2 above).

comments or subjective remarks, and providing JUDGEMENTs. These stances are some of the evaluative means through which these bilingual participants negotiate both individual and relational aspects of their identities as well as creating a range of interactional and pragmatic effects or what I call macro level stances (see section 4.6.5 above). This chapter provides an illustration of the way participants utilise evaluative Arabic-English switches to create group solidarity, maintain social harmony between members of the group and enhance the dynamics of their relationship. Although there is an element of overlap in terms of the interactional ends that the three APPRAISAL categories (AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT) serve, the following three sections discuss each category in detail and show how each of these APPRAISAL categories is often utilised to perform somewhat different evaluative positions that are unique to a specific APPRAISAL category.

6.1 AFFECT: CS as an emotional trigger

The first category to be discussed in this chapter is that of AFFECT. The main evaluative move that is often made or implied when switching and utilising linguistic units or items that indicate the attitude of AFFECT is that of being expressive in addition to many others, such as expressing feelings and emotions. Examples of these evaluative CS moves are discussed throughout this section. The current section also discusses some of the potential reasons for the participants' choice to express emotions in English rather than Arabic. Some of these are related to the participants' positive experience in the UK, the social values they attach to British society, as well as the difference in the way emotions are expressed in the two societies: Arabic (Libyan) and British.

6.1.1 The different types/forms of AFFECT

There tends to be a number of specific stances that are often, and almost exclusively, taken up through the attitudinal APPRAISAL of AFFECT, rather than through any other APPRAISAL category. As previously mentioned (section 4.6.4.1 - chapter 4), the attitude of AFFECT covers a number of evaluative moves and attitudes that indicate one's state of mind, feelings and emotions and that are realised through four main sub-categories: inclination, happiness, security and satisfaction (or lack of these). As is the case with

every attitudinal APPRAISAL category, stances of AFFECT are either expressed explicitly (inscribed) or implicitly (invoked) - (see section 4.6.3.1 - chapter 4). The majority of stances of AFFECT taken in the group interaction that are quantified and categorised in the previous chapter are inscribed: (136). As can be seen in table 6.1 below, there are only 14 invoked instances of AFFECT. Regardless of the language in which the invoked stances of AFFECT are taken, their low occurrence in both languages indicates the bilingual participants' preference to inscribe AFFECT and express their emotions in an explicit rather than an implicit manner.

Table 6.1: The total number of APPRAISAL stances of AFFECT in both languages
(in peer-group recording 1)

AFFECT APPRAISAL	Number of stances
Inscribed	136
Invoked	14
Total number	**150**

6.1.2 The different emotional stances taken through AFFECT

I start this section by looking at brief examples and individual instances of AFFECT, before discussing longer examples where two or three participants are taking up, or responding to each other's different AFFECT stances in order to negotiate interpersonal aspects of their identities. The examples to be discussed here come from other peer-group recordings and are not confined to the one whose CS instances are analysed quantitatively. Generally, I found that most AFFECT stances are taken up to either express:

1. **How a participant feels towards an incident (or an object).**
   Or
2. **how a participant feels about carrying out a certain task or the extent of their willingness to do a task.**

Example 6.1.1 below illustrates the first of these stances, particularly a speaker's *feelings*

towards an incident.

Example 6.1.1

1 Kamila: خــ خــ شيت الـمكتب الـمبنى مـتـاعي نـخشله الـساعة كم؟ تمـانية
إلا دقيقـتين اه؟ نـشوف عامـل الـنظافة قـال
(*I en en entered the office just 2 minutes before 8
ok? and the janitor said*)

2 **'Oh fifteen boxes arrived to you today'**

3 ==**I was like**==[65] ==**'When?'**==[66] ==**Already?'**==[67] \<Laughing\>

It is also worth mentioning that affective CS moves into English are made to take up both negative as well as positive stances. Kamila here is expressing how disappointed and upset she felt when she was told the news 'fifteen boxes arrived to (for) you' (Line 2). The following interaction is another example of the same evaluation performed through the AFFECT stance taken in example 6.1.1 (speaker's feelings towards an incident), yet of a different orientation: a positive one.

Example 6.1.2[68]

[Aya is at Narjis's place, drinking a ginger drink because she
has a cold, but is not really liking the drink]

1 Narjis: وهـادا أقـوى مـن الأول
(And this one *is stronger than the first one*)

2 Aya: //هـادا أقـوى؟!
(*This is stronger?*)

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[65] [En] 'I <u>was</u> like' [- AFF, A: happi, Qual: attrib (adv phr)] [**Evaluator**> Kamila: **Object of evaluation**> Early delivery]

[66] [En] '<u>When?</u>' [(I) - AFF, A: sec, Proso/beyond sentence] [Kamila: Early delivery]

[67] [En] '<u>Already?</u>' [(I) - AFF, A: sec, Proso/beyond sentence] [Kamila: Early delivery]

[68] This example has been first used in a past conference paper (Ben Nafa, 2016a) I presented during my second year of PhD.

3 Narjis: //صح(.) ولا ما /حسيتي؟
                (*Yeah? Or you didn't notice?*)

4 Aya: /<mark>I dunno</mark>[69]!

5 Narjis: لأنو غلي أكتر
                (*Because it was boiled for longer*)

6 Aya: إيه ممكن هو لما يبرد يبدا أسهل إنك إنت تشربيه
                (*Yeah, maybe when it gets cold, it's easier to drink*)

                (2.0)

7   <mark>I finished it</mark>[70]! \<A bit surprised\>

Here, Aya is switching into English in line 7 to express a positive value of an authorial attitude of satisfaction or achievement (realised through the verb 'finished'), after finally finishing the bitter herbal tea she is drinking. Her self-presentation here is achieved through a switch into English: an AFFECT stance that has been preceded by a statement (that a ginger drink is easier to drink when it is cold) that is likely to be known and experienced by many people and not just Aya (line 6). Aya also takes up another AFFECT stance, which takes place earlier in the interaction in line 4 where she switches into English and replies: 'I dunno' (I don't know). Through this reply, Aya is expressing a negative, authorial attitude of not being sure or confident about noticing the potential increased strength of the drink that Narjis refers to. When I asked her about the reason for using the different codes through which she positions herself in this example, Aya answers:

Excerpt 6.1.1

1 Aya: كأن **to make it funny**
                (*It's like to make it funny*)

---

[69] [En] 'I dunno' [- AFF, A: sec, Pr: ment] [Aya: Noticing whether or not a drink is stronger]
[70] [En] 'I finished it' [+ AFF, A: satisf, Pr: materi] [Aya: Finishing her bitter drink/herbal tea].

2 Hanan: إيـه

       (*Yeah*)

3 /وحتى حسيـــ:ـت إن

       (*I also felt that*)

4 Aya: كـأن/ :**jokingly**

       (*As if jokingly*)

5 هكي إن ***yeah***

       (*like, yeah*)

6 Hanan: وحتى حسيت إن فيها **^positive^ connotations**

       (*And I even thought it has some positive connotation*)

7 إن **/oh I ^did^ it**

       (*like: 'Oh I did it'*)

8 Aya: /(.)أيـوا/

       (*Exactly*)

9 =**Yeah**

Initially, Aya does not seem to be entirely sure of the reason behind her CS, particularly her CS instance in line 7. She suggests humour as a possible reason, but then she quickly changes her mind and agrees with my suggestion, implying that she is probably finding it more suitable or closer to what she had in mind despite not necessarily labelling it the same way I did. Similarly to Kamila's CS into English in the previous example, Aya also utilises English here to take up an expressive/AFFECT stance, regardless of the orientation it implies (positive vs. negative) as what is common and of significance here is the emotional/expressive tone that CS helps speakers to address. As has been previously discussed in section 5.3.2 above, whether they were positive or negative, CS instances into English - as is demonstrated throughout this chapter - often highlight a change in these bilingual participants' emotional state and the stance they take towards

their interactants or surroundings. In other words, expressing emotions is argued to be the motivation behind most of the CS instances the participants deploy.

The following example offers an illustration of the second reason for which an AFFECT stance is taken up, that is, a participant's *feelings about doing something in the (near) future.*

Example 6.1.3

[Kamila, Fadia, Zainab and Hanan are playing Jenga]

1 Kamila:	<Laughing> هو صدقوني لما نطيحها أنا	
	(*Believe me, it's me who is going to knock it down*)	

2	تلود تلود وتوليلي هادي!
	(*It's always me*)

3 Fadia: [Referring to the jenga tower]

4	شوفيها كيف ترقص!
	(*Look how it's (dancing) moving*)

5 Hanan: **Wow**!

6 Kamila: [Making, silly crying sound]

7   //**I don't wanna do it**[71]!

8 Zainab:	//لكن على الأقل ترقص إن هي علت يعني مش زي بدري
	(*But at least it's moving because it reached that high, not like what happened earlier*)

9 Kamila: **I don't want to do it**!

---

[71] [En] 'I <u>don't wanna</u> do it' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: ment] [Kamila: Taking a turn in the game]

The interaction in this previous example starts with Kamila's description of what is going on and the critical stage the game (Jenga) had reached (line 1). She continues in line 2, using Arabic, to complain about how it always happens to be her turn when the jenga tower reaches an impressive height, making it very challenging for her and she ends up being the one blamed for knocking it down. Although it is clear at this point in the interaction that Kamila is dreading taking her turn, she does not quite express how she feels about this bad luck or the pattern that she believes is repeating itself. It is only in line 7 that she starts to actually verbalise that dread 'I don't want to do it', which she repeats in her next line - line 9. Kamila's negative, authorial AFFECT stance (lack of inclination to take her turn) is expressed through a switch into English (through the negated verb 'don't want to', unlike Arabic which is mostly used to talk about what 'usually' happens, from Kamila's point of view. Similarly to the previous example, English here is again utilised to make a subjective comment and accommodate an emotional turn in Kamila's view of her own situation.

Kamila is one of the late bilingual participants who seems to be very aware of the reason behind her CS acts. To her, expressing feelings is one of the main and most obvious reasons she code-switches, whether these feelings are positive or negative. Below (excerpt 6.1.2) is her answer to one of the interview questions '*What are the adjectives that describe you when you switch into English?*', which took place months before the participant commentary session, where she had a chance to look at some examples of her CS moves. She particularly uses the adjective 'passionate' in line 4 to summarise the reasons for which she code-switches.

Excerpt 6.1.2

1 **Kamila:**   راه شوفي ها <u>لاحظي</u> إن بصفة عامة أنا **my feelings**
           (*Look, it's generally my feelings, you see?*)

2   إن **it doesn't matter if it's <mark>anger</mark> or <mark>niceness</mark> or whatever**
           (*Like, it doesn't matter if it's anger or niceness or whatever*)

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(…)

3 Hanan: شن هو الـشعور الـلي يعطيهولـك الانـجلـيزي (.) مـن غير إن
                 angry, um serious, nice
                 (*What is the feeling that English gives you, apart*
                 from like, angry, um serious, nice?)

4 Kamila: <mark>Passionate</mark>[72]

In addition, the participants tend to exhibit affective/evaluative CS acts in semi-structured interviews too as these AFFECT stances are not confined to peer-group interactions only. In excerpt 6.1.3 below, for instance, Zainab exhibits two CS instances as she is trying to describe how she usually reacts when a group of colleagues or friends talk about a topic she does not know much about:

Excerpt 6.1.3

1 Zainab: لأن مـرات هما يـحكوا على مـواضيع
                 (*Because they sometimes discuss things*)

2   آ:ه أنـا مـا نـفهمش فيهـا(.) قـتلـقيـني فـتليـقيـني
                 (*Eee, things I don't get, so I find myself, I find*
                 that I'm)

3   **I'm more.<mark>I'm more quiet</mark>**[73]

4 Hanan: بـاهي /لـمـا.
                 (*Ok, when*)

5 Zainab: ونـحكوا علـيه **I'm interested in** /لـكن لـو فـي مـوضوع
                 (*But if it's a topic I'm interested in, and we chat*
                 about it)

---

[72] [En] 'Passionate' [+ AFF, A: incli, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Herself (when using English)]
[73] [En] 'I'm more quiet' [+ AFF, A: incli, Qual: attrib] [Zainab: Herself (Zainab)].

6 Hanan: ام

(*Emm*)

7 Zainab: ونـحكي **I get interested**[74] لا لا

(*No, no, I get interested and chat*)

In line 3, she is telling me how she usually behaves in this situation and what she finds herself more inclined to do: `I'm more quiet`. Similarly to the above examples, Zainab switches into English to take this positive AFFECT stance of authorial inclination. Although this stance is introduced through the verb `I find (myself)`, which is produced in Arabic, Zainab code-switches and chooses to express herself in English instead. The same pattern occurs again in line 7 where Zainab switches from Arabic into English to express what she is usually inclined to do when the topic discussed is one she is interested in: `I get interested`.

To go back to excerpt 6.1.2 above, one can also notice how Kamila switches into English twice in line 2: `anger` and `niceness`, and line 4: `passionate`, to name the feelings/adjectives she would generally use to describe herself when using English.

This strategic utilisation of CS and the emotional force that CS seems to offer bilingual speakers has been also found and corroborated by recent research. In their 2013 study, Dewaele and Costa found that the more emotional the topic is for bilinguals, the more CS occurs. Based on a group of bi/multilingual clients' feedback of an online interaction between them and their therapists, more than half of the sample reported associating an increase of CS moves with 'a raised emotional tone' (Dewaele & Costa, 2013:38). CS is noticed to be more frequent when a client feels the need to highlight a specific aspect of themselves and make it known to the therapist, especially when dealing with difficult and deep emotions, such as trauma or shame. Unlike what has been found in my current study, the direction of the code-switches exhibited by the bilingual sample in Dewaele's and Costas's study is towards L1, rather than L2. Although

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[74] [En] 'I get interested' [+ AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Zainab: Chatting as a group]

it is not clearly mentioned in the study, the reasons behind viewing L1 as more emotional or more directly linked to early memories could be attributed to the participants' later L2 AoA, and particularly the fact that their mean age is reported to be 42. It could also be explained through the social meanings and values different bilingual groups attach to their L1 and L2, an issue that is explored in the second half of this section.

The examples of AFFECT stances which have been explored so far suggest that this group of (late) bilinguals utilise English more often to express their emotions. This, however, is not accurately reflected in the ratio of AFFECT stances taken in each language. While Arabic is utilised 86 times to show AFFECT, English is utilised 64 times. Nevertheless, instances of AFFECT produced through Arabic tend to be single and isolated unlike those produced in English. The latter often appear in longer interactions and are mostly used strategically, by more than one participant. Since Arabic code-switches are not the focus of this thesis, the following sections will mainly provide and discuss instances of English code-switches.

6.1.3 Evaluative (AFFECT) stances: an individual or an interactional practice?

According to the three examples discussed above, it appears that every one of the participants is expressing her own emotions, strictly in an individual rather than an interpersonal manner. However, the next few examples show how even single instances of APPRAISAL of AFFECT do have a relational implication as their effect goes beyond the individual (emoter) to affect and include her interactants in different ways. In other words, even in examples where a participant seems to be only expressing and negotiating individual aspects of her identity, I have observed that other participants often share these emotions or respond to them, and even echo each other's' evaluative moves in general. All these steps can eventually be regarded as possible means through which these participants manage their interpersonal relationships as a friendship group. The main interactional effect that is repeatedly created through the APPRAISAL of AFFECT - as well as APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT (as is discussed in section 6.2 and 6.3) - is achieving an in-group bond. As mentioned earlier, each of these three APPRAISAL categories contributes to creating this interactional effect differently. The next three examples investigate three possible different ways through which this effect

is created through AFFECT.

6.1.3.1 Individual stances of AFFECT: an invitation to group comments

Example 6.1.4

1 Fadia: (.)عليه نتفرج(.) يوسف باسم أنا **I think he's funny**(.)
(*I watch Bassem Yousef. I think he's funny*)

2   علاش منعرفش/ تضحكني حاجاته كل مش مش بس
(*But I don't find all things he says funny, I don't
know why*)

3 Hanan: **/u/. up to a point** إيه
(*Up to a point, yeah*)

4 Fadia: الـ لأن .حس/:ـنـ أنا (.)لا **sense of humour** المصري / **I
don't get it much**[75]
(*No, I think Because the sense of humour, the
Egyptian type, I don't get it much*)

5 Kamila: <To Hanan> فادية هي لالا/ **she.**[76]عليه ماعندهاش المصري/
                    (*No, no Fadia, she. the Egyptian comedy,
                    she doesn't really like it*)

6 Hanan: ه:آ=
(*Ooh*)

7 Kamila: لاش هادا[77]عالمصري ماعندهاش ماهو هي=
(*Because she doesn't like the Egyptian comedy*)

8 Hanan: أنا (.)/ عندي عالمصري
(*I like the Egyptian comedy*)

---

[75] [En] 'I <u>don't get</u> it much' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Fadia: Egyptian sense of humour]
[76] [Ar] 'She <u>doesn't really like</u> it' [- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD SE: norm, Pr: ment] [Kamila: Fadia]
[77] [Ar] 'She <u>doesn't like</u> the Egyptian comedy' [- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD SE: norm, Pr: ment] [Kamila: Fadia]

9 Fadia: أنا الــ / sense of humour : مـا : الــ هـاداكـا الـمصري
(I, the sense of humour, the Egyptian type, not)

10 ==I don't get it much(.)==[78]

11 Hanan: إنـت اصلا :.//
(Actually, you)

12 Fadia: //Egyptian sense of humour [79] مـش عـارفـة
(Egyptian sense of humour, I don't know)

13 Hanan: ^American^ sense of humour الــ: مم مـمكن الــ you ge نـحس فـيك
(I think you, you get the, may maybe the American sense of humour)

14 Fadia: =American sense of humour / ==yes==[80]

15 Kamila: إنـت / western أكـتـر
(You like the Western kind of humour more)

(…)

16 Fadia: ^playing on words^ حتى نـحس نـحس جو
(I even think that playing on words)

17 إنك تـغيـري هكي. الـحاجـات الـبسيطة عرفـتي؟
(That you change like, little things, you know?)

18 في يـكون مـرات لـكن big jokes ==I I don't==[81]. ==I just don't get==[82] them!
(But sometimes there are big jokes I don't I just don't get them!)

---

[78] [En] 'I don't get it much' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Fadia: Egyptian sense of humour]
[79] [Ar] 'I don't know' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: ment] [Fadia: Egyptian sense of humour]
[80] [En] 'Yes' [+ AFF, A: satisf, Proso/Interj] [Fadia: American sense of humour]
[81] [En] 'I don't.' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Fadia: Egyptian jokes]
[82] [En] 'I just don't get them' [- AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Fadia: Egyptian jokes]

```
          (2.0)
```

19   مـتلا نـتفرج علـى عـادل إمـام

          (*For example, when I watch Adel Imam*)

20 Hanan: امـم   <Not quite convinced>

          (*Emm*)

21 Kamila: <To Hanan> <mark>**She doesn't get it**</mark>[83]! <sarcastic>

This interaction starts with Fadia expressing her feelings when watching Egyptian comedy and how she does not like it generally because she does not think it is funny. After the two instances of JUDGEMENT[84] she takes in lines 1 and 2 about the comedian Bassem Yousef, Fadia starts to express how she feels about this type of comedy in line 4 rather than judging the comedian's performance. Starting from line 4, Fadia clearly states that she does not like Egyptian comedy through taking up a negative AFFECT stance of inclination: `I **don't get** it much`, which she repeats four times across different parts of the entire interaction - lines 4, 10 and 18(X2). It can be noticed here that Fadia only uses English to express her AFFECT, in all four instances. When trying to express how she feels regarding this type of comedy in line 4, Fadia is using Arabic for most of the sentence, but she switches into English to express AFFECT slightly after the Arabic verb: `I think` Fadia could have continued using Arabic for that purpose, but there was an abrupt stop after the Arabic verb: `I think`, signalling a potential code-switch. Fadia's repeated utilisation of the same clause in English to take this stance suggests Fadia's preference for this style of expression. When asked about the possible reasons for her CS here, Fadia explains (excerpt 6.1.4 below) that switching into English is what she usually uses when addressing a 'personal' matter, including expressing emotions, as the current example demonstrates.

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[83] [En] 'She <u>doesn't get</u> it' [- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD SE: norm, Pr: relati] [Kamila: Egyptian sense of humour]
[84] The first two lines of the example has been discussed in example 5.3, in the previous chapter.

Excerpt 6.1.4

```
Fadia: I was talking about myself (...) I was saying something
       about myself
```

Repeatability also seems to highlight this preference and the emotional force underlying some English phrases, compared to Arabic. On the importance of repeatability of any type of variation, which is the AFFECT stance realised through English in this case, Eckert argues that 'Repeatability (…) isn't redundant, it strengthens emotive content' (Eckert, 2016:presentation).

Interestingly, the evaluative CS stances which Fadia utilises to position and express herself trigger similar evaluative stances from her interactants: me and Kamila. Throughout the interaction, Kamila and I keep responding to Fadia's own stances and building on them through taking up several stances of AFFECT and JUDGEMENT - line 5, 7 and 8. Therefore, the evaluative stances I and Kamila take are not individual stances, but relational ones. The role these stances play is furthering Fadia's positioning of herself and making comments on the AFFECT stances of 'I don't get it much' she takes earlier in the interaction in lines 4, 10 and 18. In this case, my stances and those of Kamila (AFFECT and JUDGEMENT) also further Fadia's positioning of herself by encouraging her to repeat her AFFECT stance in line 4 and confirm her position in lines 10 and 18) as well as taking up a similar one: 'I don't know' and 'yes' in lines 12 and 14. The next paragraph explores how the explanation that has just been given can be applied to the interaction above.

After Fadia's first negative AFFECT in line 4, I sound surprised about Fadia's 'strange' taste, thus, Kamila turns to me and explains in line 5 that Fadia has always held this perception of Egyptian comedy: 'She doesn't really like it' In line 7, Kamila repeats the same information that is realised through the same clause: 'She doesn't like Egyptian comedy' In the next line - line 8, I take up (in Arabic) an opposite AFFECT stance: 'I like Egyptian comedy', to that of Fadia. My stance can be viewed as a trigger to Fadia's next stance in line 10: 'I don't get it much',

emphasising her opposite opinion to mine. As a result of my responding stances and those of Kamila, Fadia even takes up two other AFFECT, authorial stances: `I don't know` and `Yes` - lines 12 and 14 - to further express herself and justify her preference by comparing the Egyptian and the American sense of humour. While she takes the first `I don't know` to express her lack of inclination towards Egyptian comedy, she utilises the prosodic, interjection tool `yes` that expresses a positive AFFECT of authorial satisfaction and enthusiasm for the 'American sense of humour'. In response to her final AFFECT stance in line 18: `I don't get it much`, Kamila again turns to me and produces another JUDGEMENT stance in line 21: `she doesn't get it`, with a sarcastic tone that wraps up the conversation.

Although Kamila's stances sound somewhat neutral and informative, they can be regarded as tokens of JUDGEMENT[85] where a linguistic item that is traditionally used to take AFFECT stances, such as 'like/doesn't like' is dominantly used to imply a non-AFFECT stance, such as that of JUDGEMENT in this case. Unlike the JUDGEMENT stances Kamila takes up in Arabic in lines 5 and 7, where she sounds as if she is only providing an explanation or stating a fact, the last one that she takes in English in line 21 clearly sounds sarcastic and reflects Kamila's inability to understand Fadia's view, suggesting her (and my) questioning of Fadia's 'normality' in relation to her taste in comedy. Unlike the somewhat fewer stances of JUDGEMENT Kamila takes in line 5 and 7, where she is still accounting for Fadia's AFFECT stances, her last stance in line 21 is a clear teasing remark[86] that is realised through the attitudinal APPRAISAL/stance of JUDGEMENT, which is unsurprisingly taken in English and not Arabic (See section 6.3 on JUDGEMENT below).

Although this example is dedicated to discussing AFFECT stances, it is inevitable

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[85] A token is where an APPRAISAL instance seems to fulfil a specific function, but it actually fulfils another when the context is considered. See section (4.6.4.3) for more information.

[86] This interactional/relational effect of banter is particularly interesting and is one of many others where relational CS moves that the participants make could potentially have significant implications for research on (im)politeness and facework. Such relational/evaluative stances, particularly those of JUDGEMENT, are relevant to works by scholars, such as Spencer-Oatey, who take a discursive approach to (im)politeness and regard it as an interactive move by which speakers are involved in a process of evaluation, and through which they manage the relational aspects of their identities. She argues that what is traditionally known as (im)politeness is an 'evaluative label people attach to behaviour, as a result of their subjective judgement about social appropriateness' (2005:97). Similarly, Archer et al. (2012:95) refer to (im)politeness as a process where 'evaluative judgements' are made and 'which are shaped (in part) by context-of-utterance and/or the roles of/relationship between the participants'. A detailed examination of how the study's participants *do* facework - through such evaluative judgements - is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is an area that could be picked up on in future studies.

in the case of some longer interactions to find more than one type of attitudinal APPRAISAL category (that of JUDGEMENT in the previous example). It is usually the overlapping occurrence of many attitudinal stances that helps to emphasise the role of each stance category and develop the interaction further.

6.1.3.2 Individual stances of AFFECT: a token of gratitude to others

The next example to be discussed is one where a participant's individual stances of AFFECT have interactional implications but do not necessarily trigger similar evaluative stances from her interactant(s). This type of AFFECT (in addition to APPRECIATION - see next section 6.2 below) is demonstrated in this example where Fadia's individual positive stances of AFFECT and APPRECIATION can be understood in light of their effect on Narjis as the interactant for whom these attitudinal stances are intended.

Example 6.1.5

1 **Fadia:** ==I really like==[87] **the coffee** !يــا نـرجس
        (*I really like the coffee, Narjis!*)

2 **Narjis:** صحتين
        (*Bless you*)

3 **Fadia:** It's ==^really really^ nice==[88]!

4 **Narjis:** ولا إشي **chocolate** طيب /خـدي
        (*Ok, have chocolate or something*)

5 **Hanan:** /Oh yeah <laughing>

6   نـسيت حتـى أنـا
        (*I also forgot to*)

7 **Narjis:** خدي شغلـة
        (*Have something*)

---

[87] [En] 'I really <u>like</u> the coffee' [+ AFF, A: incli, Pr: relati] [Fadia: The coffee Narjis made]
[88] [En] 'it's ^really really^ <u>nice</u>' [+ APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: The coffee Narjis made]

The interaction starts with Fadia's stance of positive AFFECT of authorial inclination to a stimulus in line 1, that is the coffee Narjis made: 'I **really like** the coffee'. This AFFECT stance is realised through the English verb 'like', preceded by the adverb 'really' that emphasises the great extent to which Fadia likes the coffee. In line 3, Fadia expresses the same feeling, however, through a different APPRAISAL category, that of APPRECIATION. Fadia conveys the same feeling or reaction to the coffee and its quality through a positive stance of APPRECIATION that is realised through the adjective phrase of 'really really nice' Fadia's two positive stances here are taken exclusively in English, without even being preceded by any evaluative stances in Arabic. Similarly to the reason she gives behind her utilisation of English in the previous example (excerpt 6.1.4 above), Fadia accounts for her choice here as follows:

Excerpt 6.1.5

```
Fadia: I wanted to express that I really liked the coffee (…)
       it seemed to flow more easily when I used English for
       compliments [and] also to stress to her that I really
       (…) appreciated her efforts[89]
```

As mentioned at the end of section 4.6.5, chapter 4, the micro or the surface meaning intended behind these two attitudinal stances (AFFECT and APPRECIATION) is to express Fadia's positive inclination to the coffee and make the compliment she gives to Narjis on the coffee she made. However, these two stances can also be interpreted as an attempt on Fadia's part to show her sincere gratitude to her friend for serving such a high quality coffee.[90] Narjis's replies and her acknowledgement of this gratitude in lines 2 and 4 further highlight Fadia's intention in taking up these two stances in lines 1 and

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[89] It is worth mentioning that the communicative effects implied from Fadia's evaluative stances, such as the 'compliment' and display of 'gratitude', could have significant implications for the research area of facework. Facework, or what is called 'relational work' by some scholars (Locher & Watts, 2008), can be defined as a 'continuum from polite and appropriate to impolite and inappropriate behaviour' (Locher, 2004:51). Based on this definition, it could be argued that Fadia is engaged in relational work, i.e., behaving in what she considers to be the appropriate or 'politic' way - to use Watts's (2003) terms - to be used with her friend Narjis, in this particular situation. Interestingly, it is through instances of English code-switches that Fadia chooses to take this pragmatic step. In turn, the effect of Fadia's relational work can be noticed in Narjis's evaluative moves of *blessing* (L.2) and *offering* (L.4). The exploration of some aspects of relational work that have been identified in some examples is beyond the remits of this thesis. That said, future works focusing on identity-related aspects of CS could look into - via facework/relational work - the relational reasons CS moves could be undertaken for.

3 and confirms them. It is worth mentioning that although there are two different APPRAISAL categories utilised here (AFFECT and APPRECIATION), they both seem to imply the same meaning and together create the interpersonal effect of gratitude, which contributes to the enhancement of existing friendship dynamics between these two bilingual interactants.

As mentioned earlier, switching into English is not utilised for expressing positive AFFECT only, but also to express negative AFFECT, as is the case in the next example.

6.1.3.3 Individual instances of AFFECT: a way of sharing mutual feelings

Example 6.1.6[91]

1 **Kamila:**   حتى: لما مشينا تتدكري مرة إنت؟
            (*Even when we went once, remember?*)

2 **Fadia:**   إيـــه:
            (*Yeah*)

3 **Kamila:**   [92]تتفكري= **Oooh annoying**[93]
            (*Remember? oooh annoying*)

            (1.0)

4 **Fadia:**   [94]هاداكا اليو:م!
            (*What a day!*)

5 **Kamila:**   =**Aghh /I ^know^!**[95] <laughing>

6 **Fadia:**   مطر صبت علينا (.) نزلنا في المحطة الخطأ/
            (*It was raining heavily, we got off at the wrong*)

---

[91] This example has been first used in an online blog post that has been published during my PhD (Ben Nafa, 2016b).
[92] [Ar] 'Remember?' [- AFF, A: happi, Pr: ment] [Kamila: Past incident]
[93] [En] 'Oooh annoying' [- APP, React: imp, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Past incident]
[94] [Ar] 'What a day' [- AFF, A: happi, Qual: epith] [Fadia: Past incident]
[95] [En] 'Aghh I know' [- AFF, A: happi, Proso] [Kamila: Past incident]

         stop)

7 Kamila: <Laughing> فيه كنت يوم أكتر/أ تقريبا= **soaked**[96] في
حياتي

        (*I think it was the day when I got most
soaked in my life*)

8 Fadia: رجعنا على رجلينا/.
        (*We went back walking*)

        (1.0)

9 Kamila: **I ^know^!**[97] That **was bad**[98]. That was **really really
bad!**[99]

10 Fadia: **Oh my ^Go:d^**[100]

        (5.0)

11 Kamila: That **was horrible**[101]

12 Fadia: (Inaud.)

Here, Kamila and Fadia are recounting an unpleasant incident they went through together in the past. One can notice the many instances where Kamila and Fadia switch into English to express their frustration and unhappiness, which are expressed through both attitudinal categories of AFFECT and APPRECIATIOIN. When paying attention to the communicative function both languages have in this interaction, it is easy to notice that English is the code both participants switch into when making evaluative acts and expressing their attitude towards the incident. These evaluative moves are made through a series of not only AFFECT stances: **'Aghh I know'** (L.5), **'soaked'** (L.7),

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[96] [En] 'I got most **soaked**' [- AFF, A: happi, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Past incident]
[97] [En] '<u>I know</u>' [- AFF, A: happi, Proso] [Kamila: Past incident]
[98] [En] 'That was <u>bad</u>' [- APP, React: imp, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Past incident]
[99] [En] 'That was really really <u>bad</u>' [- APP, React: imp, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Past incident]
[100] [En] '<u>Oh my God</u>' [- AFF, A: happi, Proso] [Fadia: Past incident]
[101] [En] 'That was <u>horrible</u>' [- APP, React: imp, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Past incident]

'I **know**' (L.9) and '**Oh my God**' (L.10), but also APPRECIATION ones, which are realised through many negative attributes: 'Oooh **annoying**' (L.3), 'was **bad**', 'really really **bad**' (L.9) and 'was **horrible**' (L.11). Unlike English, Arabic here is mostly used to recall the factual side of the story and list the events that happened: 'We went back walking', 'it was raining' and 'we got off the wrong stop' (L.6 and L.8) rather than how they felt towards these events as they did in lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 11. Nevertheless, this does not mean that English is the only way through which Kamila and Fadia express their emotions. Both Kamila and Fadia do utilise Arabic twice to take up an AFFECT stance each: 'Remember?' (L.3) and 'What a day!' (L.4). Having said that, the stances produced in English are much more frequent (8 stances in total) than those produced in Arabic (2).

6.1.4 The significance of using English to express AFFECT

Unlike what is usually believed about the unique, emotional force underlying L1, the examples discussed above refer, to a great extent, to this bilingual group's preference for using English to express their emotions. This group of bilingual participants clearly do not consider English as a distancing tool, as many bilingual writers consider L2 to be. One of these is Kellman (2000, cited in Pavlenko, 2008:159) who believes that English is a tool that can offer him a sense of 'emancipatory detachment' for not being as emotional as one's L1. This does not, however, suggest that this group of bilinguals do not use Arabic at all to express their emotions. Instead, the evaluative moves they make throughout their peer-group interactions when addressing their emotions indicate that English, for them, is a more convenient tool to perform different types of evaluative stances: AFFECT in this case. Therefore, I argue here that the late bilingual participants of this group regard switching into English as an outlet for emotional expression, a better way through which to address or acknowledge their emotions for many culturally-related reasons that are explored as this section progresses. One main reason is the social meanings and values one language group associates with their L1, as opposed to those they associate with the L2. In relation to the participants of the current study, such meanings and values could determine how (emotional) bilingual speakers feel in each of those languages and how comfortable they find expressing themselves in each. The rest of this section looks at these reasons in detail.

6.1.4.1 Different ways of expressing emotions

As argued in the previous paragraph and in section 3.3, chapter 3 above, different language groups tend to express emotions in different ways, a tendency that can be accounted for by cultural differences existing between these societies and language groups. This seems to be particularly true for the study's participants who after many years of contact with members of the host culture were able to notice the differences between the way they 'Libyan (Arabs)' express themselves and the way British people do. It is important at this stage to revisit a short interaction (see excerpt 6.1.6 below) that took place between the participants and which has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter, section 5.3.2.

Excerpt 6.1.6

1 Fadia: (*You, you express your ^**emotions^** in the way, the /English way*)

2 Hanan: (*/In the way*)

3 Fadia: (*In an English way, **let's say***)

4   (***It doesn't mean,*** *for example, <mark>sometimes there are feelings that Libyans don't express</mark>*)

5 Kamila: (*=Yeah, I agree, one hundred percent, true, I agree*)

This excerpt clearly shows some of the participants' (Kamila and Fadia) awareness of the difference in the way - as well as the extent to which - both groups express their emotions, a point made by Fadia in line 4: 'sometimes there are feelings that Libyans don't express' As is argued later, on the basis of more of the participants' statements, this interaction does not suggest that Libyans/Arabs do not express themselves at all or that using English makes them feel more emotional. Instead, Fadia and Kamila here both imply that Libyans do not express themselves enough and that

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their utilisation of English as an Arabic (Libyan)-English bilingual group helps them to acknowledge their feelings in a similar way `in the way, the English way` (L.1) to British people: a somewhat inevitable consequence for a group of speakers as highly integrated and fluent as the current one.

In the next excerpt, Aya explains more about this difference and talks about a specific aspect of it, that is, the level of expressiveness or excitement that the use of English offers her as a bilingual individual. Because of her knowledge of both languages, she is able to notice what could even be regarded as a 'subtle' difference between the expressive force underlying the two languages.

Excerpt 6.1.7

1 **Hanan:**   (*Like when to express the good side, for example*)

2   (*'Oh I'm so excited we're going there'* or)

3 **Aya:**   <mark>You can't really (bring it in) in Arabic</mark> <Laughing>

4 **Hanan:**   <Smiling> (*Yeah?*)

5 **Aya:**   (*It doesn't actually /work*)

6 **Hanan:**   (/*And actually we don't even have*)

7 **Aya:**   (=*It doesn't exist*)

8 **Hanan:**   (//*I mean:*)

9 **Aya:**   (//*The feeling is actually, /the*)

10 **Hanan:**   (/*The fee::ling*)

11 **Aya:**   (=*The feeling isn't the same*)

As a way of helping Aya tell me more about whether or not she thinks such a difference exists and to compare between the English and the Arabic (Libyan) way of expressing (positive) emotions, I - in line 2 - provide an example of a phrase which I think a British speaker would use to express their positive feelings or excitement in a certain situation: ``Oh I'm so excited we're going there!''. Aya's comments in the following lines show an agreement with my suggestion that Libyan Arabic may not be as suitable as English can be in terms of expressing positive/intense feelings. Aya does not only agree with me but she also adds in line 3 that there are certain emotional expressions in Arabic that do not adequately express the exact feeling intended: 'You can't really bring it in in [Libyan] Arabic' Aya here explains this inadequacy by referring to the way emotional expressions are usually formulated in (Libyan) Arabic: 'It doesn't actually work' (L.5) and 'It doesn't exist' (L.7), compared to the English ones. Even when an Arabic expression is used, Aya believes that 'The feeling isn't the same' (L.9 and L. 11).

Likewise, Fadia agrees that there is a difference between how both language groups express their emotions. In excerpt 6.1.8 below, she elaborates on what Aya refers to above and how Arabs can be somewhat reserved when expressing their emotions, with a preference for more indirect or implicit expressions.[102]

Excerpt 6.1.8

Fadia: I think … that the Arab way of expressing emotions is to
express emotions with a level of seriousness and
appropriateness according to the context (…) I think
[with Arabs] there is a tendency to imply more than
English people do

Because of the above-mentioned difference in terms of the level of expressiveness of both languages, the CS instances the members of this bilingual group deploy can arguably be seen as an attempt to utilise the voice of an English-speaking person and

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[102] This is another instance where the current research on CS and APPRAISAL could have significant implications for the research areas of (im)politeness and facework, however, this area is beyond the remits of this thesis.

use it as an outlet to express their emotions. Having said that, this does not mean that British people are known to be expressive or that this group's perception is/would be shared by other bilinguals or language groups. As emotions are cultural products, the way they are perceived, expressed and processed is varied and relative. In the current context, I would argue that by taking into account the differences in the way the two language groups - (Libyan) Arab vs. British - differ in terms of social values, such as expressing emotions, some light can be shed on why the participants think that British people are expressive, despite the fact that they are stereotypically not known for being expressive. In their study report titled 'Britain: A nation of emotions', Khor & Marsh (2017),[103] found that the majority of their British respondents do not think 'Brits are good at expressing (…) feelings' as is the case with Americans or Southern Europeans who are usually known for being very expressive, compared to the British (2017:3,9). By finding that British people are not expressive, this study supports a mainstream, anecdotal stereotype that most of the participants in my study do not seem to support, based on their comments. That said, the switching process between Arabic and English (switching into English) and the different stances the participants take in each language can be regarded as a meeting point between the two languages (Arabic and English). This, therefore, highlights the subtle differences between the two groups and the way they use language to express their emotions - based on the stereotypes my participants draw on regarding both language groups.

The following section offers a more in-depth discussion about possible culturally-related reasons behind this difference in expressing emotions as perceived by the study's participants.

6.1.4.2 Social values associated with each society: Arabic and British

When I ask Kamila in the one-to-one interview about her view of one of the study's observations, that 'Arab bilinguals use English, more than Arabic, to express their emotions', Kamila agrees with the observation I made, and continues to suggest that the reason for this tendency to express emotions in English rather than Arabic can be

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[103] I am aware that this is not an academic study, but I am only using it here because it does provide a valid insight into the stereotype under discussion and how different it is from what the participants think about British people.

attributed to the cultural norms that govern each of these two societies.

Excerpt 6.1.9

1 Kamila: I think that(.) we Arabs(.) do not. ee: use English
to express our emotions more(.)but not because
there's no way to express it in Arabic but(.) we're
just not used to it(.)so it's ^easier^ to do it in
English

(…)

2 Hanan: (*Do they,* ***they tend to express their emotions?*** *Or:?*)

3 Kamila: =**They don't**

4 Hanan: **They don't?**

5 Kamila: [making an agreeing sound]

(…)

6   (*To me, I*)

7   **It's. as I said before(.) ==English is the way to==
==express emotions(.)==**

8   (*To me, I'm not used to Arabic being used this way.
You know?*)

9 Hanan: (*Aha*)

10 Kamila: (*Not because* ***there's no way of. means to express
these things in Arabic,*** */But to me, the natural way
of (inaudible) saying it is in English*)

11 Hanan: (*/But you think it's.*)

```
12              (=Yes, ee, you've just /said something)

13 Kamila:  /Because I don't hear it

                (…)

14              (People don't use it because(.) of the nature of
                people not because of the nature of the language)

15 Hanan:   Ok(.) ok

                (…)

16 Kamila:  (The awkwardness come(.) from the

                (1.0)

17              not /being used to it(.) not. nothing else)

18 Hanan:   /using
```

What Kamila's answer suggests is that the lack of use of emotional expressions by Arabic-English bilinguals, such as herself, can be attributed to the mind-set of the majority of Arabs, particularly, in this case, Libyans. Kamila seems to rightly argue that this lack of expressing emotions is not at all an indication that Arabic lacks these expressions from a linguistic point of view. Instead, this lack can be explained as an indirect result of using (Libyan) Arabic in a certain way, where emotional expressions are poorly utilised `because (.) of the nature of people not because of the nature of the language'` (L.14). It could also be the case that such emotional expressions are not utilised as often as they should be, according to Kamila in L.13: `'Because I don't hear it'` and `'not being used to it'` (L.13 and L.17).

Nevertheless, this is not to argue that Arabs are not expressive at any level, as it

has been particularly claimed that they tend to be more expressive in terms of non-verbal communication. Burgoon et al. (2016:49) argue that 'Arabs tend to express emotions in an uninhibited manner - with facial expressions, expansive gestures'. However, what I am interested in in this study is verbal communication and how it is used to express (positive) emotions. According to the data elicited here, emotions are often expressed in English and not in Arabic. Burgoon's claim also links in to what Fadia (see excerpt 6.1.8 above) mentioned about Arabs' preference to *imply* rather than explicitly *express* emotions when it comes to verbal communication as opposed to non-verbal communication. Thus, based on these observations and unlike their 'uninhibited' non-verbal communication, Arab's verbal communication can be argued to be somewhat inhibited, with a preference for an implicit rather than an explicit style of expressing emotions. This seeming preference for implicit expressing of emotions is also claimed by Kafaji (2011), who associates this preference with the traditional nature of most Arabic societies, where individuals' behaviour, including expressing emotions freely, is not culturally accepted (2011:67).

That said, I am aware of the limitations of this argument and that the tendency for *not expressing emotions often enough* as well as the reserved nature of Arabic societies may not be applicable to all parts of the Arab world. The most obvious reason for this is that the sample studied in this thesis is very small and is focused on one nationality, Libyan, thus, I am aware that no general claims can be made based on the conclusion arrived at here. Nevertheless, I argue that such stereotypes cannot be dismissed altogether without considering their cultural relevance to the way this group of bilinguals interact with each other and negotiate their emotions as part of the way in which they construct their identities. Instead, this culturally-specific tendency for not expressing emotions often enough in Arabic is indispensable and proves to be relevant to be used in this discussion due to the insight it provides into the participants' deployment of CS (switching into English) to take up evaluative stances. It is also the fact that the participants are aware of this cultural norm/stereotype and draw on it in their attempts to explain the reasons why they code-switch into English, which renders this stereotype valid, to a great extent.

In addition, referring to 'Arabs' or 'Libyans' in this study is not intended to link this small group of bilingual speakers to the Arabic 'large' culture, which is usually classified as a collectivist culture (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Instead, I am regarding this group of bilingual speakers as forming a 'small' culture by itself, a culture that is 'produced by participants as relevant categories for interpersonal negotiation' (Scollon & Scollon, 2001:544). Through commenting on their own practices and the motivations behind their CS instances, this group of bilinguals freely and voluntarily draws upon what is known as the 'large' (Arabic) culture that they believe has an influence, however indirect, on the way in which they perform evaluations. Unlike other studies where such assumptions and stereotypes are imposed by the researcher, the participants in this case are free to examine how relevant such 'existing' stereotypes are to their everyday interactions and the way they present their identities.

It is worth mentioning that in addition to the possibility of this group's acquisition of the British way or style of expressing emotions, this group could also be using or adopting the American style of expressing emotions. This can be linked to the way that American society is conceived of as being more expressive and is a stereotypically different group of people when it comes to expressing emotions, when compared to the British/other English language groups. This effect may occur specifically because most participants in this study are heavy consumers of American popular media and were so even prior to (and after) their arrival to the UK.[104] In addition, the association made between expressing emotions and British and American societies could also be related to a claim made by many psychologists that individualistic cultures, such as American culture, value positive emotions or what is called 'high arousal' emotions more than their collectivist counterparts (De Leersnyder, et al., 2011:451; also see Kitayama, et al.,2006; Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002).

Furthermore, this tendency to perceive English as a better or a more convenient tool for taking up evaluative stances and expressing emotions is not shared by all members of the current bilingual sample. As explained before, Narjis's lack of preference

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[104] It can also be suggested that this style of emotional expression is not confined to the British or American society, but to native speakers of English, in a more general sense.

for one language to the other in performing evaluations and expressing emotions is reflected in the way she utilises both languages and takes up stances to convey almost the same message. Yet, Narjis does share with the rest of the late bilingual participants an important reason for her CS practice, that is 'to express emotions', according to one of her questionnaire answers:

Excerpt 6.1.10

1 Narjis: (*I think because I'm more used to English*)

2 Hanan: (*Yes*)

3 Narjis: **Because it's a matter of fluency**

4 (*But not that because Arabic **lacks it.** This is how I /see it*)

5 Hanan: (*/No I don't mean **Arabic as a language***)

6 Narjis: (*Yes*)

(…)

7 Hanan: (*Have you noticed that Arabs express themselves? Not in terms of the language itself. I mean them as individuals*)

8 (*Do you feel that they tend to express their emotions, like English people do or not?*)

9 (*Or is there a /difference in terms of the **extent**?*)

10 Narjis: (*/There are people who do and those who do not*)

(…)

11 (*I mean there are Arabs who express and there are*

12   (***I don't think it's, I never, I d, it's never clicked
             or: stood out*** *that, that Arab or because the English
             people are*)

Unlike the rest of the late bilinguals, Narjis does not think that her preference for expressing emotions in English is, in any way, attributed to a cultural issue or a tendency for Arabic society to not express emotions enough. In addition to being the language she is most fluent in, compared to Arabic (L.1 and L.3), Narjis thinks it is mostly dependent on the individual's personality: '*There are people who do and those who do not*' (L.10), rather than being culturally related. As discussed in the previous chapter (see section 5.3.5.2), Narjis suggests (in excerpt 6.1.11 below) that her 'incomplete' exposure to the Arabic language and her lack of interaction with many Arabs during her childhood, which she mostly spent in the UK, must have led to her lack of awareness of the way Arabic is used by native speakers and the cultural values surrounding that use.

Excerpt 6.1.11

1 Narjis: (*And maybe I interacted less with Arabs than you all
             did*)

2 Hanan: (*Yeah, /you think it's like, I think is to do with the
             experience*)

3 Narjis: (*/So **that's why I don't ha***)

4   ***I didn't pass a judgement*** <Laughing>

6.1.5 CS as an implicit sign of 'Emotional Acculturation'

Taking into account what has been discussed regarding the reasons for which participants express AFFECT in English, I argue that these evaluative AFFECT stances can

be considered a sign of what is called emotional acculturation (See section 3.3, chapter 3): the idea that individuals' reactions to and expression of emotional situations can be modified and adjusted over time and become somewhat more similar to those of the host community in which they have socialised. As Pavlenko (2002) also argues socialisation is very likely to influence L2 learners' 'verbal repertoire' and 'emotion scripts' (2002:54). Thus, CS instances made into English in this study can be seen as a demonstration of the participants' high integration into the host (British) society, combined with their positive experience in the UK and their positive attitude towards the UK society members. This attitude is, therefore, regarded here as the main factor that helped the study's participants to absorb and acquire what is suggested to be the British style of expressing emotions, in addition to showing appreciation and making 'playfully' judgemental remarks as is discussed in sections 6.2 and 6.3. De Leersnyder et al. (2011) call this tendency to perceive and express emotions - particularly positive ones - according to the style adopted by the host society 'emotional concordance', which is often a good indication that 'emotional acculturation' has taken place (2011:60), as I argue to be the case with the current study's participants.

I turn now to the last excerpt in this section, that of Aya (excerpt 6.1.12 below) where she makes another insightful point in relation to her preference for utilising English to express emotions:

Excerpt 6.1.12

1 Aya: (*It's. Look, It's it's **I think it's something to do with the culture***)

2 Hanan: (*=Yes*)

3 Aya: (*I don't think it's the ^language^ that's lacking*)

4 Hanan: (*Yes, no no*)

5 Aya: (*If you notice, both are lacking*)

6 Hanan: (*Sure*)

(2.0)

7 Aya: (*//But maybe we*)

8 Hanan: (*//But I'm talking about* **emotions,** *in particular*)

9 Aya: (*But maybe because we live in the UK, so* **like we sometimes maybe tend to, use, I don't know**)

10 Hanan: (*Yes*)

(…)

11 Aya: (**So maybe,** *maybe because we, maybe if we didn't speak Arabic*)

12 (*Eeh if we didn't speak English,* **maybe we wouldn't have thought**)

13 <mark>**That(.) there's like a limitation or something**</mark>

The point that Aya is trying to make here is that her experience of socialisation into British society has made her repertoire richer and more varied, compared to that of her monolingual peers. This point is clearly made at the end of the interaction in line 13 where she implies that the monolingual (Arabic) style of expressing emotions is `limit[ed]'` Therefore, the point made here is not that Arabic is not used to express emotions at all, as Arab monolingual speakers certainly do, to an extent. Instead, Aya attributes her preference for utilising English to her prolonged exposure to an alternative and different way of expressing emotions: the way English native speakers express them. To Aya, this way of expressing emotions is more liberating and less `limit[ed]'`; an attitude that is reflected in her evaluative CS acts as well as those of the rest of the other late bilingual participants. Along the same lines, Ożańska-ponikwia (2013) also argues that immersion into L2 culture can equip L2 speakers with an

'enlarged emotional repertoire' (2013:2). Therefore, utilising CS when expressing emotions can be considered here an adaptation strategy that the participants utilise to cope with their new environment and the demands that that places on them as bilingual sojourners/international students.

To conclude, this section demonstrated how the participants' CS into English is considered an emotional trigger, and a convenient tool to express emotions and negotiate them. This section also discussed how the way in which CS is deployed by the late bilingual members of this group can be a token of emotional acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). It is through constant switching into English and utilising some of the emotional expressions and phrases widely used in English to take up evaluative (AFFECT) stances and express emotions that these bilinguals show how convenient they find this style of expression. The acquisition or adoption of these expressions is seen as an inevitable consequence of the socialisation process such a group has gone through in the host society, but it is also related to the difference in the way emotions are expressed in Arabic (Libyan) society and British society.

6.2 APPRECIATION: CS as a token of 'being nice'

This section discusses the second APPRAISAL category, APPRECIATION, and the way this attitude is expressed through the Arabic-English CS instances that the participants deploy. The specific evaluative stances that are primarily taken up through the attitude of APPRECIATION are those of making appreciative comments as well as making subjective or personal statements. Similarly to what has been discussed in the previous section regarding the impact of stances of AFFECT, stances of APPRECIATION are also not taken up merely for the sake of APPRECIATION. The evaluative moves implied in APPRECIATION stances are often used to maintain and enhance friendship and social harmony between members of this bilingual group: an effect that is created particularly through compliments, which are often produced through English code-switches.

The reasons behind utilising English phrases to take the stance of AFFECT (section 6.1.4 above) are also applicable to the case of APPRECIATION and are relevant when

explaining why these bilingual participants switch into English to show APPRECIATION. Since being 'expressive' or 'evaluative' is the stance the two attitudinal APPRAISAL categories of AFFECT and APPRECIATION have in common, I argue that these bilinguals again make use of some of the common English phrases they have internalised through socialisation, and which they consider to be associated with the British style of showing APPRECIATION. Stances of APPRECIATION taken up through English code-switches can also be attributed, as argued in the previous section, to differences in the way aspects of attitudinal APPRAISAL are expressed and verbalised in Arabic (Libyan) society and British society.

6.2.1 The different types and forms of APPRECIATION

As is illustrated at the end of chapter 5 (section 5.5), stances of APPRECIATION through which many evaluative moves are made are the highest (295 instances) among the three categories: AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT. These stances make up almost half of those made overall, rendering this stance the most common evaluative means utilised by the participants in negotiating aspects of their identities and managing personal relationships. The attitude of APPRECIATION refers to any evaluation that is performed in relation to an object. This evaluation may include making comments on an object's 'composition', its 'value', as well as the speaker's 'reaction' to it and the 'impact' of that object on them.

The table 6.2 below shows the total number of the APPRECIATION stances the bilingual participants in this study take up in the first peer-group recording. As is the case with the stances of AFFECT, those of APPRECIATION are dominantly realised through inscribed instances, and not through invoked instances (294 instances vs. 1 instance). This indicates the participants' clear preferences for expressing their APPRECIATION attitude in an explicit manner, taking advantage of a range of linguistic items, specifically (English) adjectives or attributes, to express this attitude.

Table 6.2: The total number of APPRAISAL stances of APPRECIATION in both languages (in peer-group recording 1)

APPRECIATION APPRAISAL	Number of stances
Inscribed	294
Invoked	1
Total number	**295**

The analysis of APPRECIATION stances also shows that the orientation of more than half - 55.2% - of these instances is positive, compared to the negative instances, which make up 23.7% and the neutral ones, which make up 21.1%. What is particularly interesting about these positive instances is that more than half of them - 163 instances - (55.2%) are produced in English. Therefore, these figures confirm the observation made previously in section 5.2.3, chapter 5, that the majority of the positive evaluative instances are repeatedly made through switches into English. In comparison with the other two attitudinal APPRAISAL categories of AFFECT and JUDGEMENT, that of APPRECIATION is the stance that supports this observation most strongly.

6.2.2 The different stances expressed through APPRECIATION

After analysing the APPRECIATION stances taken up in the six different peer-group recordings, with a focus on the first recording, I have observed that attitudes of APPRECIATION are mostly created to take two specific types of APPRECIATION stances. These are:

1. **Expressing a personal view or an opinion on an object**. This attitude of APPRECIATION may (or may not) indicate some level of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker (agent) who is showing APPRECIATION. The next part of this section discusses two different interactions that show examples of both: instances of APPRECIATION that imply emotional involvement as well as lack of it.

2. **Display of APPRECIATION of an object that is owned by one of the interactants**

(the study's participants) or that is related to them, in any sense. These instances are often realised or interpreted as **compliments**. While this particular evaluative move tends to be more interactional, triggering more relational stances of APPRECIATION from the other interactants, the one in the previous point (Number 1) tends to be more individual, performed as a single act of evaluation, by one interactant.

6.2.3 Individual stances of APPRECIATION

I start with an example of the first stance mentioned above: an instance of individual stance of APPRECIATION *where a participant is evaluating an object, giving a description of its state and commenting on its value*. In example 6.2.1 below, Kamila is telling Zainab about her plant, which is a gift from the latter, and how it did not grow, compared to mine.

Example 6.2.1

1 **Zainab:** آه هادي الـواحده هادي فصلتيها <Referring to the plant>
يـا حنـان ولا كيف؟
(Oh Did you split this one, Hanan, or what?)

2 **Kamila:** أنـا مـتـاعتي مـاتت[105] /عـالـعمـوم راه
(Mine has died anyway)

3 **Hanan:** /شن هي؟ <To Zainab>
(What's it?)

4 **Zainab:** =لا لا!! <To Kamila>
(No way!)

5 **Kamila:** قصدي قـاعدة[106] هي مـش مـش قـاعدة
(I mean it's still there not that it's not there)

---

[105] [Ar] 'Mine <u>has died</u> by the way' [- APP: val, Pr: materi] [Kamila: Her plant]
[106] [Ar] 'I mean it's <u>still there</u>' [+ APP: val, Qual: attrib] [Kamila: Her plant]

6   لكن مـا= **It <mark>didn't ^move^</mark>[107] at all** <Fast>

              (*but it didn't move at all*)

7 Zainab: كيــ:/ف؟

              (*How?*)

8 Kamila: /قصدي <mark>مـا زادتـش</mark>:[108] بـكل ولا

              (*I mean it didn't grow at all, not even*)

9 Zainab: لا: لا خلـي. اصبـري علـيها الـصيف

              (*No, no, give it some time, wait until summer*)

In trying to evaluate the bad condition of her plant and its slow growth, Kamila takes a negative stance of APPRECIATION in line 2, through the Arabic verb 'has died' Zainab's shock after hearing this negative APPRECIATION Kamila takes made the latter realise how exaggerated her evaluation was, making Kamila take up a somewhat positive stance of APPRECIATION in line 5 - in Arabic - to reassure Zainab that it is not as bad as she thinks: 'It's still there' At this stage, Kamila seems to be desperately trying to give an accurate evaluation of her plant and its poor growth. In line 6, Kamila switches into English in what seems to be an attempt to show a relatively more accurate APPRECIATION of the condition of her plant: 'It didn't move at all' One can see here how Kamila deploys the English code-switch after two unsuccessful attempts of taking an APPRECIATION stance towards the plant. However, Zainab's question in line 7 'How?' indicates that even the most APPRECIATION stance taken in English is not effective enough. However, Zainab's response in line 9 to the stance that Kamila takes up next (in Arabic) in line 8: 'didn't grow' suggests that Kamila finally managed to convey the meaning that she has been attempting to convey since the beginning of this interaction.

      What this example illustrates is that stances of APPRECIATION are not taken up exclusively in English. Nevertheless, it is the act of switching between the stances taken

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[107] [En] 'It <u>didn't move</u> at all' [- APP: val, Pr: materi] [Kamila: Her plant]
[108] [Ar] 'I mean it <u>didn't grow</u> at all' [- APP: val, Pr: materi] [Kamila: Her plant]

in Arabic and English that is of significance here. This series of switches that Kamila exhibited seems to have allowed her to negotiate different stances of APPRECIATION until she arrives at the right appreciative evaluation. That said, the evaluative move that Kamila makes here through APPRECIATION does not imply any emotional involvement or excitement on her side, making the stance somewhat impersonal and not particularly identity-related, as is the case in the next example.

Example 6.2.2 below is a demonstration of how stances of APPRECIATION may imply a certain amount of emotional involvement by the stance taker, who is Fadia in the next example.

Example 6.2.2

1 Fadia: لـكن ¹⁰⁹المانجا حلوة هلبا

  (The *mango is very nice but*)

2 هي very very nice¹¹⁰(.) لـكن حتى هي تـبي شغل

  (*It's very very nice, but it's hard work*)

3 Narjis: المانجا؟ إيـه

  (*The mango? Yes*)

  (…)

4 Fadia: بـعدين the worst¹¹¹ bit(.) the fibres <Smiling>

  (*Then, the worst bit, the fibres*)

5 Narjis: The fibres(.) إيـه

  (*The fibres. Yes!*)

6 Hanan: //حى::: فـي الـسنون حى

  (*Ooohhh between the teeth, ooohh*)

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¹⁰⁹ [Ar] 'Very <u>nice</u>' [+ APP: val, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: The mango]
¹¹⁰ [En] 'Very very <u>nice</u>' [+ APP: val, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: The mango]
¹¹¹ [En] 'The <u>worst</u> bit' [- APP, React: imp, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: Eating mangos]

```
7 Fadia:      //Oh my God¹¹²
```

The interaction starts by Fadia's positive APPRAISAL (APPRECIATION) of the mango fruit and how much she likes it, using the Arabic adjective phrase in line 1: `'Very nice'` In the next line, line 2, Fadia performs the same evaluation (a positive stance of APPRECIATION) that she carries out in the previous line, however, this stance is taken up through utilising the English phrase `'Very very nice'` in line 2 this time. Although the same evaluative function is achieved in the two instances in both languages, the one taken in English bears more emphasis, marked by the additional adverb `'very'` in `'Very very nice'` as opposed to `'very nice'` in line 1. According to Fadia (see excerpt 6.2.1 below), the mere repetition of the evaluative stance is of significance as she finds the use of the English phrase more emphatic:

Excerpt 6.2.1

```
Fadia: I used Arabic first to express my opinion about mangoes
       and then reiterated the point (…) in English (…) which
       was just to express how much I really like it
```

As the interaction moves on, Fadia takes up two negative evaluative stances through which she expresses her negative APPRECIATION of a specific aspect of the mangoes: the fibres. In carrying this evaluation, Fadia also expresses her negative reaction in line 4, `'the worst bit'`, to the tendency of the mango's fibres to get stuck in her teeth. Fadia moves on to take a different attitudinal stance in line 7, which is that of AFFECT through, `'Oh my God'`, a similar attitude to that of APPRECIATION in terms of the meaning intended as well as the orientation. This negative AFFECT stance can be seen as a complementary stance that reiterates and emphasises the previous stance of APPRECIATION in line 4. In light of the figures and percentages referred to in table 6.2 at the beginning of this section, it is not surprising that the APPRAISAL stances taken in

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¹¹² [En] '<u>Oh my God</u>' [- AFF, A: happi, Proso] [Fadia: Fibres in the mango].

English in this interaction are higher than those produced in Arabic.

Overall, Fadia's excitement - marked by her smile in line 4 and overlapping turn in line 7 - when taking the three different stances of APPRECIATION here makes these stances similar to those of AFFECT discussed in the previous section, in terms of their content and expressive force. The similarity in the effect of the evaluative moves made by stances of AFFECT and APPRECIATION can also be inferred by both stances' tendency to occur in adjacent parts of many interactions as is the case in example 6.1.6 in the previous section.

Now, I move to the second evaluative move through which stances of APPRECIATION are mostly taken, that is, a *Display of APPRECIATION of an object that is owned by one of the interactants.* The next section provides two specific examples where stances of APPRECIATION are taken up in a more interactional manner, often by all of the participants who are taking part in a specific interaction.

6.2.4 Interactional stances of APPRECIATION (Through compliments)

The two examples below help to demonstrate how compliments, made through stances of APPRECIATION, are used by the study's participants to manage interpersonal aspects of their identities and enhance the dynamics of their relationship as a friendship group.

6.2.4.1 Stances of APPRECIATION: maintaining social harmony

Example 6.2.3

1 Kamila:	حقا مبارك النظارات الجدد هادا وين /لاحظت ان هما جدد ره
	(*Oh congratulations on your new glasses, I've just actually noticed that they're new*)
2 Hanan:	/آه ايه
	(*oh yeah*)
3 Zainab:	//نظارات جدد؟

(*New glasses?*)

4 Kamila: //**They're <mark>very ^nice^</mark>**[113]

5 Hanan: =إيـه (Inaud.)
               (*yeah*)

6 Zainab: مـحلا:هم![114]
        (*How pretty*)

7 Hanan: **Puma**

8 Fadia: <mark>**So simple!**</mark>[115]

       (...)

9 Hanan: هي الـمـراة اخـتـارتـهـالـي
      (*The assistant lady suggested it for me*)

10 Kamila: قـنـينة لـكن حلـوة[116]
      (*Pretty though, nice*)

11 Zainab: It <mark>**suits**[117]</mark> you حلـوة[118]
      (*It suits you, nice*)

The three participants here (Kamila, Fadia and Zainab) all join in to show positive
APPRECIATION of my new glasses through giving me a number of compliments on

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[113] [En]: 'They're very <u>nice</u>' [+ APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Kamila: Hanan's new glasses]
[114] [Ar] 'How <u>pretty</u>' [+ APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanna's glasses].
[115] [En] 'So <u>simple</u>' [+ APP: comp, Qual: attrib], [Fadia: Hanna's glasses].
[116] [Ar] '<u>Pretty</u> though **nice**' [+ APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Kamila: Hanan's glasses].
[117] [En] 'It <u>suits</u> you' [+ APP, React: qual, Pr: ment], [Zainab: Hanan's glasses].
[118] [Ar] '<u>Nice</u>' [+ APP, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's glasses].

them.[119] Apart from Fadia who expresses her APPRECIATION in English only in line 8, both Kamila - in line 4 and 10 - and Zainab – in line 6 and 11 - use Arabic and English almost equally to take up their stances of APPRECIATION, regardless of the order in which either language is utilised in taking these stances. Therefore, it does not seem that participants here have a particular preference for either code to use for showing APPRECIATION. That said, I argue that taking stances of APPRECIATION in English stands out in an example that starts, and is produced mainly in Arabic: an expected move given that Arabic is the participants' L1. While Arabic is both used for making evaluative moves in lines 6, 10 and 11 and non-evaluative ones, such as introducing the topic in line 1, `I've just actually noticed that they are new', English is only dedicated to taking up evaluative stances (APPRECIATION) in line 4, 8 and 11 and for 'being nice' to me.

6.2.4.2 Stances of APPRECIATION: restoring social harmony

In addition to being used for maintaining social harmony, APPRAISAL stances of APPRECIATION may also be used to enhance or restore social harmony between members of this group, particularly in case of misunderstandings, as example 6.2.4 illustrates.

Example 6.2.4[120]

1 **Zainab:** سا:منة[121] يـا حنـان!

      (*You've put on some weight, Hanan*)

2 **Hanan:** أنــا:؟

---

[119] The interactional effects of 'being nice' achieved through the appreciative stances taken up by Fadia, Kamila and Zainab in this example are particularly interesting and could have significant implications for research on relational work. These evaluative stances can be understood as a means by which the participants are *doing* facework or are being polite towards Hanan. This link to politeness has already been discussed earlier (see footnote 86 above) where I made a reference to Spencer-Oatey's reconsideration of (im)politeness as an 'evaluative label people attach to behaviour' (2005:97). In addition to the relational work that is argued to be at play here, I would add that the participants' CS moves here are also relevant to research on self-presentation and impression management (Schlenker, 2003). According to Schlenker, both processes of self-presentation and impression management involve an active change in speakers' behaviour to 'control impressions of themselves' and 'shape an audience's impression of [them or] other people' (3002:492). Aspects of these two processes can be elicited from the participants' active management of interpersonal relationships and their attempt to maintain social harmony (Archer, 2017:8) amongst them as a group. Arguably, this is achieved here through the compliment they give Hanan and her acknowledgement of it as so. The same can be argued in relation to the next example (6.2.4 below) where Kamila and Zainab are taking up a series of appreciative stances and attempting to restore harmony between them and Hanan by trying to make her change her mind about their utterances and view them in a more positive light.

[120] This example has been first used in a past conference paper (Ben Nafa, 2016a) I presented during my second year of PhD.

[121] [Ar] 'You've <u>put on</u> some weight' [+ APP: comp, Pr: materi], [Zainab: Hanan's weight]

247

(*Me?*)

3 Zainab: امم

(*Yes*)

4 Hanan: لأ مش حتى هكي وو::ه عـ/رفتكم كلكم. /عرفتكم كلكم
بـتقولـولـي <Embarrassed>

(*No, it's not that ohh I knew you'll, I knew you'll all tell me*)

5 Zainab: لالا ملـ. /لا ملـيانة عن قبل[122]

(*No, no, you've put on some weight compared with before*)

6 Kamila: إيـ:ـه صح[123] (Inaud.)

(*Yes, true*)

7 Zainab: (**something ba/:d**)[124] لا= مش سا:مـنة

(*No, not meant as something bad*)

8 Kamila: /لا كويس حلو[125]!

(*No, it's good, nice*)

9 Zainab: عرفـتي؟ **It's nice**[126]

(*It's nice, you know?*)

(…)

10 نقصد **it's nice**[127] لا

(*No, it's nice, I mean*)

11 Kamila: =^حلو^[128] حتى يـعني

(*It's even nice*)

---

[122] [Ar] 'No no, you've put on some weight' [+ APP: comp, Pr: materi], [Zainab: Hanan's weight]

[123] [Ar] 'Yeah true' [(I) + APP: comp, Qual: attrib (adverb phr)], [Kamila: Hanan's weight].

[124] [En] 'No not gained weight as something **bad**' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanna's weight gain]

[125] [Ar] 'No, it's good nice' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Kamila: Hanan's weight gain].

[126] [En] '**It's nice**, you know?' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's weight gain].

[127] [En] 'No, **it's nice**, I mean' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's weight gain].

[128] [Ar] 'It's even nice' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Kamila: Hanan's weight gain].

```
                          (…)

12 Hanan:  مـــ:ـــمكن زايدة شوية مش /عارفة مع ان في حرق دم
           <embarrassed>
           (Maybe a bit, I don't know. I've been stressed lately
           though)


13 Zainab: لا لا /it's nice¹²⁹ هكي
           (No, no it's nice like this)


14 Kamila: =It's ^nice¹³⁰^ نحس
           (It's nice, I think)


15 Zainab: (.)¹³¹ إيــ:ـه /حلو very nice¹³²
           (Yes nice, very nice)


16 Hanan:  <Smiling> /Thanks
```

The example starts with Zainab's comment on my weight in line 1, 'You've put on some weight', after not having seen me for a while. Although this slightly indirect APPRECIATION stance taken by Zainab does not necessarily sound positive, Zainab tells me later, during the participant commentary session that she intended this comment to be perceived as a positive one. My misinterpretation of Zainab's (indirect) positive APPRECIATION stance - produced in Arabic - as a negative one is marked by my surprise and possibly unexpected reaction in lines 2 and 4 to the comment Zainab made. Not noticing my tentative disapproval of the comment Zainab has made in line 1, the latter continues to emphasise her point and takes a similar (positive) APPRECIATION stance in line 5, 'No no, you've put on some weight', a stance that Kamila echoes in line 6: 'Yes, true' It is only at this stage that Zainab realises my tentative disapproval of the stances she and Kamila have taken as she later explains to me: 'I was thinking then (…) maybe my comment wasn't, it ^might^ sound bad, you know'

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¹²⁹ [En] 'No no, **it's nice** like this' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's weight gain].
¹³⁰ [En] '**It's nice,** I think' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Kamila: Hanan's weight gain].
¹³¹ [Ar] 'Yeah <u>nice</u>' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's weight gain].
¹³² [En] '**Very <u>nice</u>**' [+ App, React: qual, Qual: attrib], [Zainab: Hanan's weight gain].

To rectify the situation, Zainab and Kamila start a stream of compliments, particularly utilising the phrase 'It's nice' in lines 8 - 15 in both languages. The last line where I smile and thank them, 'Thanks', in line 16 clearly demonstrates my acknowledgement of these positive APPRECIATION stances - as well as the first three taken in Arabic (lines 1, 5 and 6) - to be compliments and that they are far from being critical, as I seem to think they are at the start of the interaction.

It can be argued that the reason behind my perception of Zainab's and Kamila's comments as compliments is linked to the use of English utterances, 'No, not meant as something bad', in line 7, which seems to have triggered the series of positive APPRECIATION stances Zainab and Kamila take up for the rest of the interaction - lines 8 to 15. To make sure that I understand what they really mean, Zainab and Kamila switch into English to take up their APPRECIATION stances rather than relying on Arabic alone - the sole language of the interaction until that point in line 6. This is illustrated by the four English switches Zainab exhibits in four different lines: 9, 10, 13 and 15. This consistency in utilising the English adjective 'nice', particularly by Zainab in taking evaluative stances, suggests that English is considered more effective. This attitude could explain her repetitive and more frequent exploitation of it than Arabic, to express APPRECIATION. The fact that APPRECIATION stances taken in English follow those taken in Arabic, especially those of Zainab, also suggests that the utilisation of English is regarded a mitigation tool or a softener to the effect created by the two, somewhat less pleasant, stances Zainab takes in Arabic in line 1 and 5 compared to the more explicit 'nice' stance produced in English. In the participant commentary, Zainab elaborates on this and explains her motivation behind using English throughout:

Excerpt 6.2.2

1 **Zainab:** (*That's why I made it clear that* **I mean it in a nice way,** *I mean*)

(…)

2 (*I kept emphasising that* **it's nice**)

3 Hanan: (*So you were trying to put things up(.) /in case I got it wrong?*)

4 Zainab: (*/Like no(.) Exactly. I was making sure you understand my point*)

(…)

5   (*When I say* **'It's nice'**[133]*, it has more impact*)

Although there is nothing 'offensive' about Zainab's comment as it is often formulated in this way in Libyan Arabic, it is very easy for such a comment to be perceived as 'too direct' or critical if not produced in the right context, using the right tone. As a (Libyan) Arabic speaker, Zainab is aware of this and seems to have anticipated it, a response implied from her comment made above: `I was thinking then (…) maybe my comment wasn't, it ^might^ sound bad, you know'` It is worth mentioning, however, that the pragmatic effect created here is not a result of using English code-switches only. Instead, it is more because of the act of transition from Arabic into English and the contrast (L.1 and L.5 vs. L.9, 10, 13 and 15) these bilingual speakers make between the appreciative force and underlying impact of each language as they are often used by either language group.

Despite not being fully aware of their CS practice, the example above shows how Zainab's and Kamila's stances echo each other and how each seems to be taken as a response to the one before it, in terms of the content as well as the language in which these stances are taken: '**It's nice** `like this'` (L.13), '**It's nice**, `I think'`

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[133] The participants' choice of the phrase 'it's nice' in example 6.2.4 above is interesting, particularly as a group of bilinguals who have an excellent command of L2: English. Instead of using the potential native equivalent of 'you look nice', the three participants use the phrase 'it's nice' quite consistently throughout the example to show APPRECIATION of Hanan's body after the weight gain. As an insider researcher, I would claim that this repetitive use of 'it's nice' is unique to this group of Arabic-English bilingual; a style of expression that renders them different from monolinguals of both languages. In addition to this example, the phrase/English code-switch of 'it's nice' is very prominent in the data and the participants seem to use it as a shortcut for taking up English evaluative stances of APPRECIATION or JUDGEMENT. Moreover, this group of bilinguals' use of 'it's nice' can be seen as a symbolic illustration of a 'new' or a 'third' space that they continuously negotiate as they are moving between two different languages and cultures.

(L.14) and 'Yes nice, **very nice**' (L.15). The interactional stances taken up by Kamila and Zainab, their overlapping turns and repetitions are all examples of what is called 'collaborative floor' between (monolingual) speakers and close friends (Coates, 1996:267): a general indicator of a sense of agreement between interactants. Both interactants here seem to agree on their deployment of these APPRAISAL stances made in English and the evaluative purpose behind them, that is, the effect implied, which is 'being nice' to me. My perception - '**Thanks**' in line 16 - of those instances as compliments also suggests that I share the positive connotations Zainab and Kamila associate with English and the way it is used to express APPRECIATION.

6.2.5 Reasons for showing APPRECIATION in English

Unlike the attitudinal APPRAISAL of AFFECT, the study's participants hardly comment on instances where they utilise English code-switches to express APPRECIATION. For the participants, taking an APPRECIATION stance is not different from taking one of AFFECT. This can be attributed to the similarities between these two attitudinal sub-sets of APPRAISAL as both are expressive and evaluative, rendering them the same or synonymous for the participants. Therefore, the reasons for expressing APPRECIATION in English more often than Arabic do not seem to be different to those discussed in the previous section (6.1.4). The main reason, which is of specific relevance to this section, is the difference in the way each language group - (Libyan) Arabic vs. British - expresses APPRECIATION, a difference that has been argued (see section 3.3 for details) to be linked to the social norms of both groups and the difference in the social values the current group of bilingual participants associate each group with.

In excerpt 6.2.3, Zainab provides some insight into what seems a difference between the English style and Arabic style of showing APPRECIATION:

Excerpt 6.2.3

1 Zainab: like, حتى . لما expressions لمـا تقـولي '**Oh really**?!'
هادي تقـولـيها بـالانجليزي مـا تقـولـيهاش بـالـعربي

(*Like, even some expressions, like when you say: 'oh really?', You say them in English, not in Arabic*)

2   **Like how lovely**! ولا: **//oh cool**!
(*Like 'how lovely' or 'how cool'*)

3 Hanan: **//Very nice**(.) إيـه
('*Very nice', yeah*)

4 Zainab: =**Very nice**(.)

5   الـحاجـات الـهـادي تـحسيـها مش. ممكن تـجي تـديـريـها بـالـعربي يضحكو عليك
(*These things don't feel like. When you say them in Arabic, people will Laugh at you*)

6 Hanan: إيـه / إيـه
(*Yeah, yeah*)

7 Zainab: <Laughing> لأن مـش مـوجودة /
(*Because they don't exist*)

As a bilingual speaker who has experienced and been exposed to both styles of APPRECIATION, Zainab considers the act of taking APPRECIATION stances in English to be more explicit and liberating than taking them in Arabic, a difference that she suggests - in lines 1 and 5 - to be linked to how APPRECIATION is expressed and viewed by (Libyan) Arabic speakers. She also adds that there is a lack of use of adequate set phrases in Arabic that can be utilised to show APPRECIATION or excitement, as opposed to the English ones, which seem to be more common and utilised more often.

To conclude, this section discussed how the late bilingual participants in this study take up different APPRECIATION stances, particularly those made through deploying CS instances (into English). These APPRECIATION stances translate into different specific, evaluative appreciative moves, such as expressing opinions and

making personal comments on objects. The section has also explored how some of the positive evaluative stances of APPRECIATION, such as compliments, are often made to create specific interactional effects that have an impact on this group's management of the interpersonal relationships between its members. Two of the effects that have been discussed above are maintaining social harmony as well as enhancing or restoring it.

6.3 CS: an evaluative stance marker for carrying out (positive) JUDGEMENT

This section aims to demonstrate how CS instances into English serve to convey judgement in general, and invoke relational evaluative stances (judgement of others), more specifically. This section also signals how the kind of attitudinal APPRAISAL made by the study's participants is often associated with positive evaluation, particularly regarding the 'normality' and 'capacity' of each other's behaviour as they repeatedly judge one another through humour and banter. CS, therefore, is regarded here as an evaluative resource and a positioning act that bilingual participants carry out to perform different macro[134] level interpersonal effects. These effects go beyond the micro level effects that are often created by the attitude of JUDGEMENT, such as 'criticism and admiration' as well as 'praise and condemnation' (Martin, 2000:156). The macro level effects created here tend to be interactional ones that include members' acts of disagreement, teasing each other, and making playful or ridiculing comments[135] about each other's behaviour. Similarly to the interactional effects crated through AFFECT and APPRECIATION, those created here through the category of JUDGEMENT are also utilised by the study's participants to manage the relational aspects of their identities as well as maintaining group solidarity.

6.3.1 The different types and forms of JUDGEMENT

As illustrated in table 5.5 in chapter 5, the evaluative stance of JUDGEMENT is taken 183

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[134] The difference between 'macro' and 'micro' as used in this thesis is discussed at the end of section 4.6.5 above.
[135] Stances of JUDGEMENT and the interactional effects achieved through taking them is also another example (see footnote 86 above for a similar discussion on this) where the current study offers possibility of linking future, identity-related CS studies to facework and (im)politeness'.

times in the first peer-group interaction. Compared to the evaluative stances taken through the two other APPRAISAL categories, JUDGEMENT is the second most common evaluative resource through which the participants express their APPRAISAL and negotiate different aspects of their identities. Looking back at the definition of JUDGEMENT, it is a concept that refers to the action of giving an opinion of, or commenting on, another person's behaviour, either through showing admiration or criticism. This JUDGEMENT can be made in relation to the other person's level of 'propriety' and 'veracity', which both fall under the sub-category of *social sanction*, and 'normality', 'capability' and 'tenacity', which fall under the sub-category of *social esteem*.

Table 6.3 shows the breakdown of the three main forms through which these evaluative stances of JUDGEMENT are carried out: inscribed, invoked and tokens, where an APPRAISAL instance seems to fulfil a specific function but actually fulfils another when the context is considered (see section 4.6.4.3 for more details). Unlike the APPRAISAL categories of AFFECT and APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT is mainly realised through invoked instances rather than inscribed ones. As is demonstrated by the end of this section, JUDGEMENT is often carried out implicitly rather than explicitly (through the use of specific lexical items) as is the case with AFFECT and APPRECIATION. In other words, instances of JUDGEMENT tend to be implied and are not always realised in a straightforward manner, but are often realised beyond the utterance level.

Table 6.3: The total number of APPRAISAL stances of JUDGEMENT in both languages (in peer-group recording 1)

Judgement APPRAISAL	Number of stances
Inscribed	49
Invoked	84
Token (Through AFFECT (19) and APPRECIATION (31)	50
Total number	**183**

In addition to the invoked instances, almost one-third (27.3%) of the overall number of

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JUDGEMENT stances are tokens.[136] These JUDGEMENT stances are taken up through lexical items that are traditionally utilised to express AFFECT or APPRECIATION. Due to space limitations, I focus here on instances of JUDGEMENT that are made through tokens of APPRECIATION as those made through AFFECT have been discussed in the previous section (See section 6.1.3.1). Also, the object of evaluation in the categories of APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT tends to overlap and it is likely that the latter is realised or implied through the former. While APPRECIATION refers to an expression of an opinion on an entity or an object, JUDGEMENT is the expression of an opinion on a human entity or an action that is related to that entity. The next example is an illustration of a common way through which the participants take a JUDGEMENT stance through APPRECIATION.

Example 6.3.1

1 **Fadia:** (.)**I think he's funny**[137] أنــا بــاسم يــوسف(.) نــتفرج عليـه(.)
   (*I watch Bassem Yousef. I think he's funny*)

2   بـس مـش كل حـاجـاتـه تـضحكنـي /مـنـعـرفـش علاش
   (*But I don't find all things he says funny*[138], *I don't
   know why*)

3 **Hanan:** /U. **up to a point** إيـه
   (*Up to a point, yeah*)

   (…)

4 **Fadia:** **I don't** الـمصري هـاداكـا ال: مـا: **sense of humour** أنــا الــ
   get it much(.)
   (*I, the sense of humour, that Egyptian type, not I
    don't get it much*)

5 **Fadia:** لـكن مـرات يـكون فـي **big jokes I I don't. I just don't get**

---

[136] A token is where an APPRAISAL instance seems to fulfil a specific function, but it actually fulfils another when the context is considered. See section (4.6.4.3) for more information.
[137] [En] 'I think he's <u>funny</u>' [+ JUD, SE: cap, Qua: attrib] [Fadia: Bassem Youssef's performance]
[138] [Ar] 'I don't find all things he says <u>funny</u>' [- T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: cap, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: Bassem Youssef's comic material]

them!

(*But sometimes there are big jokes I don't I just don't get them!*)

(…)

6 <mark>**I don't find it funny**</mark>[139]!

This example has already been discussed at two different points (Sections 5.2.2 and 6.1.3.1) throughout this thesis in relation to two different ideas. Here, however, the focus is on the distinction between the two different forms through which JUDGEMENT stances are taken: inscribed vs. token. In this example, and as has been explained before, Fadia is appraising the comedian Bassem Youssef in line 1 with a positive JUDGEMENT of capacity, an evaluative stance taken by her attribution of the English adjective `'funny'` to him/his performances. In the following line, Fadia makes an exception to her previous praise and takes a different stance to it. In line 2, Fadia switches into Arabic and takes a negative stance of JUDGEMENT[140], expressed through a negated form of the previous stance: `'I don't find all things he says are funny'`. Fadia's attribution of the adjective 'not funny' to an object or the comedian's comic material, `'things he says'`, renders this an example of an APPRECIATION. However, taking the context into account and considering Fadia's previous JUDGEMENT instance, I would argue that this is still an instance of a JUDGEMENT stance, yet it is expressed through APPRECIATION. Unlike the previous evaluation instance where the JUDGEMENT stance is taken explicitly, a second JUDGEMENT stance is an implicit one that is realised indirectly, through a token of APPRECIATION. Another inplicit stance of JUDGEMENT can be found in Fadia's final turn of the interaction in line 6 as she reiterates the stance she took previously in line 2, but she takes it in English this time in line 6: `'I don't find`

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[139] [En] 'I don't find it funny' [- T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: cap, Qual: attrib] [Fadia: Egyptian sense of humour]

[140] Although the orientation of Fadia's second instance of JUDGEMENT: `'I don't find all things he says funny'` is marked as a negative stance, it can be argued that this stance does not necessarily convey an opposite meaning to the previous positive stance: `'I think he's funny'`. What is being implied here is that Fadia *still* finds *some* or *most* of the things he says funny. Interestingly, this raises questions about the effectiveness of the positive and negative orientations proposed by Martin's and White's APPRAISAL model. Such an example also highlights the rigidity of such a classification and raises doubts over the extent of the model's applicability to authentic examples of language where stances are more likely to exist on a continuum instead of being simply categorised as positive or negative (for more details on limitations of the APPRIASAL model, see section 7.2 of the conclusion chapter).

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`it funny`' It is worth mentioning that the object of evaluation here is not the comic material of Bassem Youssef, but it is the Egyptian sense of humour in general, rendering the APPRAISAL instance in this particular turn one of APPRECIATION. Again, it can be argued that what is indirectly evaluated (through a JUDGEMENT stance) here is not the Egyptian sense of humour but the group of people who create this type of humour, thus, the Egyptians.

For the remainder of this section, I explore the two most common reasons for which stances of JUDGEMENT are taken up by this group of bilingual participants, focusing on three different examples.

6.3.2 The different stances taken through JUDGEMENT

Unlike the previous two categories (AFFECT and APPRECIATION), I am going to discuss only the positive stances of JUDGEMENT as the negative stances are not as relevant, particularly from an identity-related and interactional point of view. Most of these tend to be individual instances of JUDGEMENT, which occur sporadically and are mostly directed towards other people, unlike the positive ones, which are more relevant to them as a group of friends. In addition to this, the positive stances are slightly more frequent as they make up 55.1% of the overall JUDGEMENT instances, 45.5% of which are produced in English. Whatever is the purpose behind the stances of JUDGEMENT the participants take, the stances are almost exclusively taken up in relation to the interactants' social esteem rather than social sanction. This pattern is quite expected as stances of JUDGEMENT taken up in relation to social esteem are less serious and mostly occur in 'chat, gossip, jokes and stories of various kinds' (Martin & White, 2005:52), as opposed to the JUDGEMENT stances of the social sanction type which tend to be negative and are associated with 'penalties and punishments' (*Ibid*). Although these stances are the exception rather than the norm, I would like to discuss a brief example below in order to illustrate the point.

Example 6.3.2

[Kamila is telling the other interactants (Hanan, Zainab and Fadia) about a documentary she watched about the Afghan translators who were left behind in Afghanistan after the American troops left]

1 Kamila: الـــ فيهم يعاملوا كيف **applications** متاعهم
(The way in which they consider their applications)

(…)

2 إن ما يبوش يخلوهم يجوا لأمريكا
(That they don't want to allow them to come to America)

3 Zainab: [Making a sound of shock]

(…)

4 Kamila: بشكل مش طبيعي تعرفي **^horri/ble^**[141] تعرفي/ <To Zainab>
مش وجعوني حسيتهم
(You know, it's unbelievably horrible, you know! I really felt for them)

5 Zainab: **/^So^: mean**[142]
(So mean!)

6 أهما **so selfish**[143] خزي عليه//
(Damn them, so selfish, those people)

7 Kamila: قصدي واحد كان يموت فيك يساعد على خاطرك غادي تقريبا!//
(I mean this person may die. He used to help you and do something for you, I think!)

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[141] [En] 'horrible' [- JUD, SS: prop, Qua: attrib] [Kamila: The American Visa officers]
[142] [En] 'so mean' [- JUD, SS: prop, Qua: attrib] [Zainab: The American Visa officers]
[143] [En] 'so selfish' [- JUD, SS: prop, Qua: attrib] [Zainab: The American Visa officers]

```
8 Zainab:     =إيـــه:
              (Yeah)

9 Kamila:     إنت بتطلع هو بيموت طول بيقتلوه يعتبر خاين عرفتي؟
              (You leave and he'll die straightaway. They'll kill
              him, because he's considered a traitor, you know!)
```

Here, Kamila and Zainab are using three specific negative adjectives, `horrible' (L.4),
`mean' (L.5) and `selfish' (L.6), in order to negatively evaluate the actions that
were taken by what appears to be the American visa officers, in terms of what Kamila
and Zainab regard as their (lack of) propriety. It can be noticed clearly here how Kamila
- in line 4 - and Zainab - in lines 5 and 6 - switch from Arabic into English to specifically
take up these three instances of negative JUDGEMENT. To focus on Kamila's stances of
JUDGEMENT, she first gives (in Arabic) an account of the documentary, from a factual
point of view in line 2 - `don't want to allow them to come to America' -
then makes a transition by commenting on that fact and describing it as `horrible'
in line 4. Interestingly, Kamila then switches back to Arabic in lines 7 and 9 where she
elaborates on how inhumane she thinks such decisions are. Although her disapproval is
also made clear in these two lines, she does not take up any explicit negative stances of
JUDGEMENT as she did previously in line 4 when utilising the English negative attribute
`horrible' Instead, her disapproval is expressed through an act of blame rather than
an act of JUDGEMENT.

To go back to the positive instances of JUDGEMENT, the analysis shows that the
majority of these are taken up to achieve either one of the following purposes:

1. **Showing admiration to another interactant and praising them**, mainly for their
   capacity for carrying out a certain task or possessing a certain personal
   characteristic. JUDGEMENT as expressed in these stances is often carried out
   through inscribed instances where it is more straightforward than it is when
   carried out through invoked stances, as is the case for those JUDGEMENT stances
   that are taken for the second purpose below.

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2. **Engaging in banter and making ridiculing comments about another interactant's behaviour** or words. Most of these JUDGEMENT stances are not as clearly positive as the ones taken for the first purpose in the sense that they are not necessarily taken to show admiration or praise to the interactant who is being evaluated or judged. Also, they are not negative in the sense that participants are criticising each other. Instead, these JUDGEMENT stances are implied and are less straightforward as they only seem impolite on the surface. This type of judgements is very similar to 'banter' as defined by Bousfield (2007). He defines banter as an 'insincere form of impoliteness' that is utilised 'for the purpose of solidarity or social bonding' (Bousfield, 2007:213). Along the same lines, banter was initially defined as 'an offensive way of being friendly' (Leech, 1983:144). As a group of friends, JUDGEMENT stances can be considered as taking the form of banter as they are utilised in creating humour and triggering laughter amongst the group members, using insincere and untrue mean comments. For the current study, JUDGEMENT - as will be seen throughout this section - is used more as a tool for maintaining and enhancing social harmony between the participants as a friendship group than a tool for being nice or polite[144] to one another as is the case with inscribed JUDGEMENT stances.

6.3.3 JUDGEMENT stances for showing admiration and praise

The next example below demonstrates how positive JUDGEMENT stances are taken up to show admiration:

Example 6.3.3

```
1 Hanna:  الــ في واحدة مـرة induction day(.)
         (There was a girl once in the induction day)


2        المهم لقيتها هكي نهدرزوا مشى قتلها'Ohh are you
         American?'
         (Anyway, we were chatting, so I asked her 'ohh are you
```

---

[144] As mentioned in a previous section, this could have implications for (im)politeness research and facework; however, this area is beyond the remits of this thesis.

American?')

3   قتلي **Yeah, I have the loud accent** <exaggerated

                                                        American accent>

          (*She said, 'Yeah I have the loud accent'*)

4 All: [Laughing]

5 Kamila: **Nice imitation**[145] عالعموم

          (*Nice imitation by the way*)

6 Fadia: **Yea::h I have the loud accent** <joking tone>

7 Kamila: =**Nice imitation** عالعموم

          (*Nice imitation by the way*)

8 Hanan: <Laughing> **Thank you**

In line 5, Kamila is carrying a positive evaluation and displaying her admiration of my capacity for the way I accurately mimicked the girl's American accent. This positive JUDGEMENT is performed through an instance of inscribed JUDGEMENT,[146] carried out by the positive attribute `nice' In a consistent manner, Kamila repeats the evaluative stance she takes in her previous turn in line 5, utilising English in both turns in lines 5 and 7. There seems to be a relative contrast in the function that Kamila assigns to Arabic and English here. Whereas English is used to perform the evaluation, Arabic is added peripherally at the end of the turn, mainly to add further information although the phrase `by the way' does not add much to the meaning made in lines 5 and 7. What is of more significance here than Kamila's inscribed positive JUDGEMENT and emphasis on how much she liked my 'performance' is the interactional effect of it, which seems to have been achieved when considering my reply and reaction to this JUDGEMENT stance in line 8: `Thank you' I would argue that the way Kamila latched onto Fadia's

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[145] [En] '**Nice imitation**, by the way' [+ JUD, SE: cap, Qua: attrib] [Kamila: Hanan's American accent mimicry]

[146] The reason I regard this as an instance of JUDGEMENT and not APPRECIATION is because what is evaluated here (My mimicry act) is closely linked to me and what I am capable of doing, and not an object that I own but do not have much control over, as is the case with the APPRAISAL category of APPRECIATION.

previous turn to repeat her evaluative stance, '=Nice imitation', can be seen as a way of maintaining and enhancing the friendship Kamila has with me. The latching turn also suggests how keen Kamila is that I hear her praise, which might not have been quite audible to me due to Fadia's loud comment in line 6.

Unlike the clear positive JUDGEMENT Kamila takes towards my performance in the previous example, her next JUDGEMENT stance is not as straightforward, but is more common in terms of the overall JUDGEMENT stances the participants tend to take.

Example 6.3.4

1 **Fadia:** حلوة دارك حنان

     (*Your room is nice, Hanan*)

2 **Hanan:** والله؟

     (*Really?*)

     (…)

3 **Fadia:** دار طالبة دكتورة=   <Smiling>

     (*A PhD student room*)

4 **Kamila:** والله؟ نبي نشوفها

     (*Really? I want to see it*)

5 **Hanan:** سمر(.)لما نفتح في الكاميرا تشبح في ورا(.) عاطيينا زي

     على اساس شن (.) week تكتبي فيه كل planner الـــ

     تديري

     (*When I'm on camera, Samar looks at what's behind me, they gave us like a planner you write in every week*)

6 **Kamila:** إيه=

     (*Yeah*)

7 **Hanan:** مشى قتلي حى: هادا شني؟ قتلها (.)

     (*So she went like 'Ohh what's that?' I said*)

8 All: [Laughing]

9 Hanan: .قـلـ//
               (*I said*)

10 Kamila: قـولـهـا// <mark>**I'm a rea:l student**</mark>[147]
               (*Tell her I'm a real student*)

11 Hanan: (.) كـلـه عـرفـتي جو (.) ايـه **sticks everywhere** <Smiling>
               (*Yeah it's all like sticks everywhere*)

12 Kamila: =إيـه إيـه إيـه
               (*Yeah yeah yeah*)

13 Fadia: [Laughing]

The interaction starts with Fadia's comment on my room and how she thinks it is an ideal room for a PhD student. Although Fadia's APPRECIATION of the room - `A PhD student room` - clearly shows how impressed she is with the room, her evaluative stance involves a somewhat joking tone, which is built upon by Kamila in the line that follows: `Really? I want to see it` My reaction to these indirect teasing remarks and my following reply, `they gave us like a planner you write in every week` in line 5, (which would give Fadia and Kamila another reason to continue teasing me) is an acknowledgement of my familiarity with such comments as they all - including me - laugh later in line 8. As a participant researcher, I think that what Fadia and Kamila were teasing me for here is *being a very organised person who takes everything very seriously*. At this stage, Kamila appraises me in a more direct manner in line 10 through carrying out an inscribed negative JUDGEMENT of normality, referring to my perfectionism: `Tell her ''I'm a real student''` Kamila's JUDGEMENT of my perfectionism does not sound like a sincere positive admiration as it can be implied from the context and Kamila's joking tone that she intends it to be a ridiculing comment. Despite being so, Kamila's JUDGEMENT stance creates a friendly atmosphere amongst

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[147] [En] 'Tell her: '**I'm a <u>real student</u>**' [+ JUD, SE: norm, Qua: epith] [Kamila: Hanan's obsessive sense of organisation]

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the group members, thus it is categorised as a positive JUDGEMENT instance. Unlike Kamila's individual JUDGEMENT stance, which she takes up in example 6.3.3 above, the JUDGEMENT stance she takes up here is more interactional. For example, Kamila's JUDGEMENT seems to be a consequence of Fadia's joking comment on my room at the beginning of the interaction in line 3, a move that has been collectively acknowledged and led to group laughter in line 8. Fadia's laughter at the end of the interaction in line 13 also suggests some agreement with Kamila's JUDGEMENT.

6.3.4 JUDGEMENT stances for engaging in banter

I now turn to the second reason that my bilingual speakers take up JUDGEMENT stances.

Example 6.3.5[148]

[Hanan and Zainab were having another conversation when Fadia turned to Kamila and asked her to bring her mobile phone]

1 **Fadia:**   ترا مديلي تلفوني كميلة
             (*Please, hand me my phone*)

2 **Kamila:** <hands her the phone> ولا التاني؟
                              (*Or the other one?*)

3 **Fadia:**   هاتي
             (*Pass it on*)

             (4.0)

4 **Fadia:**   Do you know the password?!

5 **Kamila:** آه؟
             (*What?*)

6 **Fadia:**   Do you know the password?

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[148] This example has been first used in a past conference paper (Ben Nafa, 2016a) I presented during my second year of PhD.

7 Kamila: <mark>To you:r thingy</mark>[149]?!

8 Fadia: <mark>No</mark>[150]!

[At this point, Hanan and Zainab have finished their conversation and they could listen to what was going on between Fadia and Kamila]

9 Kamila: =<mark>I don't know</mark>[151]!

10   <mark>آ:ه اللي هنا::؟!</mark> <laughing at herself>
(*Ooh this one here?*)

11 Fadia: <mark>To my ^thingy^</mark>[152]!! <Smiling>

12   (**Am**) <mark>فا/تحاته أنا كميلة!</mark>[153]
(*Am, my phone is on, Kamila!*)

13 Kamila: /<mark>Yeah I know(.)</mark>[154]

14   <mark>I was thinking why is she asking me the Question in the first place?!</mark>[155]

         (1.0)

15 Kamila: آ:ه اممم <Trying to figure out what the letters are>
(*Eee ooh*)

16 Hanan: =آ:ه شوفيها   <Pointing to the internet router>
(*Oh, Check there*)

17 Fadia: =<mark>^Dude^! just tell me the pa:sswo::rd</mark>[156]

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[149] [En] 'To your thingy?' [(I) – JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Kamila: Fadia's wording of her question]

[150] [En] 'No!' [(I) – JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Fadia: Kamila's comprehension abilities]

[151] [En] 'I don't know!' [(I) – JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Kamila: Fadia's question]

[152] [En] 'To my thingy?' [(I) + JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Fadia: Kamila's comprehension abilities]

[153] [Ar] '(Am) 'It's on, Kamila!' [(I) + JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Fadia: Kamila's comprehension abilities]

[154] [En] 'Yeah I know' [(I) + JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Kamila: Fadia's analysis and wording of the question].

[155] [En] 'I was thinking, why is she asking … ?!' [(I) + JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Kamila: Fadia's wording of the question]

[156] [En] 'Dude! Just tell me the password!' [(I) + JUD, SE: cap, Beyond sentence/Proso] [Fadia: Kamila's attitude and comprehension abilities]

<In an exaggerated American accent>

18 Kamila: هيـا

      (*In a bit*)

19 Hanan: [Laughing]

In this example, Kamila and Fadia are making several consecutive switches into English (L.7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14 and 17), utilising it almost specifically to exchange teasing remarks. The series of these ridiculing comments that both Kamila and Fadia exchange seems to be triggered initially by Kamila's question in line 7 where she alludes to the peculiarity of Fadia's request in line 6. Although Kamila does not seem to take up a clear JUDGEMENT stance, her negative JUDGEMENT of Fadia's capacity for asking what Kamila understands as a strange question is invoked through her surprised tone, which highlights her confusion in line 7: 'To your thingy?!' In response to this comment, Fadia makes a challenging comment to Kamila in line 8 for the latter's unexpected interpretation of her question: 'No!' Fadia's reply here can also be considered another instance of invoked negative JUDGEMENT of Kamila's ability to understand, realised through prosody, particularly through her surprised tone and the stress she places on her one-word answer.

In the next line - line 9, Kamila then makes a defensive move against being potentially perceived by others/Fadia as 'stupid': 'I don't know!' To avoid the embarrassment that Fadia's comment inflicted upon her in line 8, Kamila's reply here can also be regarded as an invoked instance of negative JUDGEMENT (of capacity) that she takes up to defend herself and place the blame on Fadia's poor phrasing of the question. In a reply to this JUDGEMENT, Fadia takes up another negative JUDGEMENT stance in line 11 in relation to Kamila's capacity for understanding through quoting the question Kamila makes in line 7 to highlight how absurd it sounds: 'To my thingy?!' Eagerly trying to defend herself and give an excuse for her unusual interpretation of Fadia's request, Kamila takes up a similar negative JUDGEMENT stance to the one she takes in the previous line - line 9 -, emphasising how strange Fadia's request is: 'Yeah

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I know! I was thinking why is she asking me the question in the
first place?!'
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(L.13 and L.14).

From Fadia's turn in line 11 onward, the tone seems to change and become less intense and more positive. This change in tone is particularly evident in line 17 where Fadia's utterances seem to be performative, putting on an exaggerated American accent: /pæs.wɹ:d/ in `'Dude! Just tell me the passwo::rd'` Although it is not very clear why Fadia produces this joking comment, it can be elicited from the context that Fadia is using this utterance as a means to tease Kamila further, turning what has been a private conversation until then - line 8 - into a scene.

This banter was created through the way each of the two speakers accommodate to and build upon each other's teasing remarks, triggering a series of JUDGEMENT stances. None of these attitudinal APPRAISAL stances of JUDGEMENT are inscribed, but I would argue that these evaluative stances are implied from the context and the paralinguistic features that both participants deploy, such as laughter and using a joking tone. On the surface, these stances Kamila and Fadia exchange sound somewhat offensive and aggressive, where each participant can be perceived as being deliberately unhelpful or not very considerate of her interactants. However, it is only through having more information about the context and the important feature of prosody that this series of positive stances of JUDGEMENT can be perceived as such.

Unlike English, which is consistently used by both Fadia and Kamila to make evaluative (JUDGEMENT instances) remarks, Arabic is hardly used to create any evaluative effect in this example. Between lines 7 and 16, Arabic is used twice in line 10 and 12, by Kamila and Fadia, respectively. In line 10, where Arabic is used in a non-evaluative manner, Kamila switches into Arabic when she realises what Fadia actually means by her request: `'Ooh this one here?'` The only time Arabic is used for an evaluative purpose in this interaction is line 12, where Fadia is negatively evaluating Kamila for her unusual interpretation of the question, implying that she cannot be asking for the password of her own mobile: `'My phone is on, Kamila!'`.

6.3.5 The significance of using English to express JUDGEMENT

The significance of utilising English to take positive JUDGEMENT stances and create a friendly atmosphere among the bilingual speakers here can be linked to what has already been discussed in section 5.2, chapter 5 regarding the participants' positive experience in the UK and their positive attitude towards British people in general. This positive attitude has been elicited from the responses made by most of the participants in the semi-structured interviews, where they tend to attach positive evaluative terms to their experience with members of the host community. As part of this experience and their positive attitude towards British people, the participants also comment on their admiration of the British style of expressing emotions, thus, it is not surprising that the participants would adopt what they referred to as the British style of performing evaluation and expressing emotions. In other words, positive evaluative CS stances, whether these were AFFECT, APPRECIATION or JUDGEMENT, may be considered a reflection of the positive light in which the participants view members of British society and the positive social meanings and values they associate with members of this society.

As mentioned before, it is important to emphasise here that the results discussed in chapter 6 so far and the evaluative moves this group of Arabic-English late bilinguals make through the CS acts they exhibit are only inferred from the data elicited from this small group of speakers. Thus, the way in which CS moves have been explained in the last two chapters and their relevance to cultural stereotypes are utilised exclusively to comment on this small group of (Libyan) Arab friends in Manchester, and no assumption is to be made that this applies unproblematically to the wider Arabic community or other Arabic-English bilingual groups, be they in Libya, Manchester, England or elsewhere. This partiality has already been illustrated by the CS acts of the early bilingual participant - Narjis - and the difference of her acts from those of the rest of the group (late bilinguals) in terms of their evaluative significance.

To conclude, the aim of this section was to illustrate how the bilingual speakers in this study utilise English code-switches to invoke different types of positive JUDGEMENT stances. The focus has been on two main reasons for which these stances are taken: showing admiration to other interactants and exchanging teasing remarks.

The evaluative moves implied from JUDGEMENT stances are also often used to enhance friendship and social harmony between members of this bilingual group: an effect that is created particularly through the participants' engagement in banter and making ridiculing comments, which are often produced through English code-switches.

Overall, this chapter has so far illustrated - through the three main sections discussed (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) - how the study's Arabic-English bilingual participants utilise evaluative English code-switches by engaging in different types of evaluative stance-taking acts. These evaluative acts are often engaged in by this group of bilingual friends as a way of expressing certain types of (positive) attitudinal stances (through instances of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT), such as expressing emotions, making appreciative comments or subjective remarks as well as providing judgements. It is through these evaluative moves that the study's bilingual participants negotiate both individual and relational aspects of their identities, creating several interactional effects, such as achieving in-group bonding and enhancing their friendship dynamics. Consequently, these interpersonal effects are considered here as some of the aspects that make up what can be called a relational identity.

7: Conclusion

This thesis was guided by three research questions:

1. How do members of this bilingual group utilise CS as a tool for self-presentation and for negotiating both their individual and relational identities?

2. How can variability in the participants' CS patterns be explained in relation to the different evaluative stances made and attitudes they express?

3. What are the communicative effects speakers achieve through the evaluative stances they take and their interactional management of CS?

With regard to the first question, the results suggest that this group of bilingual speakers negotiate their identities through a number of evaluative stances, which they take up as they utilise different CS instances. It is through this process of stance-taking and the indexical link existing between certain CS instances (e.g. English code-switches) and the different social meanings assigned to them that these bilinguals are able to make evaluative moves and position themselves, enacting different aspects of their identities. In other words, through the cumulative stances taken up through CS instances, together with the social meanings embedded in them, participants manage to evaluate their surroundings (including interactants) and express their attitudes towards them. It is mostly through relational rather than individual attitudes that this group of bilinguals present themselves as they interact with the rest of the interactants in peer-group interaction (more about this below - question 3). Three main attitudes were particularly expressed through the participants' English code-switches; these were AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT.

In terms of the second question, it was found that the different CS patterns that the participants exhibit have different functional realisations. CS instances vary

considerably in terms of the evaluative stances they indicate and whether these CS instances are identity-related. Unlike the basic CS pattern of insertion, which the participants often utilise for practical reasons, instances of alternation are much more complex in terms of the evaluative force underlying them as well as the identity-related motivations inferred from them. This means that the stances taken up by the participants, and therefore their evaluative moves and attitudes, depend heavily on the CS style (pattern) deployed. The direction of CS was also found to be important in determining how evaluative a CS instance can be. As discussed in chapter 5, participants utilise switches into English repeatedly to show APPRAISAL and express different positive attitudes, particularly emotions (through AFFECT) as well as displays of excitement or APPRECIATION. Unlike Arabic, which was often utilised to elaborate and make factual statements, English is the preferred language or channel through which the late bilingual participants made their evaluative moves. It was argued therefore that expressing these attitudes can be regarded as the triggering force behind the participants' CS evaluative stances. The social meanings assigned to the participants' stances, taken when utilising evaluative English code-switches in particular, are mostly positive values that the (late bilingual) participants ascribe to the English language and its (British) users. This tendency to code-switch into English when taking up these positive stances was partly explained by the attitudinal shifts these participants make when switching between both languages. These shifts are considered to be partially triggered by the difference in the cultural values the participants associate with each language group (Libyan/Arabic vs. British). Through their interview answers, the participants commented openly on their positive experience in the UK and certain cultural meanings and values they attach to the English language and its (British) users.

Having said this, these evaluative moves made when switching into English were not shared by all participants. For example, the only early bilingual participant in the group did not associate English with the particularly positive social meanings the rest of the group associated it with. This explained her different CS style, where she tends to utilise Arabic and English in the same sentence for almost the same (evaluative) reason. Another factor that seems to play a role in the stylistic variation of the participants' CS was the linguistic proficiency of one the late bilinguals (the least advanced). Unlike the

more advanced late bilingual participants, her evaluative moves were less frequent and were dominantly made for practical, and not identity-related reasons.

With respect to the final question, a detailed analysis of the evaluative moves made through the participants' CS instances - particularly the late bilinguals' - suggests that many of them resulted in creating several local and communicative effects. When participants commit evaluative acts to express certain types of positive attitudinal stances (through instances of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT), they do not express such attitudes for the sake of being expressive or performing evaluation at a micro level only. Instead, many of these attitudinal stances have a macro level effect, which is the accomplishment of interpersonal relationships and the management of interpersonal aspects of their identities. In other words, through the three main attitudinal categories mentioned above, participants do not only express emotions, make appreciative comments or provide judgements. The participants, instead, are constantly taking up individual and, most importantly, relational stances where they share mutual feelings (through AFFECT), enhance or maintain social harmony (through APPRECIATION) and engage in banter (through JUDGEMENT). Such interactional and relational effects were created through echoing each other's stance-taking acts and showing alignment (or lack of it) to their interactants' stances. All these communicative effects are strategic, pragmatic moves through which the participants achieve in-group bonds and manage their friendship dynamics.

This idea of the macro level effects of the participants' evaluative CS stances and the relational reasons that these stances are taken for can be pursued further in future studies that are interested in examining identity-related aspects of CS. Examples of these relational reasons have been briefly identified throughout the thesis (see footnote 46, 86, 89, 102, 119, 135 & 144) in order to highlight the implications relational CS moves could have for research on (im)politeness and facework/relational work. Although a detailed discussion of these relational moves was beyond the scope of this thesis, the current study provides an avenue for further investigation of the participants' relational CS moves by linking these moves to research areas of facework and relational work. As has been discussed earlier (see footnote 119, chapter 6), the investigation of identity-

related aspects of CS can also move further, via facework, to an investigation of self-presentation and impression management.

To reiterate, this thesis has demonstrated how this group of bilingual speakers utilised CS as a linguistic resource to perform their interactional identities through acts of evaluation. The CS pattern utilised by this group of friends can be understood in relation to the evaluative positions the participants take and the attitudinal shifts they make between codes. CS is also seen as an interpretation of the cultural meanings and values that participants associate with each code. Through their varying exploitation of Arabic and English, these bilingual participants move between different zones and carve their own space as a way of negotiating their identities and enacting the complex reality they are experiencing as bilingual immigrants. It has also been argued in this thesis that the participants' CS evaluative instances are considered an implicit sign of acculturation where bilinguals exploit certain positive stances and evaluative/emotional expressions they believe are frequently utilised by members of the host culture - British society. It is argued that the late bilingual participants' utilisation of English to sound expressive can be partially explained through the process of socialisation as well as the different ways in which the two language groups (Libyan vs. British) often show APPRAISAL or express emotions.

That said, I am aware of the limitations of this argument, such as some of the stereotypes it is based on, for example, the 'reserved' nature of Arabs and their 'lack of emotional expression'. Nevertheless, it was highlighted on several occasions throughout the thesis that it is because of the participants' awareness of such stereotypes/claims and the explanations they offered in relation to their preference for English that these stereotypes and beliefs were referred to, albeit cautiously. Moreover, the conclusions drawn regarding the lack of 'expressiveness' of Arabic are confined to Libyan Arabic and how it is viewed and used by this small group of speakers. To further check the validity of the argument, future studies could deploy large samples of Arabic-English bilinguals to verify whether switching into English is a common practice among late Arabic-English bilinguals (speaking different Arabic dialects). More future studies are also needed to check whether this preference for utilising English to show APPRAISAL, e.g., to express

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emotions, holds and whether it can be generalised.

Despite these limitations, the study managed to make a methodological contribution to the study of CS and the evaluative stance behind the CS instances exhibited by the study's participants. This contribution was made through the adoption of the APPRAISAL model, a text-based analytic tool within the discipline of SFL, which is not traditionally utilised to study speakers' CS practices. The utilisation of APPRAISAL, however, has imposed a number of limitations related to its application, such as the issue of blurry categories and the difficulties encountered when categorising several attitudinal (APPRAISAL) stances. This chapter now moves on to discuss the study's contribution to the APPRAISAL theory and any implications for it (see section 7.1 below). The chapter then ends with section 7.2 which identifies some limitations of the APPRAISAL theory, particularly the model utilised in this study.

7.1 The study's contributions to knowledge and implications for the APPRAISAL theory

The findings elicited from the data discussed in this thesis have made evident additions to the field of Sociolinguistics, particularly in advancing the study area of CS, from a theoretical as well as a methodological viewpoint. First, by deploying the APPRAISAL model to systematically analyse the variability in the participants' CS moves/stances, this thesis has made the additional contribution of utilising an unconventional methodological tool in the CS field. The significance of adopting APPRAISAL was manifested in its ability to highlight the evaluative force behind the CS instances deployed by the participants. As far as I know, this endeavour has not been pursued yet within the study area of CS. I am only aware of three studies (Bock, 2011; Baumgarten & Du Bois, 2012; Smith-Christmas, 2013) where APPRAISAL was utilised as a framework for investigating bilingual interactions and the way participants take up stances and react to the stances of their interactants. Therefore, the current study is one of the very early and very few CS studies that utilises the APPRAISAL model in examining the evaluative potential of the linguistic practice of CS and its role in negotiating and re-constructing the interactional bilingual identity of the study's participants. The

introduction of the APPRAISAL framework, which is a model that is conceptualised within SFL, could lead to developing useful links between the two fields - CS and SFL - in future works.

The exploration of the evaluative (attitudinal) potential of the participants' CS moves would not have been possible if it were not for the incorporation of the APPRAISAL system in my analysis of evaluative CS in this thesis and in examining how it can be linked to the main concepts of identity and stance. This was achieved through the approach I proposed (see section 3.2 above) in order to envisage a holistic framework to examine the attitudinal stances inferred from the participants' CS moves. The main value of incorporating APPRAISAL was evident in its ability to identify the linguistic choices (lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic) that the bilingual participants exploit to take up attitudinal stances through their CS moves. It is very likely that such a detailed examination of the evaluative force behind the participants' CS instances would not have been gained if another model other than APPRAISAL had been adopted, such as using what is vaguely called DA. Instead, by using a specific parsing tool such as APPRAISAL, I was able to demonstrate that this model indeed allows for a refined analysis of the interactional and attitudinal motivation behind participants' CS practice. Thus, I would argue that the findings revealed in this thesis were only possible through the act of pulling different threads together and fruitfully combining different areas of study/theories together, such as IS, SFL and Social and Cultural Psychology (e.g. concepts of socialisation and emotional acculturation).

The second contribution of this thesis is in relation to the APPRAISAL model in particular, its application and the wider implications it may have for conducting a deep analysis of spoken discourse, particularly from a socio-pragmatic point view. This contribution is linked to the number of interactional effects (as discussed earlier in this chapter) that were created and inferred from the participants' attitudinal stances when code-switching as a group. As I already mentioned, the examination of the different attitudinal stances the participants take up through the three categories of attitude (AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT) helped me to notice that the participants are not only expressing attitudes on a surface level, e.g., they were not only 'appreciating'

for the sake of evaluating an object or what I call/can be called micro level stances. Instead, the participants seemed to be exploiting the attitudinal resource of APPRECIATION - for instance - while switching into English to express individual as well as interpersonal aspects of their identities. With regards to the attitude of APPRECIATION, for example, I found that the participants do not only express it to show appreciation of an object but they utilise it interactionally to give compliments to their interactants and maintain or restore social harmony by showing gratitude or being nice (aspects of self-presentation and impression management - see examples in section 6.2 of the previous chapter). The same was found in relation to the two other attitudinal resources of AFFECT and JUDGEMENT as many macro level effects were implied through the attitudinal (micro level) stances the participants take up.

The identification of these two different levels of an APPRAISAL instance has not, to my knowledge, been explored previously by scholars who utilise the APPRAISAL model as an analytic tool. Mostly, it is the micro level that is the focus of analysis. However, the utilisation of the APPRAISAL theory in this study helped to further the analysis of some of the basic evaluative functions of the participants' CS moves. Therefore, it is worth emphasising here that the adoption of the APPRAISAL theory has been very useful in uncovering the indirect communicative or relational effects achieved through the participants' evaluative stances that might only seem to be taken up to show basic instances of APPRAISAL. As discussed above, based on the interactional reasons (macro level effects) that many of the CS moves are often undertaken for, I argue that the next step to a detailed investigation of the identity-related aspects of CS is to explore the facework or relational work that bilingual speakers are 'doing' through their evaluative CS acts.

The last contribution to be mentioned here is one that is related to the linguistic features used to realise invoked instances of attitudinal APPRAISAL. Unlike instances of inscribed attitude, which are realised through lexicogrammatical features (through processes and qualities), the invoked ones, which are realised beyond the text or utterance level are not well recognised within the APPRAISAL model. The model offers little guidance as to how these instances are realised. This has been picked up on by

Bullo (2010:286) who identified a 'need to go beyond the text level (…) to gain a comprehensive insight into the selection of APPRAISAL values'. That said, the lack of linguistic features that may be used to identify instances of invoked CS is partially acknowledged here as such instances need to be interpreted within a context and vary greatly, depending on the analyst/reader, the text, etc. Also, the linguistic features that could be outlined to identify all possible instances of invoked APPRAISAL can be infinite, making the task, to a great extent, impossible. However, because invoked instances were amongst the attitudinal stances (particularly that of JUDGEMENT) taken by the speaker, it was important to deal with these instances and thus an attempt was made to codify them. To codify such instances, I added two features that I noticed most of the invoked stances are realised through. These are 'prosody' and 'beyond sentence' (see section 4.6.3.1 for details), which account for instances where a specific attitudinal stance is implied through the voice tone or the sum of the words in an utterance. The application mechanism of these features was not objective enough as I had to rely on context in coding most of them in order to infer the attitude expressed. It was also a modest attempt to deal with the difficulty APPRAISAL poses for analysts looking at invoked stances. The way I utilised these two features in analysing invoked stances can be challenged and tested in future studies, particularly those looking at two languages rather than one. It would, therefore, be useful to see how future studies may engage with the process of codifying invoked appraisals, a step that could prompt a discussion on a feature which does not seem to receive as much attention as inscribed appraisals do.

7.2 The study's limitations regarding the utilisation of APPRAISAL

I start this section by discussing the limitations of the contributions made in the previous section, those in relation to APPRAISAL, and the difficulties that were faced while applying and incorporating the model. First, the decision to engage in a theoretical and a methodological innovation by combining different areas of study together has some inevitable consequences at the level of the depth with which each of these studies was addressed. For example, I utilised a tool (APPRAISAL) without giving an account of the

theoretical foundation upon which it is based, that is the area of SFL. It was also beyond the aim and the scope of this thesis to discuss the philosophical underpinnings of the APPRAISAL theory or question the extent of its validity or reliability for investigating the participants' attitudinal stances and classifying them accurately. This is mainly because APPRAISAL was deployed here more as a tool than a framework. It was primarily adopted to analyse and examine how the participants' CS was manifested at an evaluative (APPRAISAL) level through concrete linguistic forms and choices. Therefore, the current study can be regarded as a study that paves the way for future studies that could look further into the intrinsic relationship between the functional approaches to language use and CS.

The second limitation is connected to the APPRAISAL theory (Martin's and White's model, to be specific) itself, focusing on some of the shortcomings I have identified while applying the model to the data of the current study. These shortcomings consist of a number of difficulties I encountered, particularly in terms of categorising the attitudinal stances that were taken up through the participants' CS moves. Although it proved to be a useful means to highlight the evaluative potential of the participants' CS moves, the APPRAISAL model achieved this through focusing on quantifying and categorising attitudinal stances only. That said, the quantification and the categorisation processes are far from straightforward. This is mainly because of the overlap that exists between categories of APPRAISAL that are presented as clearly distinguishable and identifiable. For instance, the differences between categories and sub-categories of attitudinal stances were, on many occasions, very fine, rendering the categorisation process somewhat impossible. An example of this is the difficulty I repeatedly encountered while trying to decide whether an attitude is that of AFFECT or APPRECIATION (as illustrated in example 4.24/25, section 4.6.4.2 of chapter 4) or whether a category is that of APPRECIATION or JUDGEMENT (see example 4.31, section 4.6.4.3 of chapter 4). Although it was initially proposed to categorise different instances of APPRAISAL, the APPRAISAL model is very likely present an obstacle for researchers conducting quantitative research where there is a need to quantify and clearly identify types of attitudes.

The blurry boundaries between the categories and subcategories of APPRAISAL highlight the inevitable overlap between these categories and the impossible task of classifying real-life examples of language, using such a rigid categorisation system. The effectiveness of breaking each category into several subcategories is not always helpful and has been called into question at some points throughout the thesis. For example, it has been discussed (see footnote 28, chapter 4) how the definition proposed for the affective subcategory of 'inclination' and its overlap with the concept of 'commitment' may further blur a seemingly 'established' distinction between affective stances and epistemic stances - what Martin and White (2005) call 'engagement'. The usefulness of the proposed orientations (positive vs. negative) of stance have also been questioned (see footnote 140, chapter 4). For example, there are instances that cannot be classified as either positive or negative; instead, they fall somewhere in the middle of the positive/negative scale. Such instances point out the rigidity of the adoption of these values only and call for a more flexible categorisation where more detailed values can be identified along a continuum. As a result, tackling these rigid classifications or at least considering the extent to their effectiveness could enable researchers working within APPRAISAL to focus more on the qualitative side of the analysis, such as examining what lies beyond speakers' evaluative stances after they have been identified.

That said, it is worth mentioning that the current study has not been largely affected by these limitations, particularly when it came to identifying the number and types of attitudes that participants express through English code-switches. As a qualitative study, more attention has been paid to the interactional implications of the participants' attitudinal stances (discussed in section 7.1 above) than the neat distinctions between these attitudes. That said, the problematic issue of the blurry boundaries between values of attitude shows a need for paying attention to context (see Bullo, 2010:165-166 for some practically useful suggestions on how to deal with such blurry boundaries). In this regard, Bullo (2010:166) stresses the 'need to rely strongly upon the importance of the actual context in which such values occur'.

To summarise, the APPRAISAL model adopted in this study has been useful in identifying the evaluative (attitudinal) stances of the participants' CS acts but has been

less useful in interpreting these attitudinal stances due to the rigid classifications and blurry categories it offers. Now that some of the shortcomings of the APPRAISAL model have been identified, researchers working with the APPRAISAL theory could consider these shortcomings together with the suggestions that have been made earlier in this section. The questions raised regarding the effectiveness of some of the model's categories could also be regarded as possible areas where improvements of the APPRAISAL model could be made. In addition, the limitations mentioned above show a need for an approach through which a more effective, qualitative analysis of the participants' evaluative CS moves can be carried out. I suggest that such an approach needs to give more significance to the context in which speakers' CS acts occurs, an approach that goes beyond the simple categorisation of attitudes and moves towards exploring the relational work that speakers might engage in as they are expressing these attitudes. As mentioned earlier, the evaluative and identity aspects of CS can be more qualitatively examined through linking the relational CS acts identified in this study to the research areas of (im)politeness and facework/relational work.

Finally, by utilising the APPRAISAL model to explore the participants' evaluative (attitudinal) stances through their CS instances, this thesis has attempted and succeeded, for the most part, to start developing a possible link between the areas of CS and SFL, disciplines traditionally unbridged until very recently. By demonstrating how CS was used as an attitudinal resource in this study, CS could be included in the current SFL literature as a potential APPRAISAL resource through which evaluative functions can be carried out. Also, with the communicative effects drawn from the participants' CS evaluative moves, the thesis has identified some directions for future research where there may be a room for fruitful collaboration between areas of Pragmatics and CS. The identity and relational aspects of CS can move, via facework/relational work, to an investigation of aspects of self-presentation and impression management.

8: Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1

Background Information, Attitudes and Perceptions towards code-switching.

- This questionnaire will take about **20** minutes to complete. Please take the time to answer each question carefully; **honest** and **accurate** answers are important for the project.

- Your answers are completely **anonymous** and will not be associated with your identity as an individual.

Please choose a **pseudonym** for yourself. It could be any name that you like or one that starts with the first letter of your real name, for example :) A pseudonym is fictitious name used to protect a person's identity; this will be used in my thesis and presentations.

> **My Pseudonym is:**

Part I: Linguistic Competence

1. What is your first (dominant) language (**L1**)? ………..
2. What is your second dominant language (**L2**)? ………..
3. Age you started learning your **L2**: ………..
4. How long have you spent in the UK? / The age you first came to the UK …………..
5. What was the purpose of your trip? *Please Tick as appropriate*:
   ☐ Study ☐ Work ☐ Settlement ☐ Other, *please specify* …………..

6. What is your highest level of education (including courses you are currently doing)?

……………………………………………………………………………………

7. What do you think best reflects your level of command in **L2** for each skill? *Please tick the appropriate box for each skill*

	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Native-Like
Reading:	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐

Part II. Practice of, and attitudes, towards code-switching:

For Q 1, 2 and 3, please choose one answer from the following options by ticking the appropriate box

1. Do you code-switch? ☐ **Always** ☐ **Often** ☐ **Sometimes** ☐ **Never**

Code switching is using elements from two languages in the same sentence or situation

---

2. How often do you realise that you are switching between two languages during a conversation?

☐ **Always** ☐ **Sometimes** ☐ **Never**

3. What are your **feelings** towards the practice of code-switching?

☐ **Positive** ☐ **Negative** ☐ **Neutral**

For Q 4 and 5, please choose one or more answer(s) from the following options by ticking the appropriate box

4. Why do you think you code-switch?

To   add emphasis   ☐
    be indirect   ☐
    express my emotions   ☐
    refer to specific expressions that cannot be translated   ☐
    compensate for limited proficiency in either language   ☐
    I don't know   ☐   Other   ☐   *Please specify* …………………………

(a) Which of the above reasons do you find the **most important**?

…………………………………..

5. Which of these statement(s) **do you think is true** in relation to how you code-switch? *Please tick all that are appropriate.*

(**a**) I code-switch (more) when the person I speak with is **fluent** in English ☐

(**b**) I code-switch (more) when **I have a close relationship** with the person I speak with ☐

(**c**) I sometimes code-switch in the **presence of unaddressed Arab monolingual** friend ☐

(**d**) I code-switch in **Specific Situations** e.g. cultural-specific topics, settings, etc. ☐

Specify any other situations……………………………………………..

Part III: Personal Details

1. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

2. Age: ………….

3. Occupation: ………….

4. Country of origin: ………..

5. Nationality …………..

6. Would you consider yourself an 'Arabic-English bilingual'? Choose one of the following options:

☐ **Definitely yes**   ☐ **Probably yes**   ☐ **Probably No**   ☐ **Definitely not**

> For the purpose of this study, a '**Bilingual Speaker**' can be defined as a speaker who can use two languages - not necessarily equally - with the ability to successfully communicate verbally in both languages.

Part IV: Everyday language use

1. Which language do you usually speak **with those living with you**? *(e.g. family members/ flat mates). In answering this, please indicate (their):*

(A) Relationship to you: ………………..

Age: …………………

L1: …………….

Level of English: ……………..

Number of years spent in the UK: …

Language you use with them …………

(B) Relationship to you ………………

Age: …………………

L1: …………….

Level of English: ……………..

Number of years spent in the UK: ……

Language you use with them ………….

If you wish to include other people, please use the space here to write their information

(C)……………………………………

(D)……………………………………

(**1a**) Do you **code-switch with any of the above people**? *Please specify*

Person 1	☐ Always	☐ Often	☐ Sometimes	☐ Never
Person 2	☐ Always	☐ Often	☐ Sometimes	☐ Never
Person 3	☐ Always	☐ Often	☐ Sometimes	☐ Never
Person 4	☐ Always	☐ Often	☐ Sometimes	☐ Never

(1**b**) Which language(s) do they often use when **they talk to you**? *Please specify or give examples*

Person 1 ……………………………   **Person 3** ……………………………

Person 2 ……………………………   **Person 4** ……………………………

2. Which language do your **children** use the most (with you)?
………………………………………………………………………………………

(**a**) Which language do **you** use with them?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Which language(s) do you use when speaking to your other **Arab friends who can speak English**?

☐ Arabic only ☐ Mostly Arabic   ☐ Arabic & some English ☐ Arabic & English

4. Which language(s) do you use when a **non-Arabic speaker** (stranger) is present while you are having a conversation with your Arab/bilingual friends?
………………………………………………………………………………

(**a**) Does the **status** of the non-Arabic speaker (**Lecturer/colleague** vs. **passengers on the bus**) affect your language choice?   ☐ **Yes**   ☐ **No**

Why?/ *Please elaborate*   ………………………………………………………………………………

5. What language do you automatically/ voluntarily speak when you meet an **Arab colleague** at university? ………………………………………………………………………

Why? ……………………………………………………………………………………………….

6. Which language(s) do you use when you discuss **university work** with those Arab colleagues?

………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Which language do you use when speaking with **Arab colleagues from a different Arabic country** from yours?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

Why? …………………………………………………………………………………………

8. In which language do you usually watch/listen to/read the following:

News and Documentaries ……………..
TV Comedy ………………
Movies ………………………..
Music …………………….
Novels and Poetry …………………..

(a) If you do most of the above in both languages, in which language do you *enjoy* doing any of the above more?

……
…………………………………………………………

Thank you very much for your help

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8.2 Appendix 2

A standard script of Semi-structured Interviews

Information given to each participant at the beginning of the interview:

1- The interviews should take about 45 to 60 minutes. You can speak in whatever language you like. I also do not have a specific language in mind for this session.

2- This interview aims to explore your attitudes towards and views of both languages: Arabic and English as well as the process of CS and what it means to you.

3- The interview format: we will be discussing five main themes and there will be a number of questions under each theme. Some of these questions will be follow-up questions[157] on the answers you gave in the questionnaire you completed before.

4- Feel free to interrupt me, stop me whenever you think it's suitable or when you have something you really would like to say or add.

A- Language and self-image:

1- Tell me what it means for you that you're a bilingual? (Asset, dis/advantage, burden)?

2- Are there some occasions where you deliberately speak English with someone/ bilingual friend?

3- Have you ever thought what might this friend be thinking (of you) when you speak English to her?

4- Do you notice it when your friends code-switch? What do you think of them then?

5- How important is it to you that you are seen as someone who can speak English fluently?

6- How do you feel if somebody comments on your English (how native you sound). Does it happen? When it happens, how do you feel? Do you feel good that you're accepted and you don't sound different? Do you usually strive for sounding like a native?

7- Does it make you feel better? Is it mood lifting at all?

---

[157] These questions are not included here as they are many of them and they vary from one participant to another, depending on many factors, such as fluency, attitudes towards CS, etc.

B- Multiple identities:

8- Which of these adjectives describe you when you switch into English?
Prompts: (Fun/cool/educated/polite/serious/friendly/honest/rude/formal/free)

9- How does speaking in English make you feel like? Possibly like an English person? If yes, in what sense?

10- When you speak English, what do you associate it with?
(Polite, direct/critical, brief, rational, sarcastic, wordy)

11- Do you think speaking in English raises some incidences or thoughts? Does it have any specific connotations?

12- When you speak English, do you feel you are yourself? Are you the same person who then switches to Arabic? Is there a clash?

13- Do you think there are aspects that of your identity that you usually usually expressed in Arabic) that you can't translate to others when you speak English with them?

C- Communicative aspects:

14- How does being able to use two languages make you feel? Does it make you feel secure? Do you think this will help you get your message across?

15- Do you enjoy being bilingual, having the capacity and the freedom to use two languages and make full use of your linguistic resources? Do you feel it's liberating and encouraging in the sense of moving round socially more freely?

16- How important is it to you that you have some people with whom you can freely use both languages?

17- How difficult is it to maintain a conversation using only Arabic or English? Which language could you use longer without switching to the other?

18- How easy is it, as a task, to have a conversation using only Arabic with an Arab monolingual who can't speak any English?

19- Have you ever been in a situation where you were talking with a monolingual (either language) and you felt the need to switch or you wished you could use the other language so they can understand you more? And to get your idea across?

20- What do you think of other Libyans/Arabs (you meet in the UK) who do not code-switch? Do you easily identify with them? Do you find it easy to have a conversation with them?

21- How do you feel towards those who code-switch, but are not close to you?

D- Language and Identity maintenance:

22- How important is being a speaker of Arabic to you?

23- How important is it to you that you have some family members or friends with whom you can speak Arabic?

24- Have you ever considered yourself unfortunate that your first language is not English?

25- Have you ever felt that you might be losing your first language? Why?

26- Is this something that is likely to make you feel lost? Ashamed?

27- Do you socialise (on a regular basis) with many Libyan/Syrian/ Arab people in the UK? Do you care about what's on/events run by Libyan/Syrian community in your area?

28- If we stop using our language altogether, do you think we can maintain the culture and identity of our community? To what extent?

29- How would you evaluate your experience in the UK?

30- Tell me about your time/experience in the UK> How has your experience of the country/ people/society changed over time?

31- Which of their values you admire? You feel you've adopted?

32- Would you like/ Are you planning to stay in the UK if you could?

33- How important is it to you that you assimilate into the society (have English Friends, be able to run a smooth conversation with English people, get their jokes and understand their cultural references)?

34- Do you feel you're an insider sometimes? Do you feel you belong here? (Multiple attachments)?

35- At the beginning, did you seek Libyans/Arabs? (Because of feeling lonely, outsider)?

36- Have you ever felt that you're treated as an immigrant/outsider by the English people?

37- Do you think/talk to yourself in English?

38- To what extent would you agree with the suggestion that we switch into English to express our emotions in an English way because we as Arabs do not express certain emotions and there's no way to accommodate that but using an English expression?

39- Do you think there are strong emotional expressions 'I love you' can be better said in English despite its existence in Arabic?

E- Culture:

40- How important do you find it that you're Arab? What does it mean to you, if at all?

41- How important to you to be Libyan/Syrian? Would you define yourself as such?

8.3 Appendix 3

As mentioned in section, this appendix is a detailed analysis of all the APPRAISAL stances - 628 evaluative stance - that were elicited from peer-group interaction 1 that has been quantified (see chapter 5). This also shows how each example has been categorised and analysed.

Instances	Language	Example	Attitude	Linguistic feature	Participant	Object of evaluation
1	Arabic	Mine has died[158] by the way	- APP: val	Pr: materi	Kamila	Kamila's plant
2	Arabic	No way!	- AFF, A: sec	Proso	Zainab	Kamila's account regarding the plant
3	Arabic	I mean it's still there, not that it's not there	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Kamila's plant
4	English	It didn't move at all	- APP: val	Pr: materi	Kamila	Kamila's plant
5	Arabic	I mean it didn't grow at all	- APP: val	Pr: materi	Kamila	Kamila's plant
6	Arabic	You've put on some weight, Hanan	+ APP: comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	Hanan's weight
7	Arabic	No, no you've put on some weight compared to before	+ APP: comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	Hanan's weight
8	Arabic	Yeah true	+ APP: comp	Qual: Adv phr	Kamila	Hanan's Wight

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[158] Underlines items are ones through which an instance of APPRAISAL is realised.

9	English	No, <u>not</u> gained weight as **something <u>bad</u>**[159]	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
10	Arabic	No, it's <u>good</u>,	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's weight
11	Arabic	<u>Nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's weight
12	English	**It's <u>nice</u>,** you know?	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
13	English	No, **it's <u>nice</u>**, I mean	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
14	Arabic	It's even <u>nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's weight
15	English	No no, **it's <u>nice</u>** like this	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
16	English	**It's <u>nice</u>,** I think	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's weight
17	Arabic	Yes <u>nice</u> (a)	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
18	English	Very <u>nice</u> (b)	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's weight
19	Arabic	Look how it <u>grows</u> and <u>climbs up</u>	+ APP: val	Pr: materi	Zainab	Hanan's plant
20	English	That's <u>nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's plant
21	Arabic	It usually <u>breaks easily</u>	- APP: comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	Hanan's plant

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[159] Instances where a specific item is bolded and underlined in a sentence means that that specific item was produces in English while the rest of the sentence (not bolded) was produced in Arabic. However, when a whole sentence is made in English, it is not bolded. However, when APPRAISAL is realised through an Arabic item, it is underlined and not bolded but the rest of sentence maybe bolded, if it was produced in English.

22	English	Very <u>fragile</u>	- APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's plant
23	Arabic	<u>Bless you</u>	+ JUD, SS: prop	Idiomatic expression	Zainab	Hanna's effort
24	Arabic	Kamila, it's a <u>feast,</u> by the way	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: nomi	Zainab	The food Hanan made
25	Arabic	<u>Really?</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	The food Hanan made
26	Arabic	You really shouldn't have bothered yourself	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanna's effort
27	Arabic	You really troubled yourself	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Hanna's effort
28	Arabic	Oh <u>strange</u>!	- APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Ovens not working properly
29	Arabic	Ovens that are like that <u>frustrate</u> me	- AFF, A: happi	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Ovens
30	English	You feel it's like a **<u>waste</u>** of electricity	- APP, React: val	Qual: nomi	Zainab	Ovens
31	Arabic	Your room is <u>nice</u> Hanan	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Hanan's room
32	Arabic	A <u>PhD student</u> room	+ T/ APP, React: qual, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: epith	Faida	Hanan's room/Hanan
33	Arabic	<u>Really?</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	Hanan's room
34	Arabic	I <u>want to</u> see it	+ AFF, A: Incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Hanan's room

35	English	Tell her **'I'm a real student'**	+ JUD, SE. norm	Qual: epith	Kamila	Hanan's obsessive sense of organisation
36	Arabic	I feel sleepy	AFF, A: Incli	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Early delivery
37	Arabic	You know where the problem is!	- APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Early delivery
38	English	I was like	- AFF, A: Happi	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Early delivery
39	English	When?	(I) – AFF, A: sec	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Early delivery
40	English	Already?	(I) – AFF, A: sec	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Early delivery
41	Arabic	It's 8 o'clock!	(I) – AFF, A: sec	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Early delivery
42	Arabic	When did they arrive?	(I) – AFF, A: sec	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Early delivery
43	Arabic	Ooh	- AFF, A: Happi	Proso	Zainab	Early delivery
44	Arabic	The city link bastards	- JUD, SS: prop	Qual: nomi	Fadia	City link staff
45	Arabic	Ohh don't remind me	- AFF, A: Happi	Pr: ment	Kamila	Past incident
46	Arabic	Yes!	- AFF, A: Happi	Proso/Interj	Fadia	Past incident
47	Arabic	Remember? (a)	- AFF, A: Happi	Pr: ment	Kamila	Past incident
48	English	Oooh annoying! (b)	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Past incident

49	Arabic	what a day!	- AFF, A: Happi	Qual: epith	Fadia	Past incident
50	English	Aggh I know	- AFF, A: Happi	Proso	Kamila	Past incident
51	English	Soaked	- AFF, A: Happi	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Past incident
52	English	I know	- AFF, A: happi	Proso	Kamila	Past incident
53	English	That was bad (a)	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Past incident
54	English	That was really really bad (b)	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Past incident
55	English	Oh my God	- AFF, A: happi	Proso	Fadia	Past incident
56	English	That was horrible	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Past incident
57	English	This is a **hundred percent wool**	+ APP. Comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Zainab's scarf
58	Arabic	Yah, I thought it'd warm me up	+ APP, React: val	Pr: materi	Zainab	Zainab's scarf
59	Arabic	This kind of work is not for me at all	- APP, React: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Zainab	Kamila's job
60	English	No, I actually think that **you plan** it ahead	+ APP, React: val	Pr: ment	Kamila	Kamila's job
61	Arabic	I've just noticed they're new	+ APP, React: comp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's new glasses

62	Arabic	New glasses?	+ APP, React: comp	Qual: epith	Zainab	Hanan's new glasses
63	English	They are very nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's new glasses
64	Arabic	How pretty	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's new glasses
65	English	So simple	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Hanan's new glasses
66	Arabic	Yeah	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib (based on the previous instance)	Zainab	Hanan's new glasses
67	English	And look, **rubber!**	+ APP: comp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Hanan's new glasses
68	English	**sliding**, you mean?	+ APP: comp	Pr: materi	Fadia	Hanan's new glasses
69	English	For **babies**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib (prep phr)	Fadia	Hanan's new glasses
70	Arabic	Pretty though, nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's new glasses
71	English	It suits you (a)	+ APP, React: qual	Pr: ment	Zainab	Hanan's new glasses
72	Arabic	Nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan's new glasses
73	English	Is this a **designer** one?	+ APP: val	Qual: epith	Fadia	Hanan's new glasses
74	Arabic	Mine is 6 month long	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Voucher
75	English	I'm gonna get the offer	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Offer
76	English	Oh no this is is **different**	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Discount voucher

77	English	No, **this is <u>different</u>**	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Discount voucher
78	Arabic	<u>Thanks</u>, Hanan	+ AFF, A: Happi	Proso/Interj	Fadia	Hanan's assistance
79	English	Okay <u>good</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The offer Hanan got
80	Arabic	That's rose water, not orange blossom water	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's confusion between rose and orange blossom water
81	English	It's a <u>different</u> thing, Hanan	- T/ APP: comp, JUD, SE.cap	Qual: epith	Fadia	Type of honey
82	English	You're <u>joking!</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Pr: behav	Fadia	What Zainab told her
83	English	I <u>never knew</u> that!	+ AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment	Fadia	What Zainab told her
84	Arabic	Not even the <u>usual</u> orange	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Zainab	Orange
85	Arabic	Seville orange used to <u>taste weird</u>	- APP, React: qual	Pr: materi	Fadia	Seville Orange
86	Arabic	I <u>had no idea</u> too, by the way	+ AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment	Kamila	That orange blossom honey can be made from any orange
87	English	It's an <u>orange</u> tree, Fadia	+ T/ APP: comp, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's comprehension abilities
88	English	**It doesn't have to be** Seville	+ T/ APP: comp, JUD, SE: cap	Proso	Kamila	Fadia's comprehension abilities
89	Arabic	Does it say it has to be Seville orange?!	(I) + JUD, SS: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's comprehension abilities
90	Arabic	Not <u>any</u> blossom	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Blossom
91	English	<u>Oooh okay</u>!	- AFF, A: satisf	Proso	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities

92	English	I'm a little bit <u>slow</u> today	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities
93	English	<u>O what?</u>	- AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	Faiha's potential description of her as 'slow'
94	English	I'm a little bit <u>slow</u> today	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities
95	English	I'm <u>always slow</u>, Fadia	+ JUD, SS: cap	Qual: circum	Kamila	Her own analytic skills
96	English	I'm a bit <u>slow</u>	+ JUD, SS: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities
97	English	I'm not usually <u>slow</u> (a)	+ JUD, SS: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities
98	English	But I'm <u>slow</u> usually (b)	+ JUD, SS: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities
99	English	It means the <u>same</u> thing, Fadia	+ JUD, SS: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's analysis
100	English	I'm <u>sorry</u>	- AFF, A: happi	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Her teasing of Fadia
101	Arabic	I <u>like</u> your slippers	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Hanan's slippers
102	Arabic	<u>House</u> slippers	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Slippers at Zainab's family house
103	Arabic	<u>Really</u>?	+ APP, React: sec	Proso	Kaimla	The Italian name for slippers
104	English	This is gonna be <u>hard</u> to remember	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Italian word for slippers
105	Arabic	The word is actually <u>Italian</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The word 'slippers'

106	Arabic	Fadia was like (a)	+ T/ AFF, NA: sec, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Fadia's confusion over what Hanan has just said
107	English	She was puzzled (b)	+ T/ AFF, NA: sec, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's reaction
108	English	She was like what? (c)	+ T/ AFF, NA: sec, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Fadia's reaction
109	Arabic	I also thought she meant 'did you have more?'	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Hanan's weird formulation of the question
110	English	Yeah	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Adv	Fadia	Her comprehension abilities, as Hanan implied in the previous turn
111	English	Slow as a slug	+ T/ APP, React: qual, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's account of herself
112	Arabic	Ooh, that day	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Kamila	A previous, unpleasant incident
113	Arabic	Ooh	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Kamila	Kamila's reaction after finding slugs in her kitchen
114	Arabic	I was disgusted	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Kamila's reaction after finding slugs in her kitchen
115	Arabic	I almost fainted	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Pr: materi	Kamila	Kamila's reaction after finding slugs in her kitchen
116	English	Eww	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Fadia	Kamila's story with the slug
117	Arabic	The problem is that I didn't know it	- APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Finding slug in her kitchen
118	English	Wait wait wait	(I) - JUD, SS: ver	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Fadia's confusion of black cumin with Nigella Sative
119	Arabic	I thought it was something else	- AFF, A: sec	Pr: relati	Fadia	Black cumin
120	English	You are joking!	- AFF, A: sec	Pr: Behav	Fadia	Zainab's account that black cumin is different from Nigella Sative

121	English	Did you ask and I didn't tell you?	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's confusion about names of seeds
122	Arabic	I thought it was something <u>special</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Black cumin
123	English	<u>That's</u> what I thought	- APP: val	Pronoun	Fadia	That black cumin and Nigella Sative are the same
124	English	I thought that was something <u>special</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Nigella Sativa
125	Arabic	<u>Brown</u> and slightly <u>bigger</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Some type of seed
126	Arabic	We Libyan have some names!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Libyan's word for some type of seed
127	English	This is really <u>nice</u> Hanan (a)	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The food Hanan made
128	Arabic	God bless your hands (b)	+ JUD, SE: cap	Idiomatic expression	Fadia	Hanan
129	Arabic	Bless your hands (a)	+ JUD, SE: cap	Idiomatic expression	Kamila	The food Hanan made
130	Arabic	It's <u>amazing</u> (b)	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The food Hanan made
131	English	<u>Sticky</u>	- APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	White flour
132	Arabic	It <u>sticks</u>	- APP: comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	White flour
133	Arabic	Doesn't <u>stick?</u>	+ APP: comp	Pr: materi	Kamila	Strong whole meal flour
134	Arabic	<u>No no</u>	+ APP: comp	Proso/Interj	Zainab	Strong whole meal not sticking

135	Arabic	It sticks much less	+ APP: comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	Strong whole meal flour
136	Arabic	They say it's more flexible	+ APP, React: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Strong whole meal flour
137	Arabic	Absorbs water quickly	+ APP: Comp	Pr: materi	Zainab	Strong whole meal flour
138	Arabic	Emm good	+ APP, React: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	That strong whole meal doesn't stick
139	English	It's good though	+ APP, React: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	That strong whole meal doesn't stick
140	Arabic	Not that you've gained weight	+ APP, React: val	Pr: materi	Fadia	Hanan's weight
141	English	As a healthy thing	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Hanan's weight gain
142	Arabic	Fadia! Where has the coffee disappeared?	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's drinking all the coffee
143	Arabic	Ehem ehem	+ JUD, SS: prop	Proso	Kamila	Fadia's drinking all the coffee
144	Arabic	I could see her earlier drinking again and again	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's drinking all the coffee
145	Arabic	I'm chatting and she's drinking	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's drinking all the coffee
146	English	I'm so sorry	- AFF, A: Happi	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Drinking all the coffee
147	Arabic	You know I can't resist coffee	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Drinking coffee
148	English	It's nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The food Hanan made

149	Arabic	You're still watching Friends?	(I) + JUD, SE: tenac	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Hanan's tenacity
150	Arabic	Really?	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	Hanan's addiction on 'Friends series'
151	Arabic	I thought you're studying	(I) + JUD, SE: ten	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Hanan's struggle with her addiction on 'Friends' series
152	Arabic	He's think in his own voice, as he talks	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Challenging Kamila's account of how someone with guttural /r/ thinks in silence
153	Arabic	Is he going to think in someone else's voice?	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Challenging Kamila's account of how someone with guttural /r/ thinks in silence
154	Arabic	I really don't know	- AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment	Kamila	If that person is going to thinks with usual /r/ or guttural /r/
155	Arabic	When I talk with myself, I hear my own voice!	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Kamila who is probably abnormal if she has more than one voice
156	English	Not necessarily	- AFF, A: incli	Epistemic modal adjunct	Kamila	That people must hear their own voices, when talking to themselves
157	Arabic	Honestly, I have many voices inside	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Herself
158	Arabic	If you have many voices inside, then that's something different!	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Implying that Kamila is not normal for having many voices inside
159	Arabic	I only have one **copy** inside	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Herself
160	Arabic	Honestly	+ AFF, A: incli	Qual: circum	Kamila	NA
161	Arabic	Honestly, I have many voices inside	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Herself
162	English	I think he's funny	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Bassem Youssef

163	Arabic	But I don't find all things he says <u>funny</u>	- T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Bassem Youssef
164	English	I don't <u>get</u> it much	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Egyptian sense of humour
165	Arabic	She <u>doesn't</u> really <u>like</u> it	- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD, SE: norm	Pr: ment	Kamila	Fadia
166	Arabic	Because she <u>doesn't like</u> the Egyptian sense of humour	- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD, SE: norm	Pr: ment	Kamila	Fadia
167	English	I don't <u>get</u> it much	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Egyptian sense of humour
168	Arabic	**Egyptian sense of humour**, <u>I don't know</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Egyptian sense of humour
169	English	American sense of humour, <u>yes</u>!	+ AFF, A: satisf	Proso/Interj	Fadia	American sense of humour
170	English	<u>**Western**</u> stuff	APP: Val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Culture
171	Arabic	Do **Americans** actually have a **sense of humour**?	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	beyond sentence/Proso	Zainab	American sense of humour
172	Arabic	I personally <u>don't find them funny</u>	- JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati	Zainab	Americans
173	English	The <u>silly</u> sense of humour	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Sense of humour
174	English	She <u>enjoys</u> them	+ AFF, NA: satisf	Pr: ment/behav	Kamila	American sense of humour
175	English	The <u>silly</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Sense of humour
176	Arabic	They're <u>silly</u>	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Americans
177	Arabic	I also think, I think <u>it's like</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	American sense of humour
178	English	<u>Playing on words</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: nomi	Fadia	American sense of humour

179	English	Big jokes	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Egyptian jokes
180	English	I don't	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Egyptian jokes
181	English	I just don't get them	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Egyptian jokes
182	English	She doesn't get it	- T/ AFF, NA: incli, JUD, SE: norm	Pr: relati	Kamila	Egyptian sense of humour
183	English	I don't find it funny	- T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Egyptian sense of humour
184	Arabic	Yeah yeah this is strange	- T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's reaction to Egyptian sense of humour
185	English	One thing out of ten I find **funny**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Egyptian jokes
186	Arabic	Not everything	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Egyptian jokes
187	Arabic	Made me laugh before	+ AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Fadia	NA
188	Arabic	It won't make me laugh now	- AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Fadia	NA
189	Arabic	It makes me laugh	+ AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Zainab	NA
190	Arabic	It makes me laugh, the third and the fourth time	+ AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Kamila	NA
191	Arabic	When he says it, she laughs	+ AFF, NA: happi	Pr: behav	Fadia	NA
192	English	It's funny (a)	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Egyptian jokes
193	English	I swear **it's funny** (b)	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Egyptian jokes
194	English	When he says it, it's **funny** (c)	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Egyptian jokes

195	English	My dad used to tell us some **silly** jokes	+ APP, React: val	Qual: epith	Fadia	Jokes
196	English	I found them so <u>funny</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Jokes her dad used to her
197	English	I, I <u>**like**</u> these jokes that are short	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Jokes her dad used to her
198	Arabic	And the the **punchline** is <u>quick</u>, you know?	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Punchline
199	Arabic	<u>Silly</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Jokes her dad used to her
200	English	It doesn't have to be very very <u>funny</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Jokes with quick punchlines
201	Arabic	I <u>don't like</u> these jokes	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Jokes with quick punchlines
202	Arabic	I'm <u>not friends with</u> them	- AFF, A: incli	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Jokes with quick punchlines
203	English	I <u>don't know</u>!	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Name of particular singer
204	English	I <u>don't know</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Name of particular singer
205	Arabic	There are some stuff that <u>makes</u> me <u>laugh</u>	+ AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Kamila	Stuff: jokes with quick punchlines
206	Arabic	But generally, they <u>don't</u>	- AFF, A: happi	Pr: behav	Kamila	Egyptian Jokes
207	Arabic	The one who doesn't look <u>scary</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	cartoon episode
208	Arabic	The <u>idiot</u> one	- APP, React: qual	Qual: epith	Zainab	Character

209	English	I never got it right	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Fadia	Her ability solving the riddle
210	English	I never got it right	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Kamila	Her ability solving the riddle
211	Arabic	No, not me	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati (based on the previous instance)	Zainab	Her ability solving the riddle
212	Arabic	I focus on the most idiot one	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Fadia	Her ability solving the riddle
213	Arabic	I get it right most of the time	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Zainab	Her ability solving the riddle
214	Arabic	He turns out to be the real idiot	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Her ability solving the riddle
215	Arabic	The one who planned it well	+ JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Zainab	The murderer
216	Arabic	There are scary episodes	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: epith	Fadia	Episodes
217	Arabic	That one is scary	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Episodes
218	Arabic	It seems it affected us all	+ APP, React: imp	Pr: ment	Kamila	The scary episode
219	Arabic	Those episodes!	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: epith	Zainab	Episodes
220	Arabic	Because it was a great one	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: epith	Kamila	Episode
221	Arabic	It was a big house	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	House
222	Arabic	A big house, not a hut	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Kamila	House
223	Arabic	Like a place	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	House
224	Arabic	Isolated, isolated	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	House

225	English	Exactly, **isolated**, true	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	House
226	Arabic	But I <u>feel</u> it teaches	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Zainab	Crime fictions
227	Arabic	Especially <u>locked door</u> crimes	+ APP: val	Qual: epith	Zainab	Crimes
228	Arabic	The room is <u>locked</u> from inside	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Room
229	Arabic	<u>True,</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Locked-room crimes
230	Arabic	It's because they are <u>trick-based</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Locked-room crimes
231	Arabic	I <u>feel</u> it teaches tricks	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Zainab	Crime fictions
232	Arabic	The door is <u>locked</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Crimes
233	English	Are they actually <u>experts</u>?	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Authors of crime fiction
234	Arabic	<u>Imagination</u>	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Zainab	Authors of crime fiction
235	Arabic	Someone <u>with imagination</u>	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib (prep phr)	Kamila	Authors of crime fiction
236	Arabic	<u>Definitely</u>	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: circum	Kamila	Authors of crime fiction
237	English	I also think it's **creativity**	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Kamila	A skill authors of crime fiction has
238	Arabic	But **creativity** in crimes <u>isn't good</u> at all	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SS: prop	Qual: attrib	Kamila	To be creative when it comes to crime
239	Arabic	It's a <u>challenge</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Zainab	writing crime fiction

240	English	It's the <u>last</u> person you'd ever expect	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Agatha Christie's novels
241	English	It's ^always^ like that	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: circum	Kamila	Agatha Christie's novels
242	English	<u>Main</u> detector	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Detector
243	Arabic	I also thought there was something <u>wrong</u>	+ T/ APP, React: imp, JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's mispronunciation of author's name
244	English	I was going to say May Shelf, **I don't know** why	+ AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment	Fadia	Confusion and wanting to say something else
245	Arabic	The <u>true</u> story behind it	+ APP: val	Qual: epith	Fadia	Story
246	Arabic	Something <u>like that</u>	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Story
247	English	Like **for fun**	+ APP: val	Qual: Prep phr	Fadia	Deciding to write the story
248	Arabic	It was something that <u>already existed</u> then	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Experiments
249	Arabic	They were <u>interested</u> in life	+ JUD, SE: tenac	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Scientists
250	English	Can they make it <u>real</u>?	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Make the dead alive again
251	English	He has a <u>free</u> will	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Will
252	English	He's a <u>monster</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The creature that was created
253	Arabic	He wants to <u>love</u> and:	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	The monster
254	English	He he doesn't have anyone to <u>love</u>	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	The monster

255	English	Or anyone who <u>loves</u> him	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	The monster
256	English	<u>That</u> **monster**	- APP: val	Qual: epith	Fadia	The monster
257	English	Isn't actually a **monster**	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The creature that was created
258	Arabic	He's a <u>human</u> inside	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The monster
259	English	The way the doctor (...) treated him made him into a **monster**	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The creature that was created
260	English	And **he <u>wants</u> to kill**	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	The monster
261	Arabic	And he's full of <u>hatred</u> and <u>grudges</u>?	+ AFF, NA: incli	Qual: nomi	Fadia	The monster
262	English	It's it's obviously **symbolic for other things**	+ APP. val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The story of Frankenstein
263	Arabic	They become <u>evil</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	People who are treated badly
264	English	The society could make them <u>monster</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	People who are treated badly
265	English	You could make him a **monster**	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	The creature that was created
266	English	Very <u>ee</u>	APP	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	The story of Frankenstein
267	English	Then it became **illegal**	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Experiments to make dead alive again
268	Arabic	They were doing it <u>secretly</u>	- JUD, SE: prop	Adv	Fadia	Experiments to make dead alive again
269	English	So <u>disgusting</u>	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Documentary
270	Arabic	No, I think when it comes to this, it's <u>good</u>	+ JUD, SE: ten	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's habit of watching documentaries

271	Arabic	It feels like	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Watching documentaries
272	Arabic	I like these things, like,	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	These things (documentaries)
273	English	Oh, **that's** weird	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	That there is something called Forensic Linguistics
274	English	Yeah true	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	That there is something called Forensic Linguistics
275	English	It's so disgusting	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Experimenting on dead bodies
276	Arabic	Ok, stop it Fadia	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
277	Arabic	It swells	- APP: comp	Pr: materi	Fadia	The dead body
278	English	Ahhh I don't hear it	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
279	English	I don't hear it	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
280	Arabic	Just finish it	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
281	English	Zainab, she doesn't wanna hear it	(I) – AFF, NA: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
282	Arabic	You'd be disgusted	- AFF, NA: dissatisf	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
283	English	She is I think a **PhD student**	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Student
284	English	She's twenty seven years old	APP: comp	Qual: atrrib	Fadia	Student
285	Arabic	Doesn't she has feelings?	(I) - JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Student
286	English	I'm like ahhh	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Fadia	The work the student does

287	Arabic	What are you saying?	(I) - JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Fadia	The work the student does
288	English	I was like <u>oh my God</u>	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Fadia	The work the student does
289	Arabic	Ohh, <u>enough</u>	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
290	English	Just change the subject, ok?	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary she watched
291	Arabic	How did you have the guts to watch it, Fadia?	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Fadia's abnormal abilities to watch something this disgusting!
292	English	Change the subject	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	Fadia's account of the documentary watched
293	Arabic	I would stop it, I'd never finish it	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	The documentary
294	English	How they can make it **looks <u>nice</u>**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Fast food
295	English	And how come chips are **<u>crunchy</u>**	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zaina	Fast food
296	Arabic	It's <u>good</u> that we don't eat it	+ AFF, A: Happi	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Not eating hot dog
297	English	I don't eat these things, ok	+ AFF, A: Happi	Qual: attrib (based on the previous instance)	Kamila	Not eating hot dog
298	Arabic	Ohh how <u>disgusting</u>	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	How they make fast food
299	Arabic	How can I send it to you?	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Zainab	Kamila's comprehension abilities
300	Arabic	<u>Ohh</u>	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Zainab	How they make fast food
301	English	I don't want to hear it	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	How they make fast food

302	English	I don't wanna hea:r it (a)	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	How they make fast food
303	English	I don't wanna know (b)	(I) – AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso/Beyond sentence	Kamila	How they make fast food
304	Arabic	Ohh	- AFF, A: satisf	Proso	Fadia	How they make fast food
305	English	Eww	- AFF, A: satisf	Proso	Fadia	How they make fast food
306	English	To make it **chewy**	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Gum
307	Arabic	Good I don't eat it	+ AFF, A: happi	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The fact that she doesn't eat gum
308	English	And **frozen** stuff	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Stuff (fast food)
309	English	Oh my God	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Proso	Fadia	how they make fast food
310	Arabic	So we should eat nothing?!	(I) - APP: val	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	How disgusting ready food can be
311	English	You could only eat **organic**	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Food
312	English	The least you could do is eating only **organic**	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Food
313	English	Organic	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Food
314	Arabic	Yeah yeah	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib (based on the previous instance)	Kamila	Food
315	Arabic	Takeaway meals are all	- APP: val	Pr: relati	Zainab	Meals
316	English	Stuff that are **so so so disgusting**	- App, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	How they make fast food
317	English	No matter how much **disgusting** I tell you it is,	- App, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	How they make fast food

318	Arabic	It's not enough	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Eating organic food
319	Arabic	It's unbelievable	- App, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	How disgusting ready food can be
320	English	You doubt everything	- AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment/behav	Zainab	Food
321	Arabic	Seriously, true	- AFF, A: sec	Qual: circum	Kamila	How scary ready food can be
322	Arabic	Seriously	- AFF, A: sec	Qual: circum	Zainab	How scary ready food can be
323	Arabic	You can never know	- AFF, A: sec	Pr: ment/behav	Zainab	Food
324	Arabic	But they're just ground	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Coffee beans
325	English	Processed	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Coffee beans
326	English	**Processed**, yeah	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Coffee beans
327	Arabic	It looks smart	+ App, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Lady bird
328	Arabic	What we call it in Libya!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	beyond sentence	Zainab	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird
329	Arabic	What a name!	- JUD, SE: norm	Proso	Zainab	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird
330	Arabic	It's a shame, I swear	- JUD, SE: norm	Qual: nomi	Kamila	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird
331	Arabic	I mean why?!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence/Proso	Zainab	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird

332	Arabic	Don't remind me for God's sake	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird
333	Arabic	True	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The weird name Libyans call a lady bird
334	English	Lady bird, something nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The name 'lady bird'
335	English	It's nice	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	The name 'lady bird'
336	English	No, **it's like a lady,** you know?	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Zainab	Lady bird
337	Arabic	Poor her	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Lady bird
338	Arabic	Stupidity, stupidity!	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Fadia	Banks not allowing students visitors open a bank account
339	English	**Why is it a problem** if someone opens an account	(I) - JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Banks not allowing student visitors open a bank account
340	English	What, **so what's the problem?!**	(I) - JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Banks not allowing student visitors open a bank account
341	Arabic	It feels great when you have your back against it	+ AFF, A: satisf	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Warmth coming from the heater
342	Arabic	It's good for your back right?	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Warmth coming from the heater
343	Arabic	In case your back hurts	- AFF, NA: dissatisf	Pr: materi	Fadia	Zainab's back
344	English	That is ^so cool^	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	How storage heaters work

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345	English	I didn't know it had to be less than an hour	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's explanation of the process
346	English	Sorry sorry	- AFF, A: happi	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Kamila's misunderstanding Hanan's request
347	English	I was thinking 'I didn't know that'	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's explanation of the process
348	Arabic	Really?	+ T/ AFF, A: sec, JUD, SE: prop	Proso	Kamila	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
349	English	Fadia, I I was waiting for that question!	(I) + JUD, SE: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
350	Arabic	Yea:h	(I) + JUD, SE: prop	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
351	English	I was waiting for that question	(I) + JUD, SE: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
352	Arabic	No, it's actually ok	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Getting bursary from the university
353	Arabic	No, not at all	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Difficulty getting bursary from the university
354	English	It's **allowed**	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Getting bursary from the university
355	English	Just tell him: **don't worry I'm not gonna do anything to them!**	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Librarian's demand of returning recorders
356	English	I mean if I lost them, I'll pay you back!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Librarian's demand of returning recorders
357	English	Don't ask me to see them every two months	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Librarian's demand of returning recorders
358	English	Don't ask me to see them every two months	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Librarian's demand of returning recorders
359	English	Wow	- APP, React: imp	Proso	Fadia	Price of the recorder Hanan bought
360	English	It is expensive	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Price of the recorder Hanan bought

361	English	You don't have a ticket, do you?	(I) + JUD, SE: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
362	English	You don't have a ticket, do you?	(I) + JUD, SE: prop	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's unwillingness to pay them for participating
363	Arabic	And since when **you're li, listening to Metallica?**	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Kamila's listening to a heavy metal band
364	English	No, I'm not	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Pr: relati	Kamila	Kamila's listening to a heavy metal band
365	English	My brother used to like the.	+ AFF, NA: incl	Pr: behav	Kamila	Listening to a heavy metal band
366	English	These **Metallica** are like,	- APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	The kind of music Metallica plays
367	English	The hard rock metal?	- APP: val	Qual: nomi	Fadia	The kind of music Metallica plays
368	English	I don't like it	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	The kind of music Metallica plays
369	English	My brother ^used^ to like it before	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Her brother (emoter)
370	English	Their music is like **the hard rock metal?**	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The kind of music Metallica plays
371	English	Yes, **metal**	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The kind of music Metallica plays
372	Arabic	Oh my head	- AFF, A: happi	Proso	Fadia	Moving her head quickly and strongly
373	Arabic	I think I got a bit dizzy now!	- AFF, A: happi	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her head
374	English	But those are **heavy**	- APP.: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The band Metallica

375	Arabic	I think they're <u>ok</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The band Metallica
376	Arabic	The **heavy metal** are <u>too much</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Heavy metal bands
377	Arabic	<u>Whatever</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The kind of music Metallica plays
378	Arabic	<u>Oh my</u> head	- AFF, A: Happi	Proso	Fadia	Moving her head quickly and strongly
379	English	I <u>dunno</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
380	English	I <u>don't know</u> him	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
381	English	They're also <u>like</u>,	- JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	A particular heavy metals singer
382	English	He's <u>gothy</u>	- JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Fadia	A particular heavy metals singer
383	Arabic	I <u>don't know</u> him	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
384	English	I <u>don't</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
385	English	I <u>don't</u>. I don't <u>kno:w</u> him	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
386	English	I <u>don't kno:w</u> him	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	A particular heavy metals singer
387	English	It has **hidden** meanings, you mean?	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Bob Marley's song
388	Arabic	<u>Really</u>?	+AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	That Bob Marley was killed
389	English	<u>Hidden</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Bob Marley's song

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390	Arabic	I think the length is	+ APP: comp	predicative	Fadia	Hanan's hair length
391	Arabic	I think it's::	+ APP: comp	predicative	Fadia	Hanan's hair length
392	English	I think this length is **normal**, Hanan	+ APP: comp	predicative	Fadia	Hanan's hair length
393	Arabic	You were younger	+ JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Hanan
394	Arabic	You've grown old now, that's it	+ JUD, SE: norm	Pr: materi	Fadia	Hanan
395	Arabic	That's it	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Zainab	Hanan's hair growth
396	Arabic	That's it	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's hair growth
397	English	You're ol::d	+ JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Hanan
398	Arabic	Really?	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Zainab	Water in the UK damaging her hair
399	Arabic	Water in the UK is good!	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Water in the UK
400	Arabic	Ahaa true true	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Water in the UK is pure
401	English	To your thingy?	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	Fadia's wording of the question
402	English	No!	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Kamila's comprehension abilities
403	English	I don't know	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/proso	Kamila	What Fadia is asking her to do

404	English	To my thingy?	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Kamila's comprehension abilities
405	Arabic	**Am**, my phone is on, Kamila!	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/proso	Fadia	Kamila's comprehension abilities
406	English	Yeah I know	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	Fadia's wording of the question
407	English	I was thinking, why is she asking me the question in the first place?!	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/Proso	Kamila	Fadia's wording of the question
408	English	^Dude^! Just tell me the password!	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence/proso	Fadia	Kamila's comprehension abilities
409	Arabic	The more I live here, it <u>feels like</u>	+ AFF: Incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Easiness of pronunciation
410	Arabic	It's <u>quicker</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	A certain way of pronunciation
411	English	I <u>have</u> no idea	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	How a word should be pronounced
412	English	But 'connect' **is** <u>**easier**</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	A certain way of pronunciation
413	English	I <u>don't know</u>	- AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	How a word should be pronounced
414	English	I, I <u>have</u> that feeling	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: relati	Fadia	Fadia's feeling whe n hearing the hear American accent
415	Arabic	Now when I hear Americans, I'm <u>like</u>: 'why are they talking like this?'	- AFF, A: incli	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Fadia's reaction to American accent
416	Arabic	So, that's the end of it, Fadia?	(I) + JUD, SE: ten	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Kamila's reaction towards Fadia's change of opinion
417	English	<u>Still</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's view of American accent
418	English	When I speak, I feel **it's** <u>**easy**</u> **when** I use	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Using the American accent

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419	Arabic	When I hear them, I'm <u>like</u>: 'why are they talking like this?'	+ AFF, A: incli	Qual: attrib (Adv phr)	Fadia	Fadia's reaction to American accent
420	Arabic	You know what my <u>problem</u> is?	- APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Habit
421	Arabic	My <u>problem</u> is with flapping	- APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Flapping
422	Arabic	This is the thing I <u>couldn't get rid</u> of	- JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment/materi	Kamila	Flapping
423	Arabic	You even do the **flapping** in Arabic, Kamila!	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence/proso	Fadia	Kamila's flapping in Arabic
424	Arabic	Like very <u>quickly</u>	APP: val	Qual: circum	Kamila	Kamila's speaking style
425	English	She doesn't do it	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Kamila and her flapping in Arabic
426	Arabic	She's just <u>teasing</u> me	+ JUD, SS: prop	Pr: ment/materi	Kamila	Fadia
427	Arabic	Because it's about <u>speed</u>	APP, React: imp	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Kamila's speaking style
428	Arabic	This is <u>difficult</u>	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Not pronouncing /r/ like British people
429	Arabic	In your head?	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Hanan's belief about British accent
430	Arabic	Hanan has got an electronic dictionary in her head	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Fadia	Hanan's belief about British accent
431	Arabic	<u>Really?</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	Hanan's belief about British accent
432	English	**Nice imitation**, by the way	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's imitation
433	English	**Nice imitation**, by the way	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's imitation

434	Arabic	They <u>tend to</u> open their mouth	- APP, React: qual	Pr: materi	Zainab	The way American people speak
435	English	So **<u>relaxed</u>**, they seem	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The way American people speak
436	Arabic	<u>True</u>	- APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	That English people talk with their mouth kind of closed
437	Arabic	<u>Ture true</u>	- APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	That English people talk with their mouth kind of closed
438	Arabic	What a <u>difference</u>!	APP, React: qual	Qual: nomi	Fadia	The way Americans and British people speak
439	English	I was ^s:o:^ <u>blown away</u>!	+ AFF, A: satisf	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The difference between Americans and British people
440	English	So <u>relaxed</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Americans' speaking style
441	English	<u>Chilled</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Americans' speaking style
442	Arabic	Have you noticed that Americans <u>speak through their nose</u>?	- APP, React: qual	Pr: relati	Kamila	American speaking style
443	English	<u>S:o: nasal</u>	- App, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	American speaking style
444	English	<u>So nasal</u>	- App, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	American speaking style
445	Arabic	They <u>speak</u> through their nose, true	- APP, React: qual	Pr: relati	Zainab	American speaking style
446	Arabic	According to Hanan	(I) + JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Hanan's belief about a specific tone
447	English	That's <u>Australian</u>	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)

448	English	That is <u>Australian</u>::	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
449	English	Www wait wait wait	(I) + JUD, SS: ver	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Hanan's uncertainty about her name
450	English	Wait wait wait	(I) + JUD, SS: ver	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Hanan's uncertainty about her name
451	Arabic	Just a minute, just a minute	+ T/ AFF, A: sec, JUD, SE: cap	proso	Fadia	Hanan's uncertainty about her name
452	English	It's It's It's:: <u>Valley Girl</u> basically, talk	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
453	English	It's <u>Valley Girl</u> talk	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
454	English	It's <u>Australian</u>	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
455	Arabic	Why <u>aren't you sure</u> of your name?	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Epistemic modal adjunct	Fadia	Hanan's intonation when giving her name
456	Arabic	You're <u>not sure</u> of your name!	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Epistemic modal adjunct	Fadia	Hanan's intonation when giving her name
457	Arabic	You <u>looked</u>	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Pr: behav	Fadia	Hanan
458	Arabic	You're <u>not sure</u> of your name!	(I) + JUD, SE: cap	Epistemic modal adjunct	Fadia	Hanan's intonation when giving her name
459	English	It's <u>typical</u> of Australians	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
460	English	It's <u>typical</u> of, like, <u>Californian Va Valley kind of</u>:: American kind of speech	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
461	Arabic	Yeah <u>that kind of thing</u>	APP: val	Clause	Kamila	*Not audible
462	English	It's more <u>typical</u> of Australian in general	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Rising intonation (up-talk)
463	English	It's like they're <u>not sure</u>	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Epistemic modal adjunct	Kamila	Speakers using up-talk

464	English	Every sentence ee:nds with aa up intonation	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati	Kamila	Speakers using up-talk
465	Arabic	Yeah yeah but these are	- APP: val	Pr: relati	Kamila	Reasons behind up-talk Hanan mentioned
466	English	Th th these are out-dated	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Reasons behind up-talk Hanan mentioned
467	English	*They don't think that anymore*	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Reasons behind up-talk Hanan mentioned
468	English	What are the **contemporary** ones now?	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Reasons behind up-talk Hanan mentioned
469	English	Eee it's it's it's ^regional^	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Reasons behind up-talk
470	Arabic	Always associated with women only	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Reasons behind up-talk
471	Arabic	You **language** people talk and I don't understand	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	The discussion Hanan, Fadia and Kamila led
472	Arabic	I feel like (a)	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Zainab	Her attitude towards people who use tag questions
473	Arabic	These people aren't confident (b)	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Why the users of tag questions use it
474	English	They want the, **the other person to agree with them**	- JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Fadia	Why the users of tag questions use it
475	English	Confirmation	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Why the users of tag questions use it
476	Arabic	But it's not only that	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Reasons why people use tag questions
477	Arabic	I think it's also about	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib (prep phr)	Fadia	Reasons why people use tag questions
478	English	Being ^friendly^	+ T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: circum	Fadia	Disposition of people using tag questions

479	Arabic	But there are ones who use it with everything	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: clause	Zainab	Ones (users of tag questions)
480	Arabic	There are people who do it quite often	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: clause	Fadia	Users of tag questions
481	Arabic	You're talking about your area of specialisation	(I) + JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence	Zainab	The discussion Hanan, Fadia and Kamila led
482	Arabic	Thank God	+ AFF, A: happi	Proso/Interj	Fadia	How things are with Fadia
483	Arabic	All's good	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	How things are with Fadia
484	English	All good	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	How things are with Fadia
485	Arabic	Good	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Her new place
486	Arabic	Thanks	+ AFF, A: satisf	Proso/Interj	Fadia	Hanan
487	English	I'm full	+ AFF, A: satisfied	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's feeling
488	Arabic	I'm full too	+ AFF, A: satisfied	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Kamila's feeling
489	English	I'm so:: full	- AFF, A: dissatisf	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Hanan's feeling
490	English	The name is so befitting, isn't it?	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The name (boxing day)
491	Arabic	It's, no, it's like that	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	How is the name befitting
492	Arabic	That's just a joke	APP: val	Qual: nomi	Fadia	How is the name befitting

493	Arabic	It's <u>like that</u>	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	How is the name befitting
494	Arabic	It's actually <u>like that</u>	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	How is the name befitting
495	English	I mean **<u>like a pun</u>**	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	The literal meaning of the name
496	English	It means <u>the same thing as</u> go shopping	APP: val	Qual: epith	Kamila	The literal meaning of the name
497	English	**<u>Like a pun</u>**, yeah	APP: val	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	The literal meaning of the name
498	Arabic	I <u>feel</u> like they	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Zainab	Kids born to binational parents
499	Arabic	It's <u>like they have schizophrenia</u>	- JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Zainab	Kids born to binational parents
500	Arabic	It's <u>like they have schizophrenia</u>	- JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Zainab	Kids born to binational parents
501	English	It seems an **attitude <u>immature</u>**	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Attitude of some Arab parents
502	English	The **attitude is <u>immature</u>**	- JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Attitude of some Arab parents
503	Arabic	This is a <u>big</u> problem	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Problem
504	Arabic	I mean it's a <u>great</u> chance	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Chance of (learning Arabic during childhood)
505	English	<u>Native</u> speaker	+ APP: val	Qual: epith	Zainab	Speaker
506	English	It's <u>natural</u>	+ T/ APP: val, - JUD, SE: cap[160]	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids can be confused because of speaking two languages

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[160] The orientation of the implied APPRAISAL is considered negative (-), based on that of the implied APPRAISAL rather than that of the token.

507	English	It's <u>not like</u> he's making so much effort	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
508	English	It's <u>not like that</u> at all	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
509	English	It's <u>natural</u>	+ T/ APP: val, - JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
510	English	It's <u>not like</u> he's making so much effort	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
511	English	It's <u>not like that</u> at all	- T/ APP: val, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
512	Arabic	The kid <u>doesn't feel</u> he's making an effort	- T/ AFF, NA: incl, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Zainab	Hanan's argument that kids …
513	English	It's <u>natural</u>	+ T/ APP: val, - JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
514	English	Fadia <u>likes</u> the name	+ T/ AFF, NA: satisf, JUD, SE: norm	Pr: ment	Kamila	The name of an English girl
515	English	I was <u>like</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	Fadia's reaction to the name
516	English	Is it a n n name <u>Arabic</u> name?	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Name
517	Arabic	Yeah!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's slow understanding
518	Arabic	The girl is called Nuala!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's slow understanding
519	English	The girl, the girl's called called Nuala!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence	Kamila	Fadia's slow understanding
520	Arabic	**Nuala!** <u>What's</u> <u>that</u>!	(I) - JUD, SE: norm	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	The girl's name
521	English	You have an **identity crisis**	+ JUD, SE: norm	Qual: nomi	Zainab	Hanan's feeling as a bilingual

522	English	But I mean, I <u>don't see</u> how is that gonna::	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids can be confused because of speaking two languages
523	English	How is that a <u>problem</u>?	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Qual: nomi	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
524	English	I don't <u>get</u> why is that a problem	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
525	English	I'm <u>mixed</u>	(I) - JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
526	English	I <u>don't see</u> the problem	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
527	English	I <u>don't see</u> how is that a problem	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: relati	Kamila	Hanan's argument that kids …
528	Arabic	The child who is originally <u>an Arab</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	An Arab child raised in the UK
529	Arabic	He <u>feels</u> like	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment/materi	Zainab	An Arab child raised in the UK
530	Arabic	<u>Unconsciously</u>	+ AFF, NA: incli	Qual: cirum	Zainab	Attitude of an Arab child who is raised in the UK
531	Arabic	This is <u>dangerous</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Attitude of the child who is raised in the UK
532	Arabic	This is <u>dangerous</u>	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Attitude of the child who is raised in the UK
533	Arabic	He <u>feels</u> he's English	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment/materi	Fadia	An Arab child raised in the UK (emoter)
534	Arabic	He <u>feels</u> he's English	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment/materi	Zainab	An Arab child raised in the UK (emoter)
535	Arabic	He <u>feels</u> he's English	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment/materi	Zainab	An Arab child raised in the UK (emoter)
536	Arabic	He <u>wouldn't see</u> this as a problem	- AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment/materi	Zainab	An Arab child raised in the UK (emoter)
537	English	<u>So what?</u>	- AFF, NA: incli	Proso	Zainab	Not speaking Arabic

538	Arabic	I feel one who is <u>like this</u>	+ AFF, NA: incli	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	An Arab child raised in the UK
539	Arabic	But even if they're <u>mixed!</u>	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Arab children raised in the UK
540	Arabic	Even if they're <u>mixed</u>	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Arab children raised in the UK
541	Arabic	<u>True</u>	- AFF, NA: incli	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Experience of identity issues by Arab, UK-born children
542	Arabic	Hanan, are you going to expose and embarrass us?	(I) - JUD, SS: prop	Beyond sentence/Proso	Fadia	Hanan's PhD project focus
543	Arabic	I'm <u>normal</u>	+ JUD, SE: norm	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Implying that Hanan, in turn, isn't normal
544	Arabic	<u>Thank God</u>	+ AFF, A: happi	Proso/Interj	Zainab	Not having identity issues
545	Arabic	I don't <u>have problems</u>	+ JUD, SE: norm	Pr: relati	Zainab	Implying that Hanan has problems
546	Arabic	<u>I have</u>	- JUD, SE: norm	Pr: relati	Kamila	Identity issues
547	Arabic	<u>Honestly</u>	+ AFF, A: incli	Qual: circum	Kamila	Her view about how she feels
548	English	I, **expressing my emotions** in English	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Emotions
549	Arabic	I <u>don't feel</u> that way	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment/materi	Kamila	That Hanan's argument is flawed
550	English	I <u>don't see it</u> as borrowing	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment/materi	Kamila	That Hanan's argument is flawed
551	English	I <u>feel</u> like this is	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	The reason she thinks she uses English for
552	English	How I <u>express</u> my emotions	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Kamila	Emotions
553	English	It <u>affected</u> you	+ APP, React: imp	Pr: ment	Fadia	Kamila

554	English	I'm not saying it hasn't <u>affected</u> me	+ APP, React: imp	Pr: ment/materi	Kamila	Kamila
555	English	It <u>comes</u> naturally	+ APP: val	Pr: behav	Fadia	Expressing emotions in English
556	English	I'm not saying it hasn't <u>affected</u> me	+ APP, React: imp	Pr: ment	Kamila	Kamila
557	English	It's not necessarily **negative**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The influence of English on the way we express our emotions
558	Arabic	I <u>don't feel</u> that I've become English	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Kamila	Implying that Hanan's argument is flawed
559	Arabic	But I <u>don't feel</u> I'm English	- T/ AFF, A: incli, JUD, SE: cap	Pr: ment	Kamila	Implying that Hanan's argument is flawed
560	Arabic	It's not that you <u>feel</u> you're English	- AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Kamila (emoter)
561	Arabic	You <u>express</u> your **emotions** in the way,	+ AFF, NA: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	Kamila (emoter)
562	Arabic	In an <u>English</u> way	APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Way
563	Arabic	That's one <u>hundred percent</u> true	+ APP, React: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Expressing emotions in English
564	Arabic	I <u>feel</u>..	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Fadia	English language
565	English	I feel that the English language is **more polite**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	English language
566	English	Not, **not in your face kind of language**, English	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	English language
567	English	In situations like, **not in your face**, I use the English language	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Fadia	English language
568	English	Do you want me to be **blunt**?	- APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's speaking style

569	Arabic	<u>That's how I feel</u>	+ AFF, A: incli	Clause	Kamila	English language
570	English	Yes, **indirect**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	English language
571	Arabic	There are some expressions <u>that we don't have</u> in Arabic	- APP: val	Qual: clause	Zainab	Arabic lacks more useful expressions than English does
572	Arabic	It only <u>exists</u> in English	+ APP: val	Pr: ment/materi	Zainab	Some English expressions
573	Arabic	And it might be the <u>opposite</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	That some expressions in Arabic don't exist in English
574	Arabic	And it might also be the <u>opposite</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	That some expressions in Arabic don't exist in English
575	Arabic	And it might be the <u>opposite</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	That some expressions in Arabic don't exist in English
576	Arabic	But these expressions are <u>less</u> than those in English	- APP: val	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Expressions that don't exist in English
577	English	It feels **more <u>accurate</u>** in Arabic	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Some Arabic expressions
578	Arabic	He's <u>American</u>, ok?	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	A black man
579	Arabic	He's a <u>black</u> American	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	An American man
580	Arabic	He looks <u>mixed</u> or like,	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	An American man
581	Arabic	The Americans consider him <u>black</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	An American man
582	Arabic	Brazil is obviously the <u>mother of **races**</u>	+ APP: comp	Qual: nomi	Fadia	Brazil
583	Arabic	People there are incredibly <u>mixed</u>	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Brazilians

584	Arabic	Incredible mix	+ APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Mix
585	English	Black people in Brazil are **completely different**	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Black people in Brazil
586	Arabic	Many **shades**	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Shade
587	English	Black or white	- APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Shade
588	Arabic	The black **shade** of Africans	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Shade
589	Arabic	And the black **shade** of native Americans	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Shade
590	Arabic	Exactly	APP: comp	Qual: circum	Fadia	Existence of different shades of black
591	Arabic	True	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Existence of different shades of black
592	Arabic	True, true	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Existence of different shades of black
593	English	Neither **African**	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	people in the Caribbean
594	Arabic	The weird thing is	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Thing
595	English	Because **they're open-minded**	+ JUD, SS: prop	Qual: attrib	Fadia	people in Brazil
596	Arabic	There's a huge diversity there	+ APP: val	Qual: epith	Fadia	Diversity
597	English	But **very interesting**	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	diversity of races in Brazil

598	Arabic	<u>Black</u> person	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Person
599	Arabic	Those <u>black</u> people	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	People
600	Arabic	<u>Tall</u> and <u>broad</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Black American man
601	Arabic	Really <u>black</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Black American man
602	English	70% of his DNA is <u>European</u>	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	DNA
603	Arabic	Another <u>blonde</u> lady	APP: comp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Lady
604	English	65% **percent of her DNA is <u>African</u>**	APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	DNA
605	Arabic	<u>Weird</u> things	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: epith	Fadia	Things
606	English	Very <u>interesting</u> documentary	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Documentary
607	Arabic	Yeah, <u>nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Documentaries about ethnicity
608	Arabic	I <u>like</u> those stuff about	+ AFF, A: incli	Pr: ment	Zainab	Documentaries about ethnicity
609	Arabic	I also think it's <u>interesting</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Documentaries about ethnicity
610	Arabic	Really <u>mesmerising</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Documentaries about ethnicity
611	English	<u>Ooh</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Proso	Fadia	Offer Hanan got
612	Arabic	That's really <u>good</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Offer Hanan got

613	English	Aah that's <u>nice</u>	+ T/ APP, React: qual, JUD, SS: prop	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The shop assistant's offer to Hanan
614	English	<u>Wo::</u>	+ APP: val	Proso	Fadia	Cheap price for cleaner
615	Arabic	That's really <u>great</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Offer Hanan got
616	English	That's <u>nice</u>	+ APP: val	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Offer Hanan got
617	English	No, no it's <u>like</u> **wool**	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib (adv phr)	Kamila	Fadia's scarf
618	English	Ooh **wool** and **cashmere**	+ APP: comp	Qual: nomi	Fadia	Fadia's scarf
619	Arabic	<u>Really?</u>	+ AFF, A: sec	Proso	Kamila	The quality of the scarf's material
620	English	<u>Wo::o</u>	+ APP, React: imp	Proso	Kamila	The quality of the scarf's material
621	English	That's really <u>nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	The quality of the scarf's material
622	English	Very <u>soft</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Zainab	Fadia's scarf
623	Arabic	Yeah, <u>isn't</u> it?	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Quality of Fadia's scarf
624	English	Very <u>nice</u>	+ APP, React: qual	Qual: attrib	Kamila	Fadia's scarf
625	Arabic	I have a <u>good</u> taste, don't I?	+ JUD, SE: cap	Qual: attrib	Fadia	Fadia's taste in clothes
626	English	**Wool** and **cashmere**, right?	+ APP: comp	Qual: nomi	Zainab	The scarf's material
627	English	**Fifty**	+ APP: comp	Qual: attrib	Fadia	The scarf's material

628	English	And: **cashmere**	+ APP: comp	Qual: nomi	Fadia	The scarf's material

8.4 Appendix 4

This section includes a copy of the consent forms that each of the study's participants was asked to sign.

Manchester Metropolitan University

Consent Form

Date: Dec 2014.
Name: Hanan Omar A Ben Nafa
Course: PhD
Department: Languages, Information and Communications
Place of study: Mabel Tylecote Building, Manchester Metropolitan University
Contact Details: Email: 13501165@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Title of Project: Code-Switching as an Evaluative Strategy: Identity Construction among Arabic-English bilinguals in Manchester.

If you are happy to participate, please complete and sign the consent form below and tick what you think is relevant.

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 19th. Dec 2014 for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about my participation in it.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher.

3. I understand that my speech will be audio recorded, transcribed and analysed for the purpose of this research project.

4. I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.

5. I understand that at my request a transcript of my recorded speech will be made available to me.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project

7. I give/do not give* permission for my interview recording to be archived as part of this Research project, making it available to future researchers.
   *Please delete as appropriate

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

Hanan Ben Nafa
_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

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