Code Switching in WhatsApp Messages among Kuwaiti High School Students

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

This study explores code-switching as a spontaneous language contact phenomenon. It examines language use and choice by Kuwaiti students in their WhatsApp messages. Particularly, it deals with code alternation and insertion from Arabic into English and vice versa to develop local justifications for the interactional significance of code-switching in WhatsApp messages. Samples were collected from 60 male and female high school students. A corpus of 100 WhatsApp messages was taken from the participants’ WhatsApp chat groups. The methodology used in this study is mainly analytical. It was based on the sequential approach of CS Introduced by Peter Auer (1984). The findings clearly show that bilingual Kuwaiti students switch between Arabic and English to achieve a communicative goal. Thus, their switches have pragmatic values. Switching from Arabic to English is found to be related to the positive image about the English language and to the specificity of English delivering a variety of communicative functions. On the other hand, switching from English to Arabic is seen to be related to the maintenance of identity, whether this identity is sociocultural or religious-based. Moreover, the study found that code-switching in WhatsApp messages is a communicative strategy that facilitates communication by erasing language barriers in addition to emphasizing cultural identity.
Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

As an EFL teacher, I have had the opportunity to teach people from different nationalities with different language abilities. Looking back, I can remember my first day at work in a bilingual school in Kuwait. The students thought that I could not speak Arabic so they used to switch to the Arabic language. This first encounter with code-switching left a lasting impression on me. My curiosity about code-switching started many years before I realized that this behaviour had an official term. My second introduction to this phenomenon came when I was working part-time in a private institution in Kuwait. I was teaching a group of Iranian learners who wanted to improve their English. While they were discussing an activity in English, they would incorporate some Iranian words into their speech which was very interesting. Through my work, I have met many bilinguals. However, in contrast to the students in the classroom where they were mainly resorting to their first language to make certain comments which they did not want to share with me, the Iranian learners would display the same behaviour but for different reasons. These two events left me wondering why they would resort to this behaviour. Why were these learners alternating between two languages? Subsequently, every now and then, more questions would occur to me. Do they know that they are alternating between one language and another while speaking? Are they too lazy to think of the correct English words? Perhaps they could not differentiate between the two languages or maybe some pragmatic and grammatical factors have interfered with this issue. These questions kept coming back to my mind every time I heard a bilingual speaker switching from one language to another.

In the first term of the MA programme, I was astonished when I was officially introduced to the phenomenon of code-switching during our weekly sessions of “The Principles of Language and Linguistics”. Dr. Amy Wang introduced this trend to us and it was then that I felt that it was relevant to what I had previously experienced. After reading extensively about code-switching, I was determined to discover more about the secrets of this phenomenon. More significantly, I decided to research code-switching in a certain context to discover the various functions which might be fulfilled by encompassing this behaviour.
1.2 Background

It is logical that no language can be considered as a pure language. Languages make contact through many agents such as mass media, social media, immigration and colonization. In the age of globalization, social media has revolutionized the means of communication as it can truly condense the vastness of the world into a small village. In principle, when languages come into contact with each other, different linguistic outcomes may result: language maintenance, in which the changes affect the subsystems; language shift, in which speakers shift to the language spoken by the majority; and mixed languages, in which a new form of language emerged for communicative functions. Examples of mixed languages are pidgin and Creole. With regard to language maintenance, two linguistic phenomena can be highlighted: code-switching and borrowing.

This study will highlight the code-switching used by bilingual Kuwaiti students in their WhatsApp messages. As a linguistic behaviour, code-switching takes place when speakers mingle two languages, whether by inserting lexical items from one language to another or by alternating clauses or sentences. This phenomenon is associated with language competence in that it is a strictly bilingual procedure. Moreover, it serves a communicative function and is never used arbitrarily.

The bilingual context in Kuwait arises from the contact between English and Arabic on many levels. First, Kuwaiti people have maintained strong contact with the English language through travel. This type of contact is exemplified by travelling for educational purposes, medical treatment, tourism etc. Second, another impact of the English language results from the fact that it is either a medium of study or a core subject in all Kuwaiti educational institutions. Specifically, for governmental institutions, English is a major subject from grade one until the final secondary grade (grade 12), while in some private educational institutions it is the sole medium of teaching and learning. However, English is the main language of teaching, learning and instruction in all Kuwaiti universities. Third, a significant source of bilingualism emanates from the mass media and technology. English dominates the world of technological applications such as mobile phones, the internet and video games etc. Consequently, English words and
phrases, which are essential for communication (chat, email, advertisements etc.), have contributed to the bilingual position in Kuwait. With regard to mobile applications, the influx of smartphone applications such as Viber, Tango and WhatsApp, with their numerous language facilities, has meant that the interference from English, especially at the level of lexical items, is very permissive. One major mobile communicative application that has become very prevalent in the interaction domain is the WhatsApp application. This study will tackle the phenomenon of code-switching in the WhatsApp messages of Kuwaiti bilingual students.

1.3 The problem

Recent tools of communication have undoubtedly resulted in a variety of means for social interaction. What is fascinating about these new technologies is that they facilitate communication for users from different backgrounds with different linguistic abilities. This has been achieved by having the option of switching scripts and using the language in which a given person is more competent. These communication tools, however, could facilitate the emergence of new linguistic codes and new writing styles characterized by the innovative use of numbers, symbols and scripts. The essence of these codes is to facilitate and simplify the writing process and to overcome the problem of the writing script. Yet, as long as they offer writing in a variety of languages, the mixed language that emerges from the use of more than one language is considered to be a rich field for linguistic investigation.

WhatsApp is widely used by young Kuwaitis. It has, to some extent, replaced all other communicative applications as it offers instant communication between users, i.e. a synchronous communicative tool. Bilingual Kuwaiti students make use of Arabic and English to a varying degree when texting each other depending on the level of the user’s bilingual ability. This creative language choice has resulted in a mixed language in which English and Arabic are innovatively used to varying degrees. From my own observation, the degree of mixing depends heavily on factors such as the matrix language (base language) of the interaction, the level of the user’s language proficiency, and the communicative functions intended by the lexical choice of the alternative language. This kind of mixing in WhatsApp messages, whether by alternation or insertion, has never been previously investigated; there is no single study in Kuwait that has examined this kind of mixing in Kuwaiti WhatsApp messages.
Accordingly, this study will investigate this new variety of language use in the WhatsApp messages of Kuwaiti students. Particularly, it will examine the code-switching in these messages and its relation to factors such as the languages of code-switching, the domain of interaction, word class, the semantic field and gender in a relatively new field of communication. The core objective is to seek a justification for switching when Arabic is the matrix language and vice versa in order to interpret the communicative functionality of such linguistic behaviour.

1.4 Objectives and research questions

WhatsApp, as a relatively new tool of communication, has offered a rich field to the study of mixed languages. In order to facilitate their typing style and to deliver their messages, users of WhatsApp generate many innovative language patterns when they communicate. These patterns can be observed in different scripts with multiple combinations. For instance, a character may represent a whole word (e.g. 4 can represent the preposition for or the number four). In addition, language may include writing with different scripts (e.g. Arabic with romanized letters which Arab users call Arabeezi). A combination of languages has also become a prominent feature of WhatsApp messages, a striking example of which is the phenomenon of code-switching.

Code-switching is basically the alternation between two language patterns. Since it has gained the consensus of all linguists in the field, switching between languages is a deliberate language choice; it never takes place as an arbitrary linguistic behaviour.

This study will focus on code-switching in interactions where the matrix language (as termed by Myers-Scotton, 1993) is both Arabic and English. The researcher has noticed that switches in WhatsApp messages in the concerned study sample are very pervasive in terms of lexicon, phrases, clauses and scripts. All these switches are purposeful as they aim to create a conversational effect. Accordingly, this study will thoroughly investigate this phenomenon.

This research will examine code-switching in the WhatsApp messages of Kuwaiti high school students from sociolinguistic and interactional perspectives. It aims to explore the type of language used in these messages as well as the functionality of code-switching. More specifically, the study will attempt to answer the following questions:

- How often are English and Arabic used in WhatsApp messages?
• How are the switched elements distributed in terms of word class, semantic field and gender?
• What are the communicative functions served by switching from Arabic to English and vice versa?

1.5 Research justification

WhatsApp is a relatively new domain of communication. To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, not a single study has tackled code-switching in this field of communication whether in Kuwait (the context of this study) or in the Middle East in general. Moreover, it has rarely been investigated globally. Furthermore, this study will have implications for students’ learning processes as some of the interactions will be tackling topics related to the educational field; thus, code-switching will be meaningful in the educational domain. Such an aspect has never been investigated outside the classroom as most code-switching studies relating to education were conducted in a classroom setting. In addition, this study is of great significance because it will investigate the functionality of code-switching in two different scripts: Arabic and English. It will then endeavour to identify the differences of language choices in different scripts and their sociocultural reasons.

1.6 Research scope/limitations

As long as the scope of the study is limited to bilingual speakers in a bilingual institute, the findings will not be representative of bilingual students in Kuwait in particular and the bilingual community in Kuwait in general. In this respect, the researcher did not have access to other schools which is considered as another limitation of the study. Another issue worth mentioning is gender specific as not all female students were willing to participate in the study for cultural and/or religious reasons.
1.7 Dissertation outline

The thesis can be outlined as follows: the first chapter introduces the phenomenon of code-switching and the questions to be addressed. The second chapter establishes the theoretical framework and literature of related studies that cover this use of language. Chapter 3 examines the methodology adopted to conduct this study in terms of data collection, study sample and data analysis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the findings. Chapter 4 is an inventory chapter that deals with the distribution of code-switches by language, word class, semantic field and gender. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the communicative functions served by code-switching; from Arabic to English in Chapter 5 and from English to Arabic in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 presents the conclusion and recommendations for further studies.
Chapter Two
Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

No one can deny that the third and fourth generation mobile phones are innovations that have swept the world as they have disseminated swiftly across the globe. In the field of communication technology, these new mobile phones are faster than their counterparts. There were no mobile phones until 1947 when a scientist worked on developing phones for cars. But, in 1982, the dream came true and mobile phones came into existence and began to be utilized. As part of the process of developing the services offered by mobile phones, the short message services were developed simultaneously. In terms of popularity, this condensed form of communication took off in 1998 (Crystal, 2001). Hard af Segerstad (2002) defined the short message service as one that enables communication among mobile users via the sending of text messages from one mobile to another. The real breakthrough did not occur until 2008 when the Android operating system was released to invade the world of technology. Smartphones with touch screens became even smarter when they were supported by Android applications. In 2009, a new application came into being to replace the short message service; this was the beginning of WhatsApp. It is a subscription-based application which enables its users to communicate by exchanging written messages, an unlimited number of pictures, audio media and even videos. The application was even developed to allow users to send voice messages. This application also enables its users to identify each other’s locations by utilizing integrated mapping features. WhatsApp messages utilize the same internet data plan that customers use for their email and web browsing. There is no charge for sending messages. In addition to a basic messaging service, WhatsApp users can create groups and send unlimited images, videos and audio media messages.

A WhatsApp communication is a messaging service that has been labelled Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). Crystal (2001) explains that CMC is not just a mix of speech and
writing; it should be considered as a different species of communication. He goes even further by labelling it “the third medium”. Crystal also believes that the restricted number of characters in a message (160) was the main trigger that motivated its use and the formation of a new language in communication; for example, it encouraged the use of short forms and drawings rather than long forms and full descriptions of feelings. Warschauer (2002) argues that the speakers of other languages have resorted to developing new forms of writing by utilizing the roman script and adapting it to their language. He also mentions that the widespread use of this global technology may result in English completely replacing local languages.

Computer Mediated Communication has two types. The first is known as synchronous computer-mediated communication which is the type of communication that takes place in real time such as that which occurs in chat rooms or on other social media websites such as Skype, Yahoo messenger, Hotmail messenger and many other websites (Crystal, 2002). In this type of CMC, reciprocity occurs among speakers. On the other hand, asynchronous computer-mediated communication refers to communications that take place in a postponed time (Crystal, 2002). Here, the recipient does not need to be online to receive the message. There are many examples of asynchronous computer-mediated communications including short message services and emails (Hard af Segerstad, 2002).

2.2 Defining code-switching

Code-switching is a language contact phenomenon that has attracted the attention of many linguists in recent decades. These linguists have investigated this trend from a vast array of perspectives. Some scholars attempted to examine the linguistic features of this phenomenon in terms of phonology and syntax (e.g. Poplack, 1981). Other linguists have been intrigued by the function of the human brain and have therefore tackled the subject from a psycholinguistic perspective (e.g. Grosjean, 1982). Furthermore, other linguists are fascinated by the sociolinguistic aspect of this phenomenon (e.g. Auer, 1984). Researchers have studied different fields relating to code-switching that encompass the correlation between various social networks (Milroy and Wei, 1995) and the political implications of code-switching (Heller, 1995). Nevertheless, this field is complicated because many other aspects need to be considered such as the different amounts of code-switching in any given conversation, the utilized languages, and
the possible implications that code-switching may have for the speakers and their first language. Simply put, code-switching comprises a bilingual speaker who switches between two languages. The speaker may switch just one word or whole phrases and it may be used by two speakers in the same conversation.

It is very important to discuss the definitions that were previously used in the literature to define code-switching. Most definitions agree that the term code-switching refers to the use of two different linguistic systems or subsystems, yet different terminologies are proposed to define this phenomenon. Scotton and Ury (1975) argue that “code-switching is the use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation”. Timm (1975) claims that code-switching is “a single mode of communication characterized by shifts from one language to the other”. Valdes Fallis (1976) defines it as “the alternation of two languages at the word, phrase, clause and sentence level”. According to Di Pierrto (1977), code-switching is “the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act”. For Gumperz (1982), it is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Romaine claims that this linguistic phenomenon is also utilized in both monolingual and bilingual societies. She adds that the term code-switching refers to different languages and the distinct varieties within the same language. Kumar (1986) defined code-switching as the “alternate use of lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences from the non-native language into the system of the native language”. According to Wardhough (1986), code-mixing is the process of mixing two languages without changing the topic. This process is ubiquitous in both bilingual and multilingual societies and it reflects solidarity among bilingual friends in different informal situations. Clyne (1987) proposed that code-switching is “the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences”. Savil-Treik (2003) referred to code-switching as “change in language within a single speech event (conversation)”. According to Meryerhoff (2006), “when code-switching is constrained by where a speaker happens to be, it can be called domain-based or situational code-switching, when it is constrained by who a speaker happens to be talking to it can be called addressee-based” (Meryerhoff, 2006:116). Myers-Scotton (2006) described code-switching as the use of “surface-level words” that belong to two languages.


2.3 Code-switching and bilingualism

Code-switching is a language contact method that has, as a prerequisite, the existence of a degree of bilingualism in two different languages or linguistic varieties. Although linguists differ in their definitions of bilingualism, they all stress that a level of language command in two linguistic systems is the platform from which a definition has to be initiated.

Weinreich (1953:9-11) distinguished between coordinate, compound and subordinate bilingualism. Coordinate bilinguals are those who possess two distinguished language systems acquired in two different environments. In contrast, compound bilingualism relates to acquiring the two linguistic systems in the same context. Finally, subordinate bilingualism refers to the perception of form interpretations through the dominant language.

Appel and Muysken (1987:1-2), however, classified bilingualism on societal and individual levels. The former refers to the situation in which two or more languages or language varieties are spoken in a certain society, while the latter focuses on whether the individual speaker is bilingual or not. Myers-Scotton (2006:44) puts it simply by stating that bilingualism involves the ability to use two or more languages. Edward (2006) provides a practical definition of bilingualism in that it entails the ability to use words and phrases from another language without necessarily being proficient in that language. Edward’s definition seems more applicable to the current study.

2.4 Code-switching and borrowing

Many different definitions have been provided for loanwords or borrowing but linguists define them as words which are taken from one language and used in another (Haugen, 1950; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Heath in Methrie, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Nevertheless, linguists have differentiated between loanwords and borrowing by associating different features to each of the terms. Haugen describes borrowing as the attempt to reproduce in one language some of the patterns that are found in another and he claims that loanwords are a type of borrowing. Heath (2001) claims that these two terms are expressing two different notions and that borrowing is only a stem and not a full lexical item and sometimes it constitutes a full phrase. Conversely, loanwords are only single words. Heath gives an ideal definition of borrowing as “a historically transferred form, usually a word (or lexical stem) that has settled
comfortably into the target language”. For Heath, the process through which a word comes from another language and is consequentially integrated into the recipient language to the extent that it became one of its words is a genuine borrowing. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) assert that borrowing is an “incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of incorporated features”.

For Myers-Scotton (2006), the single occurring borrowings should be included under the category of code-switching and she considers them to be “code-switched elements in mixed constituents”. Furthermore, she differentiates between code-switching and established borrowings; the occurrence of code-switching follows the word order of the donor language, while the established borrowings follow the word order of the recipient language. Myers-Scotton (2002) claims that the code-switching practices of bilingual speakers can help introduce the cultural borrowings to the recipient’s language. She claims that cultural borrowings are single occurring code-switching forms.

Poplack and her associates (1988) propose utilizing taxonomy to differentiate between loanwords and code-switches. They maintain that integration is a primary criterion to differentiate between the two phenomena since loanwords are phonologically and morphologically integrated into the recipient language (borrowing language) while code-switches are not. Frequency is also a crucial criterion. Loanwords are widespread in the community and thus have become established in the recipient language whereas a code-switch is merely a momentary use of language of an individual bilingual speaker. Thus, it is not frequent, but rather idiosyncratic. Where words are not frequent but are integrated into the recipient language, Poplack and her associates suggested calling them “nonce borrowings”.

Heath distinguishes between code-switching and borrowing. He claims that borrowing is a word which is loaned but is then expected to be returned to the donor language. By contrast, borrowings never return to the donor language but are instead integrated into the recipient language. He also claims that code-switching is characterized by features like separation between the switching sentences (sentence boundaries), internal structuring because switching follows the donor language word order, and spontaneity of use. Heath (2001) claims that in certain cases it is very difficult to differentiate between code-switching and borrowing. He believes that some
borrowing words are still known as foreign words because they are not integrated into the recipient language. Moreover, some borrowings occur in phrases which follow the structure of the donor language. Meanwhile, code-switching can comprise some foreign words or perhaps phrases which are encompassed in a completely uninfluenced syntactic structure of a language. The term code-mixing was coined by linguists to avoid overlapping borrowing and code-switching. Heath claims that nativization might be an adequate factor that may help in differentiating between code-switching and borrowing. Nevertheless, nativization is not a clear-cut distinction as it is constituted of different linguistic levels.

Some linguists (e.g. Matras, 2009) propose having a continuum that contains different dimensions in order to decide on the status of a given word, whether a loanword or a code-switch. The continuum contains dimensions such as integration, bilinguality, functionality, regularity and others.

**2.5 Types of code-switching**

As far as types of code-switching are concerned, Poplack has distinguished between three categories of code-switching: tag-switching, intra-sentential and inter-sentential. Tag-switching is the insertion of a tag in one language in an utterance of a completely different language such as ‘right?’ or ‘I mean’. Because of the syntactic nature of these tags, they can be easily inserted in an utterance in any place without affecting the order of syntax (Poplack in Romaine, 1995: 122-3). Intra-sentential is the switching that takes place in the same sentence which will consequently contain elements of the two languages. Intra-sentential switching seems to have some specific roles that organize how the morphology and syntax of the two languages may possibly interact (Romaine, 1995). In some cases, high competence is not required especially if there is a similarity between the linguistic systems of the two languages. Finally, inter-sentential switching is the switch that occurs in the sentence boundaries where two sentences are from different languages. It is worth mentioning that the difference between intra-sentential and inter-sentential is difficult to identify because of the spontaneous and unpredictable nature of speech.

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (2002) differentiated between composite and classic code-switching. Composite code-switching occurs when the morphemes of both languages are utilized and the morpho-syntactic structure of the utterance is greatly affected by the roles of the two
languages. This is likely to happen when the speaker is unable to access the morphology and syntax of the language that is to be considered as the base structure of the utterance. By contrast, classic code-switching involves cases where the utterance follows the morpho-syntactic roles of one language of the bilingual speaker and that reflects the speaker’s capability of utilizing the patterns of the morpho-syntactic role of one of the two languages. Nonetheless, in this type of code-switching, the speaker is, to some extent, proficient in the second language and he/she is capable of including some free morphemes of the second language in a sentence which is completely ruled by the first language.

2.6 Social reasons for code-switching

Code-switching results from social backgrounds which affect the construction of the speaker’s utterance. Holmes describes code-switching as being mainly influenced by the topic of conversation, the event where it took place as well as by the interlocutor. When the addressees have similar backgrounds, they may switch to their first language or their mother tongue to communicate their adherence to their interlocutors (Holmes, 2001). The linguistic behaviour of the person speaking relies heavily on the relationship between him/her and the interlocutors (Sgall, Hronek, Stich and Horecky, 1992). Consequently, while speaking to friends or relatives, a speaker might utilize a completely different linguistic code but if a stranger joins the conversation, the speaker might switch again. Sometimes, there are two different linguistic varieties of a language which may participate in code-switching. At this point, the speaker may resort to switching from one variety to the other to indicate the degree of formality or informality of the conversation. Another important function of code-switching occurs when the speaker resorts to switching in order to amuse the interlocutors or perhaps to express his/her approval or disapproval. As far as the influence of code-switching is concerned, Holmes (2001) claims that in certain societies specific linguistic varieties are related to different topics. There are certain message-intrinsic factors which affect code-switching such as idioms, quotations, hedging or reiteration. These factors are more appropriate if they are expressed in a certain language.
2.7 Sociolinguistic approaches to interactional code-switching

2.7.1 Metaphorical and conversational code-switching

Blom and Gumperz differentiate between two main types of code-switching: metaphorical and situational or, as it is sometimes called, transactional. Metaphorical switching is affected by the participants’ relationship with the message the speaker is willing to communicate whereas situational switching is influenced by the participants and the social situation of the interaction. Regarding situational switching, generally only one linguistic code is considered as the norm and this is related to a specific situation. Consequently, if any change takes place in the language this would imply a completely different perception of the situation (Blom and Gumperz, 1974). Gumperz (1982) states that a code-switch acts as a “contextualization cue” just like other monolingual contextualization cues in discourse such as prosody, intonation and gestures.

Code-switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. It generates the presuppositions in terms of which the content of what is said is decoded. [Gumperz 1982:98]

Gumperz suggested communicative functions for code-switching based on data obtained from different speech communities. These functions are reiteration, quotation, addressee specification, interjection, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization.

2.7.2 The sequential approach

This approach was introduced by Peter Auer (1984) and developed by Li Wei (1995; 1998; 2005). It builds on the contextualization cue proposed by Gumperz (1982). Unlike other interactional approaches (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993), Auer redefines the context to indicate that it is the local context and not the global context that matters in the interpretation of code-switching. The local context is the one that was established by the participants themselves in a given piece of dialogue (Li Wei, 2005). Thus, Auer calls for a local interpretation of code-switching; Auer’s Conversation Analysis (1984; 1995; 1998) focuses mainly on the “sequential implicativeness of language choice”. With regard to his Conversational Analysis, the linguistic choices made by speakers affect the subsequent
utters and linguistic choices for them. Moreover, in the Conversation Analysis the context is
formed by the interlocutors from the interaction. Consequently, the Conversation Analysis
requires a separate analysis of the occurrence of each code-switch in respect of the speakers who
were involved. The proponents of the Conversation Analysis referred to an aspect which
distinguishes it from other approaches; the Conversation Analysis does not stipulate that the
examination of code-switching is the main aim, but it is associated with every occurrence.

Accordingly, Auer differentiates between two types of code-switching: insertional and
alternational. Insertional code-switching is primarily the embedding of single words, phrases or
larger constituents from language A into the matrix language (base language) or language B.
Bokamba (1989:287) explains that it is “the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes
(bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two distinct
grammatical subsystems within the sentence or a speech event”. In contrast, alternational code-
switching is defined by Hoffman (1991:110) as the alternate use of two languages or linguistic
varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation.

As for code-switching, in terms of the communicative functions it serves in conversation, Auer
classifies them into discourse-related and participant-related code-switching. The former
concerns the functionality of a switch in a given conversation as a contextualization cue; the
organization and the sequence of the participants’ turns are essential in evaluating the
‘conversational effect’ of a certain switch. The latter concerns the level of preference and
competence of the participants and co-participants.

2.7.3 The markedness model

This model, where the speaker chooses one code to fulfil a particular aim, was introduced by
Carol Myers-Scotton (1993). She believes that in every interaction there is a set of rights and
obligations (RO) portraying the expected linguistic behaviour and this is the unmarked choice.
Therefore, when a speaker adheres to the group of rights and obligations of a certain interaction
and utilizes an unmarked code, this will result in no social turbulence. Conversely, when using
the marked code there will be an unexpected linguistic code which refers to the participants, the
situation of the interaction and the topic. Thus, the speaker will be infringing the group of rules
formed by the community, the family or perhaps by an interlocutor in a higher position. If the
person decides to achieve a purpose and negotiates a new code, this results in a new group of rights and obligations. Furthermore, Myers-Scotton states that when speakers attempt to negotiate a new code, they always negotiate their relationship with their interlocutors themselves. Seemingly, it is a negotiation for the purpose of solidarity and power (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Finally, this study will investigate the use of code-switching by bilingual Kuwaiti students in their WhatsApp messages and, primarily, the functionality of these switches. So, the structural perspective of code-switching is beyond the scope of this study. To achieve this goal, functional approaches in the literature of code-switching will be considered with special attention paid to the sequential approach proposed by Auer (1984).
Chapter Three
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe the data collection procedure and methodology. Research methods, as Milory (1987) indicates, depend on a study’s questions and objectives as well as on the resources available. Since this study concerns code-switching between Kuwaiti Arabic and English in WhatsApp messages, spontaneous data that resembles day-to-day interaction is required. In order to provide a detailed description of the phenomenon, long-term WhatsApp interaction is considered. This kind of interaction is a representation of the synchronous use of language (Crystal, 2001).

This chapter will firstly present a detailed description of the creation of the corpus which was the first step in the data collection. The problems and constraints regarding the process of data collection will be discussed. Secondly, there will be a thorough description of participants and data. Thirdly, the procedure for data analysis will be described in detail in terms of quantitative findings and categorization of the functions of code-switching.

Consequently, this chapter is primarily concerned with the different methods used; it provides a description of the population, the study corpus and the sample. Moreover, it explains the different procedures of both data collection and data analysis. More significantly, an outline of the procedures of the study will be provided.

3.2 Creation of the corpus

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, four WhatsApp groups were created. These groups consisted of students who were taught by the researcher and they were mainly created so the students could keep in touch with the researcher and be provided with continuous guidance during his stay in the UK. The participants in the groups were students in Grades 11 and 12 in a bilingual school and their ages ranged from 18 to 20 as shown in the following table.
Table 1: Distribution of selected participants according to age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial step in forming the corpus of the study was to extract the messages. A message in this corpus was taken to refer to all the interactions taking place in a thread dealing with the same topic so the topic of the interaction was the main criterion for deciding upon the number of messages. In other words, an interaction that dealt with one topic was considered to be a message regardless of its length. As a result, the researcher could isolate 300 messages distributed amongst the four groups as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2: Distribution of selected messages according to grade and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Number of Messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group (1)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (2)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (3)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (4)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The next step was to isolate those messages that contained elements of code-switching. A total number of 195 messages that contained switching between Arabic and English were found and separated from the remainder. These 195 messages were further categorized into messages that contained switching from English to Arabic and those that contained switching from Arabic to English, yielding the following results.

Table 3: Categorization of messages according to the language of switches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Messages</th>
<th>Number of Messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Messages with switches from Arabic to English</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messages with switches from English to Arabic</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final stage of creating the corpus of the study involved excluding the messages that contained repeated switches. For instance, some messages that contained English to Arabic switches were excluded if the switch appeared in a previous message. Consequently, the final number of messages considered to be the real corpus of the study amounted to 100 messages distributed as follows:

Table 4: Distribution of the corpus of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Number of Messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group (1)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (2)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (3)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group (4)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male and Female</td>
<td>11 and 12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Study sample

The study sample comprised 60 male and female bilingual Kuwaiti speakers whose first language was Arabic but who all possessed reasonable bilingual ability. They were all students at a Kuwaiti bilingual school and the participants were chosen from just one school. Although this school has students of both genders, they are taught in separate classrooms with no mixed classes. The chosen participants consisted of adult students aged between 18 and 20 from Grades 11 and 12.

Table 5: Distribution of selected sample according to grade and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Numbers of Students Selected</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in Table 5, the participants were chosen from the same school; 50% from grade 11 and 50% from grade 12. There were 40 male subjects and, of these, 20 were from grade 11 and 20 were from grade 12. The students were on the IGCSE track following the American, not Arabic, educational system which was created by Cambridge University.

These students were chosen for two particular reasons. First, as students in a bilingual school who have been studying all their subjects in English since Grade 1, they enjoy a degree of bilingualism. Second, the researcher had access to the students because he used to teach them when he worked in Kuwait.

These groups were partly created in November 2013 but with a smaller number of students for the purpose of conducting a pilot study. Subsequently, other students were asked to join the
groups so they became larger and the total number of student participants reached 60. Each
group represented a separate classroom; the four groups represented four classrooms – two for
females and two for males. The number of males and females was not equal because not all the
female students agreed to join the groups so the number of male students exceeds the number of
females. The students were given the ultimate freedom to commence an interaction and raise any
topic without any interference from the researcher whose primary role was to provide some
pieces of educational advice on English language learning.

3.4 Ethical considerations

The participants were asked to sign and complete an ethics check form as well as a consent form
to declare that they were prepared to take part in the study of their own free will. Both forms
were intended to ensure that participants were fully aware of the nature and purpose of the study.
They were provided with a comprehensive clarification of their privacy protection and told of
their unconditional right to withdraw at any time.

3.5 Data analysis

The data obtained from the messages and extracts has undergone different stages of analysis in
accordance with the study’s goals and objectives. The first stage was to select a sample for
analysis. The second was to distinguish code-switches from loanwords. The third stage
concerned the classification of code-switching and the fourth involved categorization and extract
selection.

3.6 Sample selection for analysis

100 WhatsApp messages were analyzed. The messages in this study were anonymously selected
from the WhatsApp messages of bilingual Kuwaiti students after obtaining permission from
them to use these messages. The WhatsApp messages in which code-switching occurred were
extracted along with their macro-contexts for the sake of providing a sequential analysis (local
interpretation) of the switches. While collecting the data, interactions where the matrix language
was both Arabic and English were taken into account in order to provide an interpretation of the
switches from English to Arabic and vice versa.
3.7 Excluding loanwords from the sample

This issue particularly concerns the isolation of lexical insertions (insertional code-switches) and loanwords when switching from Arabic to English. The basic criteria applied to achieve this objective rely heavily on the status of English words in the Arabic language. The simplest and more rational approach is to isolate loanwords, i.e. decide which of the terms are loanwords and exclude them from the study sample. Based on Poplack and her associates (1988), and others (e.g. Romaine, 1989; Winford, 2003; Haspelmath and Tadmur, 2009; Matras, 2009), the status of a foreign word in this study (whether a loanword or a switch) is measured using the following factors:

1. Nativization.
2. Integration.
3. Frequency.
4. Functionality.

Nativization is considered to be the most significant and decisive factor. If a word has been nativized, this signifies that it has been adopted by the standard language and is treated as a lexical element in the recipient language – it will definitely be a loanword. Specifically, if a word has a dictionary entry, it is a loanword. For instance, words such as computer, mobile, internet, romance and others were considered to be loanwords because they all have dictionary entries and thus become part of the Arabic language. As a result, they were excluded from the sample.

Other factors are also significant. In respect of integration, the more a word is integrated into the recipient language (matrix language), the more likely it is to be a loanword. Integration can occur at all levels: phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic. When the two languages in contact are typologically distant, integration can be considered to be a decisive factor in deciding on the status of the foreign word, whether it is a switch or a loanword (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). Accordingly, Arabic and English are two typologically distant languages (in terms of linguistic systems) and, thus, integration of a foreign (English) word is fundamental. Poplack (1980), Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) and Romaine (1989) indicate that phonological integration is an important factor when asserting that a word has been integrated into the recipient language. However, for two reasons, this has not been the case in this study.
First, substitution of foreign phonemes that do not exist in the recipient language is one sign of phonological integration. For example, the English word *chapter* will be phonologically integrated as *shabtar* because the phonemes /tʃ/ and /p/ are not available in Arabic so they are replaced by their closest counterparts /ʃ/ and /b/. In written English words used in WhatsApp messages, it is difficult to determine whether the word *shabtar* (chapter) was phonologically integrated or written like this because the Arabic keyboard does not provide these letters. Namely, phonological integration is best manifested in the spoken language not the written one. The second reason is that most WhatsApp users preferred the romanized letters. Thus, a word might be written in romanized letters as it is in the source language (English) though it is a loanword. So, if the word *visa* is written as it is (*visa*) in a romanized script, it does not mean that the word is not integrated. Nothing can prove this as long as the script is not Arabic and as long as it has not been attested in the spoken variety with different realizations. In short, phonological integration is difficult to implement and judge when it comes to written language.

For these reasons, morphological integration was considered to be the primary factor when deciding whether a word is integrated or not. The more a word is morphologically integrated, the more likely it is to be considered a loanword and thus excluded from the study sample. For instance, the English word *fabricate* was attested three times in the corpus as *yufabrik* (to fabricate), *mfabrak* (was fabricated) and *fabrakat* (fabrications). In the first use, the word was morphologically integrated by addition of the Arabic derivative suffix /yu/ to form the imperfective form of the verb, while in the second example, the derivative suffix /m (u)/ was added to form the perfective verb form. On the other hand, in the third case, the word was inflected to indicate number as shown through the addition of the plural suffix /at/ to form the Arabic plural noun. These three different types of morphological integrations are clear signs of the status of the word, i.e. it was regarded as a loanword and thus excluded.

Another important factor to consider when isolating loanwords from code-switches is the frequency of a given word. If a foreign word is frequently used by bilingual speakers, it is more likely to be a loanword. The justification for such a criterion seems reasonable since the essence of code-switching is to create a conversational effect (Auer, 1984; Matras, 2009). Thus, when a word is frequent and widespread, this means it has become conventionalized and habitually referred to which is a sign that it has lost its conversational or communicative effect.
The fourth criterion relating to functionality was adopted when there was confusion regarding the status of an English word. If a word was only attested two or three times, neither integrated (nor least integrated), nor nativized, the functionality of its usage was examined. In accordance with Myers-Scotton’s markedness model (1993), a word is considered to be a switch when its usage is ‘marked’. Therefore, in indecisive cases, the researcher would judge the conversational effect of the given word(s). Sequentially examined, if an English word is clearly used to mark a communicative effect, such as a quotation, a reiteration or some other effect, it cannot be a loanword, but rather a switch as loanwords are habitually used and they are ‘unmarked’ choices.

### 3.8 Classifying code-switching

After excluding borrowed elements, the second step was to categorize code-switches. This phase consisted of different stages. The first stage was to separate code-switching from English into Arabic and from Arabic into English relying on Myers-Scotton’s (1993) distinction between the *matrix language* (ML) and the *embedded language* (EL). Such identification was not problematic except for three messages where the alternation between Arabic and English was equally recurrent which made it difficult to decide which language provided the structural patterns and templates (matrix language). To solve this problem, the language that contained the greater part of the message was regarded as the *matrix language*. After making this distinction, the switching from English to Arabic and vice versa was investigated separately. For each switching language, a distinction was made between insertional code-switching (lexical insertion) and alternational code-switching following Auer’s (1984) and Li Wei’s (1998) terminology. These two types of switching were subject to analysis in terms of structural distribution and interactional (communicative) functions.

The structural analysis examined code-switching in terms of word class, semantic field and gender. With regard to word class, the study adopted the following types: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, phrases, clauses and function words. The category ‘function words’ encompassed words such as interjections, conjunctions and particles. As for the semantic field, the researcher designed a list based on the nature of the data and some previous studies in the field of language contact (e.g. Haspelmath and Tadmur, 2009).
More importantly, switching in both languages was subject to interpretation in terms of their functionality inspired by the sequential approach created by Auer (1984) and developed by Li Wei (1998; 2005). In fact, the interactional functionality of these code-switches is the essence of this study.

**3.9 Selection of categories and extracts**

The most challenging step in the data analysis was the interpretation of code-switching in both languages. As mentioned, the study adopted the *sequential approach* to reach a local interpretation of why bilingual Kuwaitis switched from Arabic to English and vice versa. The heart of this approach is summarized by the need to consider the overall organization of a given conversation in terms of sequence of turns and the contribution of each participant (local context of the interaction) to be able to interpret the communicative function of code-switching.

In order to achieve this goal, messages containing switched points (whether insertional or alternational) were isolated and each one was investigated separately. The category or the communicative function to be studied was decided upon after investigating the exchange as a whole in terms of organization and subsequent turns. Thus, the interpretation considered the organization of the interaction (e.g. turns, sub-turns, adjacency pairs) of each participant before and after the switching point. Therefore, the selection of the communicative categories relating to each switching element depended on its local interpretation.

However, deciding on the communicative function of the switch was not easy. It was difficult to decide on the function of some switching after examining the sequence of turns and sub-turns. The primary reason for this was that the switch might reflect the student’s competence or preference, i.e. it may be an outcome of the student’s level of proficiency (participant-related). This type of switch is difficult to recognize in WhatsApp messages or in chat blogs; it is most easily recognized in spontaneous oral communication. Therefore, switching that might be interpreted as participant-related was not considered in the analysis; only discourse-related switching was considered.

Other problems in categorizing the function of switching arose from the fact that a given switch can be interpreted differently, i.e. it can serve more than one function. In these cases, the possible functions were listed and then considered. After examining all the messages, the researcher
selected the most frequent and recurrent functions as communicative functions (categories) to be included in the study. Consequently, the categories chosen for the examined communicative functions are representative. Moreover, the extracts chosen for illustration were based on their representativeness and clarity to explain the function under discussion.
Chapter Four
Distribution of code-switching

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is an introductory chapter to explore the data analysis and it will examine the structural contribution of code-switching. The chapter will specifically consider the type of text language used in the WhatsApp messages that contain switching elements, the written forms attested and the percentage of switching languages, whether Arabic or English. It will also analyze the distribution of code-switching by word class, semantic field and gender.

4.2 Code-switching and text language

The study’s data demonstrates that the text messages were not of a constant nature. Three different forms of texts were produced: completely Arabic, completely English and a blend of Arabic and English. Table 1 highlights the language used.

Table 1: The use of English and Arabic in the WhatsApp messages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Text</th>
<th>Number of Messages</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely Arabic</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completely English</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blend of English/Arabic</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Messages</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These statistics demonstrate that the students are inclined to utilize English or a blend of the two languages rather than just Arabic. The findings reveal that their use of English as the dominant language comprises approximately 25% of the studied sample. Meanwhile, the use of Arabic only is just 15% of the sample. The results detailed in Table 1 highlight that a mixed use of English and Arabic has the highest percentage at 60% of the total sample.

Moreover, the study data reveals that 60% of the text messages which were composed completely in Arabic or in a blend of Arabic and English were written in Arabic letters while only 40% were in Roman letters (see Table 2).
Table 2: The use of different Arabic written forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Language Form</th>
<th>Number of Messages</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic written in Roman letters</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic written in Arabic letters</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of messages</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 highlights that some of the Kuwaiti students are inclined to use Arabic written in Roman letters (30 out of 75 messages). However, more students have a strong preference for Arabic written in Arabic letters.

Table 3: The most frequently used words written in Arabizi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words in Arabizi</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ish loonak?</td>
<td>How are you?</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hala</td>
<td>Hello</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asalaamu Aleikum</td>
<td>Peace be upon you</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esht2telak</td>
<td>I miss you</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y3ttek elaafeya</td>
<td>May Allah give you health</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7ayatii</td>
<td>Honey</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows that the most frequently used phrase in Arabizi was “Ish loonak?” which means “How are you?”; this was repeatedly used by both males and females and occurred 30 times in different messages. “Hala” which means “Hello” was the next most popular and occurred 25 times. “y3ttek elaafeya” or “May Allah give you health” was only repeated 6 times while “7ayatii” or “Honey” was the least used by the participants (3 times).
Table 4: The most frequently used English abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>The Long Form</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gonna</td>
<td>Going to</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np</td>
<td>No problem</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoL</td>
<td>Laugh out loud</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMG</td>
<td>Oh my God</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bro</td>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis</td>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 presents the participants’ most frequently used English abbreviations. “Gonna” occurred 35 times and was thus the most frequent. “Np” was the second most used (22 uses) followed by “K” which occurred 17 times. Meanwhile, “Sis” was only used 4 times and therefore had the lowest frequency.

Table 5: Distribution of code-switching by the language of switches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Switches</th>
<th>Number of Switches</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Arabic to English</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From English to Arabic</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of switches</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 reveals that the total number of switches found in the messages was 107. This number does not include repeated switches. Switches from Arabic to English were the most frequent with 67% of the total switches while switching from English to Arabic only occurred in 33% of the total number of switches in the study sample.

### 4.3 Code-switching and gender

This section presents the quantitative differences in switching between males and females. It has been observed that females code-switch more than males. This may be due to the fact that
women feel a sense of prestige especially when they switch from Arabic to English. Unsurprisingly, English is considered to be a status marker in Kuwait and a reference to English is highly desired as it reflects modernity, a fashionable lifestyle and prestige. This fact is reflected in the differences between the switches of Kuwaiti males and females as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Distribution of code-switching by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Switches by</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 illustrates that males made 58% of the total number of switches while females made 46%. It may seem that men have a tendency to make more switches than women. However, if the number of men and women participants is considered (40 men, 20 women), it is clear that women, who represent only one third of the sample, account for 46% of the total number of switches while men, who dominate the sample, only represent 54% of the total number of switches. Table 7 presents the distribution of code-switching from English to Arabic by gender.

Table 7: Distribution of English to Arabic code-switching by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Switches from English to Arabic by</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 illustrates the distribution of English to Arabic switches made by the male and female participants; 60% of the switches from English to Arabic were made by males while 40% were made by females.
Table 8: Distribution of Arabic to English code-switching by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Switches from Arabic to English by</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 reveals that the male participants made 51% of the switches from Arabic to English while 49% were made by females.

The findings also demonstrate that the participants would discuss certain topics when using WhatsApp as a medium of communication. Table 9 presents the distribution of topics in which code-switching occurred by gender.

Table 9: Distribution of topics of code-switching by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal issues</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exams</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assignments</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor activities</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutoring</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows that various topics are covered in the code-switching messages. The subject of personal issues is the most frequently mentioned (34 times by male and female participants). The next most discussed topic was exams (20.5% of the participants). Conversely, tutoring was found to be one of the least mentioned topics (8%). Finally, it is worth mentioning that the miscellaneous group includes topics that were only discussed a minimum of once (newspaper reports/mail) and a maximum of four times (politics).
4.4 Code-switching distribution by word class

The findings of the study suggest that the most switched elements are nouns. This can be attributed to the fact that nouns have a referential meaning and carry a thematic role (Backus, 2001). In contrast, adverbs are found to constitute the lowest percentage of switched elements. Table 10 shows the distribution of code-switching by word class.

Table 10: Distribution of code-switching by word class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Number of Switches</th>
<th>% of Total Switches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 reveals that the spread of switches is as follows: 47.5% nouns, 22.5% clauses, 12.5% phrases, 6.5% adjectives and only 4% verbs. Adverbs (2%) and pronouns (2%) were rarely used by the students and, surprisingly, there was no evidence at all of code-switching of prepositions and conjunctions. Moreover, the highest percentage of switching occurred whenever the constituent was free from any structural complexity in a sentence. Nouns, clauses, phrases and adjectives were the most popular because they are structurally independent bearing in mind that phrases and clauses are dealt with as whole units, templates or clichés. In contrast, switches such as verbs and adverbs are structurally complex and are governed by syntagmatic relations in a sentence. As a result, their percentages were relatively low.
4.5 Distribution of code-switching by semantic field

This study has also investigated the semantic fields that absorb switched elements the most, especially insertional ones. As expected, education and technology were the two dominant semantic fields under which most switches are listed. The most common semantic fields attested in the data are as follows:

1- Social relations
2- Education
3- Technology
4- Religious beliefs
5- Function words
6- Clothes and garments
7- Food and drink
8- Arts and fashion
9- Qualities and emotions
10- Kinship
11- Business
12- Body parts
13- Transportation

Table 11 illustrates the frequency of these semantic fields among the switches. It is worth noting that these semantic fields belong to insertional switches since alternational code-switching cannot be given such semantic fields because it is beyond the word’s level.
Table 11: The frequency of the semantic fields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Field</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function words</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious beliefs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualities and emotions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and drink</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and fashion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body parts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and marketing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 illustrates that education was the most frequent semantic field as it occurred 17 times in different switches. This is normal as the sample is taken from students who would usually discuss a variety of topics that fall under the umbrella of education. The second most frequent semantic field was technology with 13 switches in this domain. This is reflective of the participants who prefer to talk about matters that are related to this domain. In third position came social relations with 12 different switches; again, this reflects the importance of this subject in the participants’ lives. There were 9 occurrences of function words which made this topic the fourth most frequent. In fifth position with 7 occurrences came another important semantic field
– religious beliefs. The findings also highlight that some semantic fields such as business and marketing are scarcely used (only once).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has analyzed the data by considering the text language used in the students’ WhatsApp messages and the percentage of switching languages, whether Arabic or English. It also analyzed the distribution of code-switching by word class, semantic field and gender. The findings reveal that the students are inclined to use English or a blend of the two languages rather than just Arabic. Moreover, females code-switch more than males and various topics are covered with personal issues being the most frequent. The most switched elements are nouns which may be due to nouns having a referential meaning and carrying a thematic role. Finally, education and technology were the two dominant semantic fields which is not surprising as the participants were all students.
Chapter Five
The discourse-related functions of code-switching from Arabic to English

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the communicative functions served by the bilingual Kuwaiti students when code-switching from Arabic to English and, primarily, the discourse-related functions. It will specifically highlight the most dominant functions served by alternational and insertional code-switching from Arabic to English. The analysis will be predominantly based on the sequential approach of Auer (1984).

5.2 Overview of the findings

Code-switching, as noted earlier, is not an arbitrary linguistic behavior. As Matras (2009) indicates, code-switching is an additional linguistic resource through which bilingual speakers serve their intended communicative functions. My study data shows that alternational and insertional code-switching serve different pragmatic functions. When alternational code-switching is at work, four dominant functions are found to be served: quotation, side comment, repair and reiteration. On the other hand, insertional code-switching is generally found to express a lexical gap, a cultural reference, a euphemistic expression or a technical term.

5.3 Discourse-related functions served by alternational code-switching

This section discusses the communicative functions served by alternational code-switching. Specifically, the four functions mentioned above will be thoroughly examined. The choice of these functions is based on their frequency and recurrence in the chosen samples.

5.3.1 Quotation

Some instances of CS are identifiable as reported speech in conversation (Gumperz, 1982:76). This occurs when the speaker attempts to quote the exact word(s) of someone to make his message more credible or valid. This function is apparent in storytelling and narrative contexts. The extract below is an example.
In this extract, three males were discussing the date of an exam as they were not sure of its exact date. M1 commenced the conversation by guessing that the exam would be in two days’ time. His words express doubt as he used the Arabic word “شكّ” which conveys the speaker’s uncertainty. Consequently, M2, who seems to fear exams, replied with “يا شباب تري اليوم شفت المدرس وقال” (Lit., may Allah help), a culture-bound statement that people use when they undergo certain states of stress or fear. M2 did not disagree with M1 as he did not know whether M1’s information was true or false. However, it was totally different for M3 who seemed to know the exact date of the exam. To add validity and reliability to his message, he switched to English and quoted the exact words of the teacher. This message was received and totally understood by M1 so in return he thanked him for it.

However, in some examples, a quotation can be found to be modified. This can be seen clearly when one of the participants modifies certain parts of the quoted words to accommodate the quotation to meet his needs. The following extract will illustrate this type of quotation.
In extract (2) above, F1 seems to be a caring friend who wanted to check on her friend F2 so she began the conversation by using the well-known question which is mostly used in daily life in the Kuwaiti community “وَلَش صَمَر مَعَاك إمَس”. She preferred to use the Arabic language which communicates a degree of care which would not have been possible if she had used English words such as, “What did you do yesterday?”. F2 replied by using another culture-bound phrase “وَلَلّاء لُويا” which is only used in Kuwait by Kuwaiti natives. This phrase conveys the enormity of any hardships or difficulties felt by people. F2 then described these hardships as she clarified that she had undergone certain tests and she was expecting the results. When F1 enquired as to when she would receive these results, F2 indicated that she had forgotten what the Filipino nurse had exactly told her. Thus, she switched to English and quoted the words of the nurse, but with a modified version. She changed the subject “you” used by the nurse in her words to “I” to confirm the identity of the speaker. To show caring, F3 used the culture-bound expression “ِالله يُطمنَا عَلِيكم” to express her best wishes to her friend. F2 was grateful and she used a culture-bound phrase “مشكورين ماقصرتم بنات” to express her gratitude.
As mentioned above, switching for quotation is commonly found when narrating a story during dialogue. Extract (3) is an illustration.

(3)

1 – M1: هللا بالطيب

(Hello guys)

2 – M2: هللا والله كيف الاحوال

(Hello, how are things going with you?)

3 – M1: بخير الله يسملك متي الطالعة

(I am good. When are we going out?)

4 – M2: بكرة انصه الله علي، في ستاراكين

(Tomorrow, God willing, at 9am in Starbucks.)

5 – M1: بيكون مسكر

(It will be closed.)

6 – M2: "We open at 9"

(I remember once when I was with my dad in the branch at the Avenues, I asked the cashier and he said, “We open at 9”.)

Extract (3) commences with M1 greeting his friends in a group. He used a very common greeting – “هلا بالطيب” – which is utilized by people in the Gulf. Not only did F2 reply using the same language and the same word but he also added a phrase to check on the health of the rest of the group. M2 replied with a phrase quoted from Kuwaiti culture – “هللا والله كيف الاحوال” – to return the greeting. M2 used Arabic in this greeting to maintain the flow of the conversation. M1 also wanted to ask when they were supposed to meet. M2 replied in the same matrix language.
indicating that they were supposed to meet in Starbucks at 9am the next day. M1 noticed that this was early and Starbucks might be closed at that time so he commented, “بيكون مسكر”. M2, who had valuable information about this topic, related a story that could help resolve the problem. He said that he had once been there with his dad and he had asked about opening times. At this point, M2 switched to English to quote the exact words of the cashier who had told him that this branch opened at 9am every day. M1 instantly believed this information as it had a high percentage of validity because it was a quote from a reliable person.

5.3.2 Side comment

In the literature concerning code-switching, a speaker may change code to illustrate his view on a certain topic. This occurs at unpredictable points in a conversation and it is chiefly aimed at clarifying a speaker’s opposing message (Shin and Milory, 2000: 378). In this case, code-switching is used to mark the marginality of the topic, as shown below.

(4)

1 - M1: والله ما نا قاهم على هالمدرس

(I swear to God I do not understand anything from this teacher.)

2 - M2: By the way, Mr. Hafez is the best in the field

(That is true. By the way, Mr. Hafez is the best in the field.)

3 - M3:依 والله ائك صادح

(I swear to God you are right.)

4 - M2: والش فيه مدرسكم

(What is wrong with your teacher?)

In extract (4), M1 commenced by using some words which reflect the idea that he does not understand the information which is taught by a certain tutor although he did not mention his
name. M2, who agreed with M1, began his reply in Arabic to reaffirm the information that had been stated about this tutor. In segment 2, M2 switched to English in order to discuss more facts that related indirectly to the topic as he mentioned another tutor whom M2 considered to be the best in the field. M3 replied with words that expressed his full agreement about this other tutor (marginal topic). This marginal topic took only one turn then M2 returned to the main topic, as shown in segment 4. In this extract, the co-participant resorted to English when he wished to make a side comment on the topic being discussed.

Extract (5) provides another example of code-switching with a side comment. The switching in this extract was initiated by the main participant.

(5)

1 – M1: يقولون في عطلة وراح ندار، التلاوة.

(‘It is being said that there is a holiday and the first working day will be Tuesday.’)

2 – M2: ما سمعت هالحكي؟

(‘Yeah, I have heard that too.’)

3 – M1: Have you heard that Haneen is tired?

(‘Not at all. But what is the reason for the holiday?’)

In extract (5), M1 and M2 were discussing an expected holiday and they both used Arabic in their interaction. In segment 3, the main participant wanted to raise a point about Haneen so he switched to English as a sign of the marginality of the topic. M2, who did not seem interested in this side comment, gave a short reply but then drifted back to the main topic.

5.3.3 Repair

Linguistic repair occurs when there is a discourse problem; for example, making a mistake in picking the right code or being unable to find the right word in a particular language. In this case,
CS emerges as a technique to solve such a problem just as other techniques in discourse such as self-interruption, vowel lengthening, hesitation, pause and repetition (Alfonzette, 1998:186-187).

In the data, repair is found to be self-initiated and others-initiated. Extract (6) is an example of a self-initiated repair.

(6)

1 – M1: ْتكتب تبري ما راح أقدر اطلع اليوم
(Hi guys, I will not be able to go out with you today.)

2 – M2: ْأيضا استفتيك
(Why? What is wrong with you?)

3 – M1: ِإنا ممكن ما أروح إذا ما شعرت بالروح
(I do not know but I may go out if I am in the mood.)

4 – M2: ُأيضا خبرتي أو غيرت رايتك
(Okay, let me know if you change your mind.)

In extract (6), M1 began by notifying his friends that he would not be able to go out with them and M2 questioned the reasons for this. At this stage, M1 repaired his words by providing modified information which showed that he might be able to join his friends if he was in the mood. This repaired version included the possibility of meeting his companions who were expecting him to join them. On the other hand, M2 replied by briefly stating that he expected M1 to let him know if he decided to come.

Extract (7) is another example of repair. The extract refers to the political crisis in the Middle East resulting from the Arab Spring.
M1 initiated the interaction by showing sympathy for the events in Syria. M2 replied by stating that it was just a transitional stage. In segment 3, M1 elaborated on his idea by asserting that revolutions only brought destruction. M2 refuted such a generalization. As an agreement with M2, M1 switched to English and repaired his point by indicating that the revolution in Tunisia had been successful. M2 added Yemen as another example of a successful revolution. It is clear that the switching used to repair the previous point of M1 was invoked by the co-participant (M2).

However, repair can also be initiated by co-participants. This can be observed when the co-participant wants to correct a piece of information raised by the main participant. Switching to English to correct a point made by the main participant is shown in extract (8) below. This interaction concerns the declaration of the Muslim Brotherhood as a movement of terrorism.
As shown in extract (8), M1 was not only astonished at what Egypt had declared about the Muslim Brotherhood but also at the international reaction accepting this decree. At this point, M2 realized that M1’s information included some wrong information so he decided to rectify it; he switched to English and corrected the information by stating that Britain had not accepted the decree. M1 happily appreciated this British stance.

5.3.4 Reiteration

Code-switching is commonly found when repeating a certain point; an idea may be repeated literally or in a modified version by another code. Such a repetition aims to either clarify the point of discussion or emphasize it (Gumperz, 1982:78).

In the data, switching for reiteration is principally aimed at emphasizing a given point, as illustrated below.
M1 initiated this interaction by asking his friend (M2) whether he had bought a car. M2 replied by saying that he had not. Then, M1 suggested he should buy a Maxima (a famous car in the Gulf). M1 responded by saying that this was an expensive car which would cost more than 3000KD. At this stage, M2 assured him that it would only cost 2400KD. To emphasize this, he switched to English and repeated the information.

The previous extract introduced an example of one type of reiteration which took place in the same turn. However, reiteration can occur in a subsequent turn. A speaker resorts to this type of reiteration to emphasize a previously mentioned message, as shown below.
(10)

1 – M1:  

 ليش ما تشتري من كارفور؟ 

(Why do you not buy from Carrefour?)

2 – M2:  

 ما ادانية  

 (I do not like it.)

3 – M1:  

 والله كارفور ما في مثله 

 (There are no other shops like Carrefour.)

4 – M2:  

 والله دا بما زجامة 

 (It is always crowded.)

5 – M1:  

 والله خوش مكان  

 (it is the best place.)

6 – M2:  

 ما ادانية: ادري بس والله 

 (I know but it is always crowded; I hate it.)

In extract (10), the participants discussed shopping in the Carrefour shopping centre. M1 began by asking M2 what prevented him from shopping at Carrefour. M2 said that he did not like shopping there, thus stating his attitude without giving reasons. M1, who preferred to shop at Carrefour, elaborated on his stance by saying that Carrefour was the best shopping centre. M2 justified his loathing for Carrefour by arguing that it was constantly crowded. M1 did not hesitate to emphasize his point by repeating his words in Arabic. M2 agreed that Carrefour could be a good place to shop but he was still insistent about its overcrowding. In segment 6, he wanted to emphasize and intensify the previously mentioned information about Carrefour so he switched to English and reiterated the point. To give further emphasis, he repeated the same point for the second time in Arabic.

In the previous extracts, the speakers resorted to reiterating their words to give more emphasis to the message they wanted to convey. Conversely, reiteration can be used for the purpose of clarification. This type of switching to reiterate a given point for the sake of clarification is highlighted in extract (11) below.
In extract (11), the dialogue involves a discussion about the Arabian version of the famous programme *The Voice*. F1 began by asking her friend whether she had watched the latest episode. F2, who is a regular viewer of the programme, instantly declared that she had an insight into the winner. F1 agreed with F2 that the Iraqi guy, who was the winner, deserved his triumph and added that he had a strong personality. F2 communicated her disagreement, adding that his voice was not that good. Once F1 realized that there was a misunderstanding in segment 5, she stated that she was not talking about his voice and to clarify what she really meant she switched to English and repeated what she had said in segment 3. By doing this, F1 had clarified her opinion and communicated it to F2. Realizing F1’s point of view, F2 replied by agreeing with her.

Not only does the use of reiteration provide emphasis and clarification but it may also be used to elicit a response. This can be seen when a given piece of information is confusing or vague for one of the participants. The switching in extract (12) is an example.
In extract (12), the participants discussed their friend Meshaal who had not been in touch for a while and they would like to find out his latest news. M1 commenced by asking M2 about Meshaal. Knowing Meshaal’s news, M2 instantly stated that Meshaal was spending time with his girlfriend. Because the word "صازثرح" which M2 used is unfamiliar and has a different connotation, M1 was confused and did not understand M2’s message. M1 wanted to fully understand the term “صاحبة” and what M2 was hinting at when using it. M2 was direct in his answer and just emphasized the fact that Meshaal was with his girlfriend. To ensure that he understood the message correctly, M1 switched to English in segment 5 to elicit a clear response from M2. M2 confirmed what he said in segment 6.

5.4 Discourse-related communicative functions served by insertional code-switching

Insertional code-switching has been more pervasive in this study’s corpus. A possible explanation for this might be the readiness and ease of inserting a lexical item in comparison to the alternation of two linguistic forms. Moreover, insertional code-switching does not require the
same level of bilingualism and language proficiency as alternational code-switching. Fundamentally, four dominant uses of insertional code-switching are attested: lexical gaps, cultural terms, euphemisms and technical terms.

5.4.1 Lexical gap

This category denotes the lexical items that do not have an exact counterpart in Arabic; the meaning of the concept concerned is expressed by paraphrase, translation, definition or insertion of the English word. A sizable portion of lexical gap is formed to represent cultural concepts that are related to Western culture in general. Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to these words as cultural insertions. However, not all gaps are cultural in nature.

The concept of gap is correlated with the notion of semantic specificity that was introduced by Backus (2001). The hypothesis of semantic specificity states that the semantic characteristics of a word are the primary factors in its use. Thus, it is the high degree of semantic specificity that promotes the use of a lexical item from one language into the matrix language. Backus argues that a word is considered to be highly specific if it is difficult to replace it with another word. In order for a word to be a highly specific item, two features have to be available: (1) a high referential meaning and, (2) the equivalent word denotes a quite different connotation (p. 127).

The exact lexical gap chiefly expresses technological innovations such as terms related to computers, the internet and scientific inventions etc. These words lack an exact and precise equivalent and if they are represented in Arabic, they take the form of paraphrase or morpheme by morpheme translations. Extract (13) is a good example.

(13)

1 – M1: لا ترى سالم خرير أمس

(Salem’s laptop broke down yesterday.)

2 – M2: راست سوا

(What has he done?)

3 – M1: Hardware

(He took it to the agency and they told him it maybe needs hardware.)
In this conversation, two men are discussing a deficiency in their friend’s laptop. M1 inserted the word “hardware” but this word has no exact counterpart in Arabic. This is also the same for other words such as “software” and “defragment”.

However, Backus (1992) observed that the notion of lexical gap is not merely associated lexical terms that have no exact equivalent in the matrix language; it also represents terms that are more frequently and precisely expressed by the embedded language words. The word “panel” in extract (14) is an example.

(14)

1 – منى ليقولين باللغة العربية؟

(When is the panel guys?)

2 – يقولون الساعة ستتنين

(Some say it will be at two o’clock.)

3 – الله يحفظك العافية

(God bless you.)

This conversation took place between two students discussing the time of the panel. M1 used the English word “panel” and although this word can be expressed in different ways, they would all be a type of paraphrase. In addition, some lexical insertions are used by bilingual Kuwaiti students to avoid synonymy. This is the case whenever the Arabic equivalent of an English word has many semantic senses or its meaning is not specific but rather generic. To overcome this problem, switching to English is an effective option for bilingual Kuwaiti students. For instance, the word “flyer” has so many Arabic counterparts such as مطوية منشور which all mean flyers, bulletins, leaflets or brochures. Therefore, in order for the bilingual Kuwaiti to be more specific, he uses the English word that expresses the meaning he had in mind to avoid the synonymy of the Arabic equivalent, as shown in the following extract.
(15)

این احساس دوره انگلیسی بس ما ادری متغیر یکشنبه: 1

(1 want to attend the English course but I do not know when it starts.)

مکتوب علي الفلاير الذي وزعوها امس: 2

(It is written on the flyer they distributed yesterday.)

مشكره حبيبتي: 3

(Thank you darling.)

In extract (15), F1 began by expressing her desire to join the English course but she did not know when the course started. F2 wanted to guide her to where she could find out so she mentioned that the date was written on a “flyer” that had been distributed the day before. F2 used the English word to be more specific and to avoid the other synonyms.

5.4.2 Cultural terms

This category involves the lexical items that represent aspects of Western culture. The insertion of these words generally aims to build an image inside the mind of the hearer along with its association. Onysko (2007:273-276) stated that these words provide a cultural authenticity of the scene and they serve as cultural indices. Onysko explains that expressing these cultural words with a native equivalence in the matrix language will make them lose their strong functional meaning loads. Matras (2009) argues that these words operate as unique referents.

Switching to insert a cultural term occurs when discussing Western occasions and this technique is also utilized when talking about some Western food. In other examples, debating Western lifestyles also triggers switching. The use of the word “valentine” in extract (16) is one such example.
In this conversation, two females discussed Valentine’s Day. F1 made reference to the English term “valentine” although this term has a common Arabic counterpart “عيد الحب”. The use of the English term created a cultural image of the event being purely Western. Therefore, the English term helped the co-participant to form an image in her mind about all its associations such as setting, food, colours, gifts, going out and love etc. As Onysko stated, these meanings would not have been conveyed if the Arabic equivalent had been used.

Another good example is shown in extract (17) which concerns an occasion that was taken from the West. The use of the English term “New Year” reflects the cultural associations of the term, as shown below.

(16)

1 – F1:  
(I am not going out on Valentine’s Day.)

2 – F2: 
(Alas, you are going out.)

3 – F1: 
(I have no friend or darling.)

In this conversation, two females discussed Valentine’s Day. F1 made reference to the English term “valentine” although this term has a common Arabic counterpart “عيد الحب”. The use of the English term created a cultural image of the event being purely Western. Therefore, the English term helped the co-participant to form an image in her mind about all its associations such as setting, food, colours, gifts, going out and love etc. As Onysko stated, these meanings would not have been conveyed if the Arabic equivalent had been used.

Another good example is shown in extract (17) which concerns an occasion that was taken from the West. The use of the English term “New Year” reflects the cultural associations of the term, as shown below.

(17)

1 – F1: New Year 
(I spent New Year’s Eve at home.)

2 – F2: 
(You are crazy.)

3 – F1: 
(Do not misunderstood me honey, I spent the night with my female cousins.)
Insertion of the phrase “New Year” aimed to create a cultural image with its association with parties, celebrations and presents. This loaded meaning would not be achieved if the Arabic word was used.

Furthermore, the cultural impact on the lexical choice of the participants was also shown in concepts reflecting Western lifestyle. Aspects of this lifestyle include food, drink, clothes and fashion. The bilingual Kuwaitis make use of these words to appear modern, up-to-date and stylish, as illustrated below.

(18)

1 – F1: Fish and chips
(Do any restaurants in Kuwait serve fish and chips?)

2 – F2: تذو ث واعطول تناكلن سمك وفيطاط
(Pardon, how do you eat fish and chips?)

3 – F1: اي والة اكلنها ادريتانيا
Yeah, I ate them once in Britain.

This conversation occurred between two women. When F1, who seemed to have lived for a time in the UK, wanted to ask about a fish meal, she did not use the Arabic words but instead she referred to the famous British dish “fish and chips”. She was aiming to imitate a lifestyle in the UK in terms of food as this meal is a traditional British dish. Another way of expressing lifestyle through the use of English words emerged with the use of the expression “4x4” in the following extract that took place between two men discussing a new car bought by M1.
When M1 asked about the car, he used the English term “4x4”. This expression has its Arabic counterparts. However, the use of the English form “4x4” was aiming to reflect modernity as the expression is a sign of a luxurious Western lifestyle.

5.4.3 Euphemism

Trask (1998) describes a euphemism as the use of a word or phrase as a synonym for another word which is avoided because of its taboo status or because of its negative, political or ideological connotations. Meanwhile, other scholars define euphemisms as the polite, indirect expressions which replace words and phrases which are considered as cruel and rude or which indicate something distasteful. A euphemism is an idiomatic expression which loses its literal meaning and indicates something else in order to hide the repulsiveness, impoliteness or cruelty of the original word. A euphemism still suggests a rude expression but it communicates it obviously and politely. It has many forms such as abbreviations, indirect expressions or direct expressions.

In this study, a euphemism was employed by some learners while texting each other on WhatsApp. This switch concerned a body part which is considered to be taboo in Arabic. The following example will explain how these students switched from Arabic, the dominant language of the message, to English.

(19)

1 - M1: 4X4

(Congratulations on buying the 4x4 car.)

2 - M2: الله بذكراك عليك

(God bless you.)

3 - M1: كم تاريك؟

(How much is it?)

4 - M2: ارسلت

(I am paying in monthly instalments.)

When M1 asked about the car, he used the English term “4x4”. This expression has its Arabic counterparts. However, the use of the English form “4x4” was aiming to reflect modernity as the expression is a sign of a luxurious Western lifestyle.
In this extract, M1 asked M2 why he was standing up in class. It is obvious that M1 decided to use the English language as the dominant language to communicate his message to the interlocutor. M2 did not follow M1 as he used Arabic to explain why he felt obliged to stand up. M2 preferred to use the word “buttock” which he wrote in Arabic letters to avoid the bluntness and unpleasantness which usually results from the use of its Arabic equivalent. The Arabic vernacular equivalent to the word “buttock” sounds very vulgar and inappropriate when used in such a social context.

Furthermore, switching to English to express a euphemism has been shown to concern slang words that refer to women or when using cursing words. Extract (21) provides an illustration.

(20)

1 – M1: Why were you standing today in class?

والللة يا بو سالأبد ما رادي شو أقولك ساابلتي متبعتي حيل هاليومين دول ما أقدر أفع

2 – M2: (Oh Waleed’s father, I cannot find the right words, but I have a severe pain in my buttock these days and I cannot sit down.)
M1 asked his friend about a news report concerning a woman being arrested by the police. M2, who was unaware of this news, wanted to know why she had been arrested. M1 wanted to tell his friend that the woman was a prostitute but because the Arabic word is considered to be taboo, he switched to English and inserted the word “bitch”. It is true that this word is considered to be taboo in English but it is far more acceptable in comparison to the Arabic word. In other words, reference to English is considered to be more polite even if the English word and the Arabic equivalent have the same meaning.

5.4.4 Technical terms

A substantial part of the English lexical items that occur in Arabic-English code-switching in Kuwait are technical terms or academic jargon taught or introduced to students in English, resulting in cognitive salience in terms of the ease with which cognitive retrieval of these terms takes place. This code-switching motivation, which is widely attested in the study data, is topic-
specific (cf. ‘topical regulation of language choice’, Fishman, 1972: 439) and is clearly a consequence of the medium of learning, hence the ‘medium-of-learning effect’ (cf. ‘the learning effect’, Gibbons, 1987). Fishman’s (1972) insightful observation is worth quoting at length:

The implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled ‘better’ or more appropriately in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts. However, this greater appropriateness may reflect or may be brought about by several different but mutually reinforcing factors. Thus, some multilingual speakers may ‘acquire the habit’ of speaking about topic x in language X (a) partially because this is the language in which they are trained to deal with this topic, (b) partially because they (and their interlocutors) may lack the specialized terms for a satisfying discussion of x in language Y, (c) partially because language Y itself may currently lack as exact or as many terms for handling topic x as those currently possessed by language X, and (d) partially because it is considered strange or inappropriate to discuss x in language Y. (Fishman, 1972: 439-40; emphasis in original)

Fishman further explains point (b) as follows:

This effect [i.e. lacking the specialized terms for a satisfying discussion of x in language Y] has been noted even in normally monolingual settings, such as those obtaining among American intellectuals, many of whom feel obliged to use French or German words in conjunction with particular professional topics. English lexical influence on the language of immigrants in the United States has also been explained on topical grounds. (Fishman, 1972: 439)

In this study’s corpus, most switches that are considered to be technical terms occurred when discussing education. This is rational as the study sample consists mainly of university students who, in most of their message exchanges, were discussing topics related to their studies. The following extract illustrates this point.
F1 started by using the Arabic language to ask about the dates of the final exam. But, instead of using the Arabic equivalent of the word “final”, she preferred to use the regular English term.

However, some technical terms are found not to belong to the domain of education. They are, as noted above, associated with topics that are best described using English terms. The switch “upload” in the following extract is a good example.

M1 is informing his friend of what happened when he tried to upload a video. M1 commenced his story in Arabic but when he wanted to talk about the process, he found that using the English term “upload” was unavoidable as its Arabic equivalent was not in use.
The word “upload” is associated with any topic related to the internet in that the subject becomes easier and more practical to describe using the English word. Reference to the Arabic word in this context would affect the understanding of the topic as it is not common or used to discuss this subject.

There is much evidence in the data showing that our participants were either unaware of the Arabic equivalents of the field-specific technical terms in question, hence a lexical gap in their mental lexicon, or, where such translation equivalents appear to exist, they are perceived as ‘not saying the same thing’ owing to a lack of semantic congruence.

(24)

1 - F1: ايه ما دهيتي الايميل؟
(Why did you not send me the email?)

2 - F2: والله دهتي
(I swear to God I have sent it.)

3 - F1: يمكن وصل في الايميل
(Maybe it is in the spam.)

4 - F2: مادي
(I do not know.)

In extract (24), F1 is blaming F2 for not sending her the email she was expecting. But F2 instantly replied explaining that she had already sent that email and to emphasize this point she swore to God. F1 believed F2 and remembered the possibility that the email may have been saved as spam. F1 used the word “spam” because she did not know its Arabic equivalent.
5.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the communicative functions of code-switching from Arabic to English and especially the dominant functions served by alternational and insertional code-switching. The findings illustrate that alternational and insertional code-switching serve different pragmatic functions. Alternational code-switching involves four dominant functions: quotation, side comment, repair and reiteration while insertional code-switching generally expresses a lexical gap, a cultural reference, a euphemistic expression or a technical term. The study reveals that insertional code-switching is more pervasive. This may be because of the readiness and ease of inserting a lexical item as opposed to the alternation of two linguistic forms. Furthermore, insertional code-switching does not require the same level of bilingualism and language proficiency as alternational code-switching.
Chapter 6
Code-switching from English to Arabic

6.1 Introduction

This chapter primarily discusses the communicative functions of code-switching from English to Arabic in WhatsApp messages. It merely concerns switching at the level of words, phrases and longer constituents. Specifically, it deals with the functionality of one type of code-switching in WhatsApp messages – insertional code-switching. Such a limitation in the functionality and/or motivation of insertional code-switching is justified by the fact it is prevalent in the corpus, almost certainly due to topical constraints or restrictions. More importantly, this chapter sheds light on the cultural and religious motivations that trigger language switches.

6.2 Theoretical framework

As noted above, this chapter examines insertional code-switching or what Muysken (2000) refers to as lexical insertions. The definition of a lexical insertion is taken from Muysken (2000), Auer (1984) and Li Wei and Milory (1995); it is defined as the embedding of words, phrases and larger constituents from language A into language B where B is the matrix (dominant) language (Muysken, 2000:3-5; Auer, 1984). Furthermore, the distinction between the matrix language and the embedded language is adopted from Myers-Scotton (1993). Thus, the matrix language is defined as the language that provides the largest proportion of grammatical patterns, content and bound morphemes. Meanwhile, the embedded language is the language from which lexical constituents or phrases are taken. Accordingly, in this chapter, English is considered to be the matrix or dominant language while Arabic is regarded as the embedded language.

6.3 An overview of Arabic lexical insertions in English WhatsApp messages

In this study’s data, nearly all the switches are lexical insertions ranging from a single word to larger constituents. A major characteristic of the Arabic switches is that they are embedded into the matrix language (English) to mark an identity. This identity is revealed to be social-religious and historical. A major advantage of this linguistic procedure is that it arouses feelings and expresses emotive loyalty. In the strict sense, some of these insertions may be considered as
lexical gaps in the matrix language. However, they are embedded because they bear strong social, cultural and religious connotations, i.e., their use is indexical.

The relationship between code-switching and identity-marking is reflected in a number of studies observed in the code-switching literature. Gumperz (1982:66) refers to this identity through a widely-cited distinction between what he termed ‘We code’ and ‘They code’. For Gumperz, ‘We code’ refers to the switches that mark in-group activities based on ethnic, regional or social identity. Thus, switching is a linguistic behaviour that marks such identities. In contrast, ‘They code’ involves switching to the dominant language and entails ‘less personal out-group relations’. The concept of identity and code-switching was later well-developed and interpreted by Li Wei (1994; 1998) who argues that code-switching as a contextualization cue has the potential to display identities:

They (switches) are contextualization cues that have the capacity to signal meanings like irony or seriousness, as well as the social identities and attitudes of participants. (1998:164)

In his remarkable article *Code-Switching and Social Identity*, Auer (2005: 403-404) states that bilingual speakers are signalled by extra-linguistic categories that represent not only ethnic, but also social identities. He explains that they are, in fact, involved in ‘acts of identity’ represented through their language choice. For him, switching may symbolize identity that goes beyond the ‘linguistic fact’.

Interestingly, the bilingual Kuwaiti students embedded Arabic words and phrases into the matrix language of their WhatsApp messages in cases where identity representation was striking. Such a linguistic behaviour served to assign group membership. In fact, identity display is shown through their switches to Arabic whenever cultural-specific, social-specific and historical-specific linguistic activities are concerned.

**Sociocultural terms**

Code-switching occurred when the Kuwaiti students wanted to insert a phrase that was cultural and/or religious in nature. That is, they resort to culture/religion-bound phrases such as *Inshaa*
Allah (Allah willing), Allah ywafaak (May Allah guide you to success), y3ttek elaafeya (May Allah give you health), Allah yebarek feeck (May Allah bless your soul), Allah yerhamwaledeek (May Allah bless your parents) and 7amdella 3la elsalama (Thanks be to Allah for your safety). These phrases bear an implicitly emotive effect that the English equivalents of the same phrases could not express. It is true that some of these words and phrases are considered as gap-fillers, but it is also the sociocultural aspect of the insertions that motivates their usage. That is why even those that are not considered to be gap-fillers are inserted in Arabic, although some can be expressed in English in a variety of ways. In short, it is the sociocultural association of the insertions, as identity markers, that marks them as gap-fillers. The following extract illustrates this point.

(25)

1 – M1: feelin sick.
2 – M2: Matshofshar (Lit., I hope you do not see evil.)
3 – M1: Thanks my dear.

The expression matshofshar has a deep sociocultural meaning. It represents caring and intimacy. It is also considered to be a polite linguistic behaviour. English expressions that convey the same meaning are many. However, no English translation could convey the exact emotive mode or have the same effect; the insertion of the Arabic term symbolizes belonging and attachment to the same social group. Thus, it is a social identity represented in the switch.

The category of sociocultural switches is a wide umbrella that includes words related to the Arabic culture in general. It can encompass terms for food, drink, clothes, local events and greetings. It is true that some lack English equivalents; nonetheless, even those that enjoy numerous English equivalents are solely referred to in Arabic. In other words, these words signal an identity regardless of whether they have English counterparts or not. For instance, the Arabic insertion in extract (25) can be expressed in various ways in English, as well as in many expressions found in this study’s corpus, but it is the sociocultural identity that makes the above insertion ‘marked’, not whether it has an equivalent or not. Fascinatingly, the social/culture-bound insertions cover a wide range of cultural themes such as traditional food, events, ceremonies and greetings.
A) Traditions and events

This category includes Arabic insertions that belong to traditional items and events. It covers insertions of traditional and/or domestic food, drink, occasions and ceremonies. The short extract below is an example of two men talking in English about meals and food.

(26)

1 – M1: Enjoying my time in KFC.  
2 – M2: Have fun, you missed the Makboos today.  
3 – M1: Don’t tell me.

When M2 wanted to discuss a type of food that is specific to the Arab culture, particularly to the Gulf, he switched to Arabic and inserted the word Makboos (cooked rice with chicken or meat). It was not only the need to fill a lexical gap that triggered M2 to switch to Arabic, but also the cultural associations of the word Makboos.

Switching to Arabic was found to be excessive when discussing clothes and garments. This is because the Gulf is known for its special and traditional clothes, which is different from some other parts of the Arab world. Furthermore, such a linguistic behaviour also entails identity and, accordingly, switching in this case can be regarded as a tool for maintaining cultural identity. The following extract provides an example.

(27)

1 – F1: We are going to the cinema at 5.  
2 – F2: I won’t come.  
3 – F1: Why?  
4 – F2: I have to go and get my abaya and shelia.  
5 – F1: Congrats.  
6 – F2: Congrats for what? It is just abaya.
This exchange began with an invitation for F2 to join her friends, something which F2 could not do and apologized for. When her friend enquired about the reason, F2 stated that she would be busy getting her dress and scarf. However, as the dress and scarf have unique features and are different from the conventional types, F2 switched to Arabic and inserted the culture-bound terms *abaya* (type of dress) and *shela* (type of scarf). The use of the English terms here would bring different connotations to the Arabic terms. As noted above, this can be regarded as a type of reflecting identity.

However, switching for sociocultural reasons is best manifested when it comes to local events in Kuwait. One of these local events is called *Gergean* as highlighted in the following extract.

(28)
1 – F1: We are getting ready for *Gergean*.
2 – F2: Hahahahaha, what are you goin to offer????
3 – F1: A mix of sweets without money hahahahaha.
4 – F2: Hahahahaha.

*Gergean* is a traditional festival that takes place during the holy month of Ramadan. It involves celebrating the children who have fasted during this month. It is the Arabic version of Halloween when children wear traditional clothes and go around the neighbourhood in groups asking for sweets. Accordingly, F1’s switch to Arabic is triggered by her motivation to label a cultural-specific term denoting a cultural event.

**B) Greetings**

Greetings in Kuwait have a strong sociocultural meaning. They reflect the relationship between the sender and the receiver of the greeting. They also reflect the degree of intimacy between the participants as well as the cultural identity of Kuwaitis. Starting a conversation before a template of greetings is stigmatized and it is impolite to not greet newcomers to any kind of interactions.

The findings of this study reflect a significant linguistic trend wherever greetings are concerned; these greetings are in Arabic because of its strong cultural implicated associations. Hence, students insert Arabic words and phrases into the English text when they greet each other in their
WhatsApp messages. These greetings have interactional value in their communicative effect as they are conveyed in a deliberate manner. Arabic messages of greeting are pervasively attested in the corpus of the WhatsApp messages. Whether written in English or Arabic, such greetings are considered to be part of the participants’ identity maintenance especially for their religious and culture-bound associations. These greetings include: AsalaamuAleikum – ‘Peace be upon you’; another common version of this which is occasionally used by people in WhatsApp messages is Salaam which means ‘Peace’; Hala – ‘hello/you are welcomed’; Ishloonak? – ‘How are you?’; and shoumsawe/shou 3lomak? – ‘How are you doing?’ Apple and Muyskin (2006) call this the expressive function of code-switching.

These expressions of greeting are preferred over their English equivalents as they are cultural indices for the Kuwaiti students in particular and for Muslims in general. Thus, they signal identity. The following exchange is a good example.

(29)

1 – M1: How you doin guys??

2 – M2: لا هلا وغ لا وغ. It’s been so long.

(Hello, precious. It’s been so long.)

3 – M1: Yeah, miss u guys.

This extract began with a question from M1 aiming to invoke others to communicate if they were online. M2, who, it seemed, had not talked to M1 for a long time, inserted the Arabic-specific greeting (لا هلا وغ لا وغ), a welcoming greeting that signals intimacy and a desire to talk. Subsequently, he switched back to the matrix language (English). It is noticeable that M2 did not integrate the Arabic term using English orthography, perhaps because of the difficulty of romanizing the (غ) sound which is not present in English.

In this study’s data, greetings are not only found to initiate a conversation but they are also found to mark social and religious events. I categorize these types of greetings as sociocultural because they are not religious in the strict sense although they may denote religious events or ceremonies. That is, the religious terms used on such occasions are different. Reference to certain cultural
terms entails expressing emotions and arousing feelings which may be lost when the English translation is used.

(30)

1 – F1: It’s Mother’s day.

2 – F2: Big kiss to all mothers.

3 – F1: كل عام وأنتم بخير/الله اعالي/ ثم/ام (many happy returns of the day, my sweet mother.)

4 – F3: Happy Mother’s day.

In this extract, three females were discussing Mother’s day. F1, who initiated the topic in English, first used the cultural term (كل عام وأنتم بخير/الله اعالي/ ثم/ام) (many happy returns of the day, my sweet mother) to express her best wishes to her mother. Using the English equivalent on such an occasion would not communicate the same meaning in terms of emotions and cultural connotation.

On the other hand, switching to Arabic whenever the participant has to greet others is striking if the greeting has an Islamic flavour. Identity in such switches was more apparent and established. This type of switch has two aspects. The first has to do with pure religious greetings. These not only reflect religious identity, but also the setting associated with this identity such as intimacy, respect, solidarity and emotions. The following extract provides an illustration.

(31)

1 – M1: Assalamu Alaykom, any news about the class?

(Peace be upon you.)

2 – M2: So far, no class,

3 – M3: wa alaykom assalam man, where were you? It has been a long time.

(Peace be upon you too.)
In this extract, the interaction seemed to be in English. However, M1 initiated the topic with an Arabic greeting of a religious nature. Although M2 did not respond to this greeting which is largely considered to be impolite in Islam, and answered immediately, M3 did. He returned the greeted to M1 before asking about his long absence. The two greetings are romanized, perhaps to stay in line with the matrix language or for ease of typing. However, the two greetings reflect a high degree of intimacy between the participants as shown in the personal ease of answering M1.

It is worth mentioning that reference to Arabic greetings has a high value as a sign of identity. Thus, greetings are not only attested at the beginning of an interaction. On the contrary, this study can cite some instances in which greetings in Arabic mediate the English language of the interaction for the same speaker, as shown in the following extract.

(32)
1 - F1: Oh God, finally, I have a driving licence now.
2 - F2: Congraaaaaaaats, u got to invite us.
3 - F3: *Habeebi*, you deserve it. Gonna see u?

(Darling, you deserve it. Gonna see u?)

4 - F2: She wasn’t perfect though, she failed 3 times hhhhhhhhh.
5 - F1: Shut Moza!!!!! (addressing F2), Iman darling (addressing F3), *Assalumu Alaykom*, ya sure we gonna meet and celebrate, u r invited :) only u!!!!

In this extract, F1 told her friend she had finally obtained a driving licence. F2 congratulated her. F3 answered by switching to Arabic and inserting the word *Habeebi* (my love) which shows intimacy and solidarity between her and F1. Then, F1 answered F2 and F3. She first cursed F2 for mocking her and then she addressed F3. Before she thanked F3 for her compliment, she switched to Arabic and inserted the greeting *Assalumu Alaykom* and then continued in English. Such a switch in the middle of the interaction is a clear indication of the implicative side of the greeting in the sense that it showed identity and reflected intimacy and solidarity as well.

The second type of switching in greetings which reflect religious identity includes greetings that are not purely religious, but rather bear religious connotations. These greetings are not stated in Islam as fixed expressions but they are said in assimilation to other pure religious statements. The essence of these greetings is the use of the word *Alla* to wish others happiness, health,
wealth, peace of mind and more. This type of greeting is extremely common. An example, taken from an interaction between students after a semester break, is given below.

(33)

1 – M1: Miss u guys! Hope u had a wonderful break.

2 – M2: *hayyak Alla* Hamad, mine was disappointing, urs?

   (*God bless you Hamad, mine was disappointing, urs?*)

3 – M3: *hala walla*, it was suuumuuuuummmuper.

   (*Welcome, it was suuumuuuuummmuper.*)

4 – M1: Mine was not 2 bad.

M1 initiated the interaction by asking about his colleagues’ breaks. When M2 answered, he first thanked M1 for contacting them on WhatsApp. To do so, he switched to Arabic and inserted the expression *hayyak Alla* which is contextually equivalent to “God bless you”. The reference to the Arabic greeting in the discourse of English was because of the socio-religious connotations that the word bears which eventually reflects the socio-religious identity of the sender and the participants. In segment 3, when M3 greeted M1, he also did the same. He switched to Arabic and inserted the phrase *hala walla*, which is essentially a welcoming greeting with similar connotations.

In this study’s corpus, it was found that switching to Arabic to respond to a greeting can take the form of a compliment, a wish or praise. Similarly, phrases denoting these functions have a religious connotation and reflect a socio-religious identity. This is clear from the use of the religious term *Allah* in all of these phrases. In the following extract, which took place during exam time, F1 wanted to take a break to ask her friends how they were doing.
F1 began this interaction with the “hi” greeting and asked how her friends were doing in their studies. F2 responded to this greeting with a socio-religious expression that took the form of a compliment. The switch Allah ysalmik, which can be translated as “May Allah protect you”, was intended to be a greeting. The importance of the switch lies in the religious connotation of the Arabic phrase and its association with notions such as identity, intimacy, belonging and solidarity.

**Quotations**

As previously observed, switching to quote someone’s words is one of the dominant functions discussed in the literature (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984). The ultimate goal of a quotation is to add a flavour of credibility and authenticity to the idea raised. In this study, switching to Arabic to quote someone’s speech involves two forms: the first concerns the idea of quoting a person’s words (mostly a teacher’s) for the sake of adding reliability, clarity and precision to the message conveyed. This function was infrequent and the following extract presents an example.

(35)

1 – M1: Guys, how many pages should our reports be?
2 – M2: Six pages.
3 – M3: From one to six.
4 – M2: The teacher said six.
5 – M3: He said (ka7ad aqasittah) … so it can be less.

In this extract, M1 was asking about the length of reports assigned by his teacher in terms of number of pages. When M2 said that it should be six, M3 corrected him by saying it should be
between one and six. In turn, M2 argued that their teacher had said six. At this stage, M3 corrected M2’s information by switching to Arabic and quoting what their teacher had exactly said. The quotation *ka7ad aqsasittah* (maximum six) was aiming to contribute to the validity and reliability of M3’s message. Notice that the switched phrase was given in brackets. In the terminology of Myers-Scotton (1993), this signifies that the switch is ‘marked’; it is unexpected and aims to add a pragmatic message which is, as noted, quoting someone to make a given idea sound valid and reliable.

However, most of the students’ switches with quotations bear an identity and a socio-religious identity in particular. Therefore, a large number of the quotations were related to religion such as quoting a Quranic verse, a saying of the prophet or any other Islamic scholars. In the following example, four men were wishing a speedy recovery to their friend’s father who had been involved in a car accident.

(36)
1 – M1: Is he okay now?
2 – M2: Sort of.
3 – M3: Salamat!! Wish him a speedy recovery.

(Get well!!! Wish him a speedy recovery.)
4 – M4: Do not panic man … we r ready to help.
5 – M5: Sorry for u and for the family.
6 – M2: Thanks brothers!!! We are okay. The doctor said he will be fine!!! *3asa antakrahu shayan wahwa 7ayron lakom.*

(Thanks brothers!!! We are okay. The doctor said he will be fine!!! Do not hate the occurrence of something, because it may be good for you after all.)

In this extract, the four males were sympathizing with their friend and his family and wishing his father a speedy recovery. In the last segment, he thanked them all for their caring and he assured them that he and the family were okay. To add a religious tone to his words, he switched to Arabic and quoted the Quranic verse *3asa an takrahu shayan wahwa 7ayron lakom* (do not hate the occurrence of something, because it may be good for you after all). This quotation was aimed at adding a sense of reliability to his point that they (he and the family) were okay. The strength
of the quotation lies in its religious value and identity in that it symbolizes acceptance of what Allah brings to us.

This type of quotation that brings an identity-based reliability to a given point is shown through a reference to the sayings of the prophet and some other Islamic scholars. In the following extract, F1 had not sat an exam and she had given her teacher a medical report so she could do a resit. The teacher refused to accept it.

(37)

1 – F1: She (the teacher) said to me that she only believes medical reports issued by the school clinic.

2 – F2: She knew that u were lying.

3 – F3: Hhh. Of course she knew!!!! U were fine the day before the exam 😐.

4 – F2: You deserve it @innama ala3mal binnyaat ... hhhh.

(You deserve it @actions are judged based on intentions.)

F1’s friends told her that they were not surprised the teacher did not accept the medical report because she was fine the day before the exam and the teacher would know that she was just claiming to be sick to avoid sitting the exam that day. They were laughing when they told her this which was an indication that they knew that F1 was just making herself sick. F2 concluded by telling F1 that she deserved such a result. To add reliability to her conclusion, she switched to Arabic and quoted part of a saying of the prophet. The quotation *innama ala3mal binnyaat* (actions are judged based on intentions) expresses reference to a statement based on religious identity that Muslims trust as believers. Thus, such insertions have a high reliability value.

In a very few cases, a quotation was not cited by referring to someone’s words or speech; it was done by quoting a name of a historical event that has a symbolic value. This type of quotation is referred to as intertextuality in which a text makes reference to another text to add to its expressive value. In the following extract, M1 was trying to convince the teacher to delay an exam.
In this extract, it seems that M1 went to his teacher’s office as a representative of his friends to convince the teacher to postpone a pre-assigned exam. When M1 asked him whether he had convinced the teacher or not, he replied by saying that he had not. He delivered the news of this failure in three ways: first, he wrote a prolonged “no”; second, he used the harsh expression, “he kicked me out of his office” along with a smile; and, third, he switched to Arabic and quoted the name of a historical event involving someone called “Honayn” which is symbolic. The quotation ‘7offay 7onayn’ literally means “sandals of Honayn”. This expression is used whenever someone fails to do something and returns to his place with nothing. Accordingly, switching to Arabic could contribute to the reliability and strength of the message that M2 wanted to express. However, the switch itself is a token of identity.

In brief, switching from English to Arabic was not arbitrary but rather purposeful in the sense that it served pragmatic effects. Most of the switches found in the corpus reflect cultural, religious and historical identity. This type of identity was not only shown in sociocultural words denoting food, clothes and events, it was also strongly reflected when switching to greet someone with a religious phrase or expression. Interestingly, the same attribute has been shown when switching with quotations. Although, in principle, a quotation serves to strengthen the validity of a given statement by quoting what the concerned person exactly said, this element is illustrated by switching for quotations based on religious identity.
6.4 Summary

This chapter has examined the communicative functions of code-switching from English to Arabic in WhatsApp messages and, in particular, the functionality of insertional code-switching. It also explored the cultural and religious motivations that trigger language switches. Code-switching was observed when the students wanted to use a phrase that was cultural and/or religious in nature. The findings of the study reveal that the students would use sociocultural switches to include words related to general Arabic culture. These words indicate an identity regardless of whether they have English counterparts and they encompass expressions for food, drink, clothes, local events and greetings. Such code-switching allowed the students to use their WhatsApp messages to convey meaning with a higher degree of reliability and identity.
Chapter Seven
Conclusion and recommendations

Code-switching had always been a mystery to me until it was officially and academically introduced to me during the current MA course. Accordingly, I chose code-switching used by bilingual Kuwaiti students in their WhatsApp messages as the topic and focal point of my study. Observing the language used by students while texting and the way they mix Arabic and English while writing their messages aroused my curiosity to the extent that I decided to dedicate more than three months of study to this phenomenon. Another motive behind this research was realising that alternational and insertional mixing in WhatsApp messages had not been previously studied, especially in the eastern region.

In terms of theoretical frameworks, three prominent models are influential contributions to the interactional study of CS. The first is the situational and metaphorical switching introduced by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982), which employs the distinction between ‘we code’ and ‘they code’. Gumperz (1982) considers code-switching as a ‘contextualization cue’ that bilingual speakers take advantage of in a similar way to monolingual speakers’ use of gestures, prosody and other pragmatic and super-segmental features. The second is the Sequential Approach of Peter Auer (1984; 1995; 1998) which makes use of code-switching as ‘a contextualization cue’ in the framework of Conversational Analysis. Thus, this approach adopts the notion of turn-by-turn analysis to arrive at a local interpretation of code-switching. That is, the switch in a given interaction is locally meaningful and shaped through the contributions of the participants in a given interaction.

Electronically-mediated communication has gained much attention in the last ten years. This type of motivation entails mobile- and computer-mediated communication. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) has been widely investigated but mobile-mediated communication has not. Studies conducted in this area made a distinction between synchronous and asynchronous communication. The former concerns instant messages (chat rooms, WhatsApp messages) while the latter involves delayed messages (emails). Areas of interest in electronically-mediated communications expand to online language features (abbreviations, spelling, scripts etc.), the formation of identity, language choice and others. In the field of language choice, considerable effort is devoted to online switching patterns, language choice and identity, script switching and
others (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2013). In principle, this kind of language shares features of both spoken and written language. Features such as abbreviations, emoticons, spelling and substitution of phonemes are examples of spoken characteristics, while having consistent norms of writing is a feature of a written language.

Applying the spoken interactional paradigms to CMC has been problematic for various reasons. For instance, when applying Auer’s sequential approach in synchronous CMC, the turn-taking strategy (which is a key strategy in this approach) is ruled out. Moreover, the temporal gap in asynchronous CMC affects the spontaneity of the switch and restricts its meaning (Androutsopoulos, p. 670). However, Androutsopoulos argues that these limitations have been managed through the use of some CMC features. The use of emoticons and acronyms, as she states, compensates the turn-taking strategies.

This study investigated code-switching in the WhatsApp messages of Kuwaiti students from sociolinguistic and interactional perspectives. It also explored the type of language used in these messages and the functionality of code-switching in WhatsApp communications. This study’s objective was to find answers to a series of questions pertinent to code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual speakers in their WhatsApp messages:

- How often are English and Arabic used in WhatsApp messages?
- How are the switched elements distributed in terms of word class, semantic field and gender?
- What are the communicative functions served by switching from Arabic to English and vice versa?

The study sample comprised 60 male and female bilingual Kuwaiti speakers whose first language was Arabic but who all possessed reasonable bilingual ability. They were all students at a Kuwaiti bilingual school and the participants were chosen from just one school.

The current study’s corpus was four WhatsApp groups: 2 males and 2 females. The total number of participants was sixty students: 40 males and 20 females. All the participants were students in grades 11 and 12 at the same bilingual school. Their ages ranged from 18 to 20.

There were 300 messages initially gathered from the four groups. Of these, only 195 included switches between Arabic and English and they were found and separated from the remainder of
the messages. After exempting the repeated switches, the researcher was left with only 100 messages. To analyze the data, certain stages were carried out to achieve the main goals and objectives of the study: selecting a sample for analysis, distinguishing code-switching from loanwords, classifying code-switching and, finally, categorizing and selecting extracts.

The study found that the phenomenon of code-switching (from Arabic to English and vice versa) was overwhelmingly utilized in the WhatsApp messages of Kuwaiti bilingual students. It also highlighted that a mix of Arabic and English was the most used type of language followed by English and then Arabic. It was also found that the Kuwaiti students used Arabic written in Arabic letters in preference to Arabic in Roman letters. Some words such as *IshLoonak, Hala, AsalaamuAleiku, Esht2telak, y3ttek elaafeya*, and *7ayatii* were frequently used by the participants. There were also some abbreviations which were repeatedly used by the participants such as *gonna, Np, K, LoL, OMG, Bro and Sis*. It was generally clear that switches from Arabic to English dominated the type of switches found in these messages. The analysis of the syntactic categories of switched elements demonstrated that the switched elements varied from lexical words to complete clauses. Evaluating these syntactic categories on a hierarchical scale, nouns proved to be the most frequent syntactic category, clauses were second followed by phrases and adjectives. Adverb switches came last in this hierarchy. With regard to the semantic field, the study found that education was the most frequent semantic field followed by technology, social relations, function words, religion and beliefs and, finally, marketing.

The investigation of the functionality of these switched elements reported that code-switching was used intentionally to serve a communicative function that aimed to facilitate the exchange and enhancement of the message being addressed. In principle, switching from Arabic to English and from English to Arabic was found to be motivated by different functions. When switching from English to Arabic, the switching was shown to be governed by social and religious factors, but when switching from Arabic to English, mainly pragmatic factors were reflected.

The bilingual Kuwaiti students presented a high level of English language proficiency exemplified in the long stretches of switching to fulfil different communicative factors. In particular, this is illustrated in the switches inserted in the Arabic script for prestigious reasons as a way of displaying their language competence. In these cases, the English term was preferred to the Arabic one. In switching from Arabic to English, insertional and alternational switching
methods were employed. The former was dominated by institutional terms that are associated with the educational domain. These are primarily technical words that are considered more appropriate to use when handling certain topics in the educational realm. Moreover, insertional switches were also attested in usages that are euphemistic. This is probably due to the fact that English is considered a symbolic value from which taboo words are less stigmatized as opposed to taboo words in Arabic. Insertions of formulaic expressions that express greetings, goodbyes, and wishes were also common in the study data. These words have become globally associated with the domain of CMC regardless of the base language of the interaction. Auer refers to these expressions as fused lects. In the case of alternational pattern, code-switching to qualify a message was the most striking usage in the data. In most cases, this aimed to clarify a message that had been said in Arabic. Additionally, switching to signal a side comment was also observed. It is noticeable that this procedure has become habitual in the sense that deviating from the topic of interaction by inserting a marginal topic in English is far more polite than doing the same thing in Arabic.

As for switching from English to Arabic, the data shows that this type of switching takes the form of in-group membership and solidarity among the student participants. Nearly all the switches were found to be insertional terms that represent a social and religious flavour. A fact that restricts the use of Arabic terms in the English script is the notion of identity; Arabic words were inserted in the English scripts by the bilingual Kuwaiti students when there was a need to affirm religious and social (local) identity. Switches that reflect Islamic identity were represented by the frequent use of Islamic verses, sayings and habitual wishes. On the other hand, the insertion of Arabic words signalling domestic (Kuwaiti) food and drink, traditions and activities has also been shown to be identity-related.

Finally, in light of the study data, a number of recommendations for future studies are suggested. This study sheds light on a specific mode of CMC – WhatsApp messages. The study is qualitative in nature. For future studies, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (such as questionnaires) is highly recommended to link the attitude of participants to the actual language use. Moreover, the phenomenon of CS should be investigated in different CMC modes, and a systematic comparison among these modes should be conducted. Another significant area that future studies are encouraged to examine is CS patterns and motivations in multilingual
CMC sites. This would give a clearer image about the cross-linguistic manifestations of the phenomenon in CMC.
References


Appendices

Appendix (A)

Ethics check form

1. Name(s) of Applicant: Ahmed El Sayed
2. Department: Humanities and Languages and Social Studies
3. Name of Supervisor: Dr. Amy Wang
4. Title of Project: Code Switching in the context of migration among Yemeni Students
5. Resume of ethical issues: Data Collection and Storage
6. Does the project require the approval of any external agency? [ ] YES [ ] NO
   If YES has approval been granted by the external agency? [ ] YES [ ] NO
7. Statement by Applicant
   I confirm that to the best of my knowledge I have made known all relevant information and I undertake to inform my supervisor of any such information which subsequently becomes available whether before or after the research has begun.
   Signature of Applicant: __________________________ Date: 22/5/2014
8. Statement by Supervisor/Line Manager (please sign the relevant statement).

Approval for the above named proposal is granted
I confirm that there are no ethical issues requiring further consideration.
(Any subsequent changes to the nature of the project will require a review of the ethical considerations):
Signature of Supervisor: Amy Wang Date: 30/5/2014

Approval for the above named proposal is not granted
I confirm that there are ethical issues requiring further consideration and will refer the project proposal to the appropriate Committee**
Signature of Supervisor: __________________________ Date: __________________________

** For work forming part of an MMU taught programme – refer to Faculty Academic Standards Committee
** For work forming part of an MMU research programme – refer to Faculty Research Degree Committee
** For PhD by published work – refer to Research Degree Committee
** For any other work – refer to appropriate Faculty/Department Committee or line manager.
Before completing the Ethical Checklist, the person undertaking the activity should consider the following questions:

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<th>NO</th>
<th>N/A</th>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Will any lines of enquiry cause undue distress or be impertinent?</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Have any relationship between the researcher(s) and the participant(s) other than that required by the academic activity been declared?</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Have the participants been made fully aware of the true nature and purpose of the study?</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Have the participants given their explicit consent?</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Have the participants been informed at the outset that they can withdraw themselves and their data from the academic activity?</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Are due processes in place to ensure that the rights of those participants who may be unable to assess the implications of the proposed work are safeguarded?</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Have any risks to the researcher(s), the participant(s) or the University been assessed?</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>If any academic activity is concerned with studies on activities which themselves raise questions of legality is there a persuasive rationale which demonstrates to the satisfaction of the University that:</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Have the ethical principles and guidelines of any external bodies associated with the academic activity been considered?</td>
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Consent Form

Project: Research
Investigator: Ahmed Samir Elsayed

Please put across in the boxes:

The research has been fully explained to me. [✓]
I have received a written description of the project. [✓]
I understand what I need to do as a volunteer in the project [✓]
I understand that I will not receive a payment for participating in the project [✓]
I understand that I can withdraw from the project at anytime [✓]
I consent to take part in this project [✓]

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<td>A. G.</td>
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- [ ] I understand that I can withdraw from the project at anytime.
- [ ] I consent to take part in this project.

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Appendix (B)

A list of the numerals that are sometimes used in some WhatsApp message in the Romanized Arabic and their IPA

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<th>Example</th>
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<td>7</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>7omar (donkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>7’ad (cheek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>3een (eye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>3'areeb (stranger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>9oot (sound)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9’</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>9’el3 (rib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>6awlah (table)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2al2an (worried)</td>
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</table>
Appendix(C)

WhatsApp messages Used in the Analysis:

(1)

1 – M1: ئىً الاِرساْ تعذ يىِيٓ

(It seems that the exams will be within two days.)

الله يعين: 2 – M2:

(May Allah help us.)

3 – M3: ‘The exam will be next week.’

(Guys, I met our tutor yesterday and he said: ‘The exam will be next week’.)

الله يطمئنك: 4 – M2:

(God bless you.)

5 – M3: ئٕ ىتٕذسط اٌيىَ ؽفد اٌّذسط ولاي

(what are we going to study today?)

والله ما عندي وقت اسوي شي: 6 – M2:

(I don’t have time to do anything?)

اي واللة: 7 – M1:

(You are right?)

ما راح اداوم باكر: 8 – M2:

(I am not attending tomorrow.)

واللة خوش فكرة: 9 – M3:

(It is a good idea.)
1. F1: What did you do yesterday?

2. F2: It was horrible; I had some tests done yesterday and I am expecting the results.

3. F1: When are you getting them “God willing”?

4. F2: “I will get the results next week”

5. F3: May Allah bless you?

6. F2: Thank you girls, you have done your best.

7. F3: When are we going to see you?


10. F3: I will make some coffee.
1 – M1: Hi guys.

(Hello, how are things going with you?)

2 – M2: Hello, how are things going with you?

(I am good. When are we going out?)

3 – M1: I am good. When are we going out?

4 – M2: Tomorrow, God willing, at 9am in Starbucks.

5 – M1: It will be closed.

We open at 9.

(I remember once when I was with my dad in the Avenues branch, I asked the cashier and he said, “We open at 9.”)

6 – M2: “We open at 9”.

(I remember once when I was with my dad in the Avenues branch, I asked the cashier and he said, “We open at 9.”)

7 – M1: why do not we go to the desert?

(why do not we go to the desert?)

8 – M2: desert? These days? I swear to god you are crazy.

(I am kidding)

9 – M1: I am kidding

(I am kidding)

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(I swear to God I do not understand anything from this teacher.)

2 – M2: By the way, Mr. Hafez is the best in the field

(That is true. By the way, Mr. Hafez is the best in the field.)

3 – M3:  

(I swear to God you are right.)

4 – M2:  

(What is wrong with your teacher?)

5 – M1:  

(Miss Salwa says that he is leaving)

6 – M3:  

(This news worth one million dinar)

7 – M2:  

(we want a party)

8 – M1:  

(yeah, you are right)

(5)

1 – M1:  

(It is being said that there is a holiday and the first working day will be Tuesday.)

2 – M2:  

(Yeah, I have heard that too.)

3 – M1:  

(Have you heard that Haneen is tired?)
لا واللة بس ليش العطلة؟

(Not at all. But what is the reason for the holiday?)

واللة مادري: 1

(I have no idea)

وش راح نسوت?

(what are we going to do?)

هلا بالعطلات: 3

(welcome.. Holidays)

1 – M1: شباب تري ما راح اقدر اطلع اليوم

(Hi guys, I will not be able to go out with you today.)

2 – M2: ليش اشفيك

(Why? What is wrong with you?)

مادري بس

3 – M1: I may go out if I am in the mood

(I do not know but I may go out if I am in the mood.)

اوكي خبرني لو غيرت رأيك: 4

(Okay, let me know if you change your mind.)

يا شباب حد ثاني ما يبي يطلع: 5

(is there anybody else does not want to come?)

6-M3: انا

(me)
1 – M1: I feel pity for what is going on in Syria.

(1)

2 – M2: It is only a matter of time.

(2)

3 – M1: The revolutions brought nothing but destruction.

(3)

4 – M2: Not all the revolutions.

(4)

5 – M1: I agree, it was successful in Tunisia.

(5)

6 – M2: It will be successful in Yemen and the other countries too.

(6)

7 - M1: I wish that people will see the truth.

(7)

8 - M2: Which one?

(8)
(The one they want to distort)

(8)

1 – M1: شوتفتم اللي صار في الاخوان المسلمين: (Have you seen what happened to the Muslim Brotherhood?)

2 – M2: مصر اعلنتهم جماعة ارهابية: (Egypt has declared them a terrorist group.)

3 – M1: اي واللة والعالم كلمة قبل القرار: (The whole world accepted this decision.)

4 – M2: Except Britain.

5 – M1: واللة زين منهم البريطانيين: (The British people have taken a good step.)

6 – M1: واللة اني احب البريطانيين: (I swear I like the British people.)

7 – M2: They do not interfere in the countries’ affairs and they do not cause much troubles.

(9)

1 – M1: حصلت سيارة؟: (Have you found a car?)

2 – M2: اللحين: (Not yet.)
(Maxima is your best option.)

(Galaila wa'id rai'lya talab 3000 dinar)

(It is very expensive; its owner wants 3000KD.)

(I swear it is 2400 only)

(I have seen it, that was not the price. I swear it is 2400 only.)

(I do not know what to do.)

(Have you checked the newspaper?)

(No, Not yet.)

(you can get good deals from the newspaper)

(Why do you not buy from Carrefour?)

(I do not like it.)

(There are no other shops like Carrefour.)
(It is always crowded.)

(It is the best place.)

(I know but it is always crowded; I hate it.)

(It is not crowded all the time.)

(Every time I go I find it crowded)

Have you watched the last episode from the Voice?)

(I swear to God, I knew that the Iraqi guy would win.)

(I swear to God, he has a strong personality.)

(I disagree with you, his voice is not good.)

He has a strong personality

(I am not talking about his voice; he has a strong personality.)
ایح عذی (I see.)

برنامج اراب ایدول خوش برنامج: (Arab Idol is a good program)

أي والدة: (You are right)

(You need one)

1 – M1: وش صار علي مشعل؟ (What happened to Meshaal?)

2 – M2: مشعل مجزرها مع صاحبته (Meshaal is busy with his she-friend.)

3 – M1: مع صاحبته شو قصدك (What do you mean by ‘she-friend’?)

4 – M2: اي واللة مع صاحبته (I swear to God he is with his she-friend.)

5 – M1: Do you mean with his girlfriend?

6 – M2: girlfriend (That is it, his girlfriend.)

7- M1: يبيلك واحدة: (You need one)

8- M2: ما ابي: (I see.)
(No thanks)

1 – M1: Salem’s laptop broke down yesterday.

(What has he done?)

3 – M1: Hardware  

(He took it to the agency and they told him it might need hardware.)

4 – M2: I want to buy Mac

(Nothing is better than Mac)

5 – M1: Nothing is better than Mac

(When is the panel guys?)

2 – M2: It will be at two o’clock.

(Some say it will be at two o’clock.)

3 – M1: When is the panel guys?

(God bless you.)

4 – M3: Whose panel?
5-M1: اخو سالم:
(Salem’s brother)

6-M4: ما راح اقدر ابي:
(I won’t be able to come.)

(15)

1 – F1: ابي احضر دورة الانجليزي بس ما ادري متي يبلش:
(I want to attend the English course but I do not know when it starts.)

2 – F2: مكتوب علي الفلاير اللي وزعوة امس:
(It is written on the flyer they distributed yesterday.)

3 – F1: مشكورة حبيتي:
(Thank you darling.)

4-F3: منو بعد راح يحضر:
(who else will attend?)

5-F4: انا راح احضر:
(I will attend)

(16)

1 – F1:انا ما راح اطلع بالفانتين:
(I am not going out on Valentine’s Day.)

2 – F2: حسافا ما راح تطلعين:
(Alas, you are not going out.)

3 – F1: لا حبيب ولا نويس:
(I have no friend or darling.)

(I did not spend the New Year’s Eve at home.)

(Do not misunderstood me honey, I spent the night with my female cousins.)

(You are crazy.)

(It was a fantastic night)

(I know, your female cousins are crazy... they do anything)

(Do any restaurants in Kuwait serve fish and chips?)

1 – F1: Fish and chips

(Do any restaurants in Kuwait serve fish and chips?)
(Pardon, how do you eat fish and chips?)

Yeah, I ate them once in Britain.

(Really)

I swear to god. It is one of the most famous English meals.

Congratulations on buying the 4x4 car.

God bless you.

How much is it?

I am paying in monthly instalments.

It is a nice car

(yea and it is strong too)
7- M1: (but you cannot drive it in the desert)

8- M2: (I know)

(20)

1 – M1: Why were you standing today in class?

2 – M2: (Oh Waleed's father, I cannot find the right words, but I have a severe pain in my buttock these days and I cannot sit down.)

3 - M1: Haaaaaaa, sorry could not help.

4-M2: (It is my entire fault because I talked to you)

5-M1: Do not talk again.

6-M2: (Avoid my sight)

(21)

1 – M1: Have you heard yesterday's breaking news?

2 – M2: (No.)

3 - M1: كامشوا واحدة في الفحاحيل.
(They arrested a woman in the El-fahaheel area.)

4 – M2: شومسية

(What has she done?)

5 – M1: bitch

(I think she is a bitch.)

6 – M2: الله يرحم

(May God bless us.)

7 – M3: اي جريدة

(Which newspaper)

8 – M1: الوطن

(Al-Watan)

9 – M3: ممكن تكون اشاعه

(It might be a rumor)

10 – M1: ما ادري عنهم

(I have no idea whether it is a fact or a rumor)

(22)

1 – F1: بنات متي امتحان الفاينال؟

(When are the final exams?)

2 – F2: في مايو

(In May.)

3 – F1: مشكورة مريوم
(Thank you Maruoom.)

F3: ليش تسالين من الحين؟

(Why are you asking now?)

F1: ابي اعرف متي راح نفلك:

(I want to know when we will finish)

(23)

1 – M1: حاولت اسوي حك الفيديو:

(I have tried to upload the video.)

2 – M2: واش صار:

(What happened?)

3 – M1: النت ضعيف واشفت:

(The internet is slow and I could not do it.)

4 – M2: واش نتك:

(What kind of internet connection are you using?)

5 – M1: زين

(Zain)

6 – M2: زين موشي:

(Zain company is nothing)

7 – M1: واللله حرامية:

(They are thieves)
1 – F1: Why did you not send me the email? (والله دزينه)

I swear to God I have sent it.

Maybe it is in the spam.

(I do not know.)

I will check.

Did you find it?

Nothing is there.

No problem I will resend it.

(25)

1 – M1: feelin sick.

2 – M2: Matshofshar (Lit., I hope you do not see evil.)

3 – M1: Thanks my dear.

4-M2: What’s wrong with you?

5- M1: It is my stomach... it kills me.
6-M2: Have you taken any medicine?

7- M1: No, Not yet.

8-M1: You should go to the hospital right a way.

(26)

1 – M1: Enjoying my time in KFC.

2 – M2: Have fun, you missed the Makboos today.

3 – M1: Don’t tell me.

4- M2: I will invite you later.

5-M1: Please do.

6- M2: Do not worry I will.

7- M1: cant wait.

8-M2: You ve to .

9- M1: Ok.

(27)

1 – F1: We are going to the cinema at 5.

2 – F2: I won’t come.

3 – F1: Why?

4 – F2: I have to go and get my abaya and shela.

5 – F1: Congrats.

6 – F2: Congrats for what? It is just abaya.

7-F1: Yours are different.
8-F2: really??

9-F1: you always surprise us with new and different things?

10-F2: do I???

11-F1: yeah

12- F2: thanks my sweety.

(28)

1 – F1: We are getting ready for Gergean.

2 – F2: Hahahahaha, what are you goin to offer????

3 – F1: A mix of sweets without money hahahahaha.

4 – F2: Hahahahahaha.

5-F1: My little brother and sister cant wait.

6-F2: mine too.

7-F1: I miss these days.

8-F2: we all do. It was nice days.

9-F1: I used to get the biggest amount of sweets.

10-F2: I love sweets very much.

(29)

1 – M1: How you doin guys???

2 – M2: لا هلا وغ. It’s been so long.

(Hello, precious. It’s been so long.)

3 – M1: Yeah, miss u guys.
4-M2: Where have u been?

5-M1: I ve been to Germany with dad.

6-M2: tourism?

7-M1: No, surgery.

8-M2: what was wrong?

9-M1: I do not know much but it is something in his heart.

10-M2: How he feels now?

11-M1: He is getten better.

12-M2: speedy recovery.

13-M1: Thanks.

(30)

1 – F1: It’s Mother’s day.

2 – F2: Big kiss to all mothers.

3 – F1: كل عام وانتتم بخيري/الحلي إم: 
(Many happy returns of the day, my sweet mother.)

4 – F3: Happy Mother’s day.

(31)

1 – M1: Assalamu Alaykom, any news about the class?

(Peace be upon you.)

2 – M2: So far, no class,

3 – M3: wa alaykom assalam man, where were you? It has been a long time.
(Peace be upon you too.)

4-M1: I was so busy.

5-M3: I really missed you.

6-M1: me tooooooooooooooo.

7-M3: Anyways, W B.

8-M1: Thanx Bro.

(32)

1 – F1: Oh God, finally, I have a driving licence noooooow.

2 – F2: Congraaaaaaaaaats, u got to invite us.

3 – F3: Habeebti, you deserve it. Gonna see u?

(Darling, you deserve it. Gonna see u?)

4 – F2: She wasn’t perfect though; she failed 3 times hhhhhhhhhhh.

5 – F1: Shut Moza!!!!! (addressing F2); Iman darling (addressing F3), Assalamu Alaykom, ya sure we gonna meet and celebrate; u r invited ;) only u!!!!

6-F2: Why not the rest of the group.

7-F1: you talk too much.

8-F2; we are just kidding.

8-F1: Ok. So everyone will be invited.

(33)

1 – M1: Miss u guys! Hope u had a wonderful break.

2 – M2: hayyak Alla Hamad, mine was disappointing, urs?
(God bless you Hamad, mine was disappointing, urs?)

3 – M3: hala walla, it was suuuuuuuuuuuuper.

(Welcome, it was suuuuuuuuuuuuper.)

4 – M1: Mine was not 2 bad.

5-M2: I wish we will get more breaks in the future.

6-M3: I am dyin for more breaks.

7-M1: we all do.

(34)

1 – F1: Hi there!! How is it goin with u sweet friends? U so inactive!!????

2 – F2: Allah ysalmik, busy with exams.

(May Allah protect you, busy with exams.)

3 – F2: Feelin bored.

4 – F1: Feelin lost 😞.

5-F2: need to change.

6-F1: Why not going out for change.

7-F2: I wish I could but I have no time.

8-F1: Allah ye3enek.

(May Allah help you.)

(35)

1 – M1: Guys, how many pages should our reports be?

2 – M2: Six pages.

3 – M3: From one to six.
4 – M2: The teacher said six.

5 – M3: He said (ka7ad aqsasittah) … so it can be less.

6-M1: I got thanks.

7-M2: No problem.

8-M3: Any time bro.

(36)

1 – M1: Is he okay now?

2 – M2: Sort of.

3 – M3: Salamat!! Wish him a speedy recovery.

(Get well!! Wish him a speedy recovery.)

4 – M4: Do not panic man … we r ready to help.

5 – M5: Sorry for u and for the family.

6 – M2: Thanks brothers!!! We are okay. The doctor said he will be fine!!! 3asa antakrahu shayan wahwa ‘7ayron lakom.

(Thanks brothers!!! We are okay. The doctor said he will be fine!!! Do not hate the occurrence of something, because it may be good for you after all.)

7-M1: That’s the spirit.

8-M2: I am pretending to be strong.

9-M3: you are.

10-M4: you are the strongest.

11-M2: I do not my mother to see my weaknesses.

12-M1: don’t worry everything is going to be ok.
1 – F1: She (the teacher) said to me that she only believes medical reports issued by the school clinic.

2 – F2: She knew that u were lying.

3 – F3: Hhh. Of course she knew!!!! U were fine the day before the exam 😊.

4 – F2: You deserve it 😊 *innama ala3mal binyaat* ... hhhh.

*(You deserve it 😊 actions are judged based on intentions.)*

5-F1: What should I do now?

6-F2: you need to talk to her again.

7-F1: I do not think it is going to work.

8-F3: She is a caring person and might help you.

(38)

1 – M1: Man!! did u make it?

2 – M2: Nooooooo, he kicked me out of his office 😊. It is totally *(‘7offay 7onayn).*

*(Nooooooo, he kicked me out of his office 😊. It is totally sandals of Honayn.)*

3 – M3: What did he say????????????

4 – M4: I knew it from the beginning ... Fuck him.

5-M1: come on guys.

6-M2: I do not want talk about now.

7-M3: Come on guys. Leave the man alone.

8-M1: we are ready to kick some asses.