Code-Switching in the Emotional Narratives of Bilingual Speakers of English and Arabic

Yasmeen Alruwaili
University of Mississippi

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CODE-SWITCHING IN THE EMOTIONAL NARRATIVES OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AND ARABIC

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in second language studies: Applied Linguistics
in the Department of Modern Languages
The University of Mississippi

Yasmeen Alruwaili
December 2023
ABSTRACT

This study explores code-switching (CS) in the emotional narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Exploring the immigrant Arab community in Mississippi, USA contributes to the literature gap and provides valuable insights into the correlation between code-switching and bilingual identities in various emotional, social, and cultural contexts. This study examines the complex relationship between linguistic choices, cultural identity, and emotional expressions in bilingual contexts, offering cross-linguistic and cross-cultural insights into code-switching practices. It also seeks to investigate the types of linguistic structures that appear in the narratives of bilingual speakers and the reasons behind their choices.

In order to carry out this research, a three-task qualitative methodology was used: a questionnaire to collect personal and linguistic background information, observation of an emotional narrative, and semi-structured interviews to accomplish the research goals. Hymes' SPEAKING Model (1967) is used in conjunction with thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017) and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) (Myers-Scotton, 1993) to analyze the contexts and patterns of code-switching, as well as the reasons, types, and structures of code-switching used in emotional narratives. Findings reveal that social and cultural factors play a significant role in language choice and CS in bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. The reasons for CS vary depending on the context of communication, the topic, interlocutors, and the language proficiency of speakers and interlocutors. Bilingual speakers alternate between English and Arabic to convey emotions, showcase their cultural and social identity, adhere to cultural norms, and expectations. The linguistic findings show three types of CS occur in the narratives of
bilingual speakers: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS. These types of CS appear in different structures, which all pertain to the language proficiency levels in both English and Arabic.

*Keywords*: code-switching, bilingualism, Arab-American bilingual, emotions, narratives.
DEDICATION

To my beloved father
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Code Switching</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLF</td>
<td>Matrix Language Frame</td>
</tr>
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<td>EL</td>
<td>Embedded Language</td>
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<td>MM</td>
<td>Markedness Model</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>Right and Obligation</td>
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<td>L1</td>
<td>Native Language</td>
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<td>L2</td>
<td>Second Language</td>
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<td>LX</td>
<td>Any number of learned, used, or forgotten languages.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Communication Accommodation Theory</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my mother. Without her unwavering love and support, I would not be where I am today in my academic journey. She has been my rock for the past five years, always there to lift me up and encourage me during the tough times. She never gave up on me, even when I lost faith and doubted myself. I cannot thank her enough for all she has done for me. I hope these words convey just how much I love and appreciate her. She is the reason for my success, and I will always be grateful to her.

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During this challenging journey, I am grateful for the support and understanding of my wonderful friends, colleagues, and the fantastic participants who were kind enough to share their experiences.
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

As a human communication system, language enables us to transmit and share our experiences by expressing thoughts and feelings. In that sense, language is a vital part of who we are, revealing our social, cultural, and personal identities. Although expressing those aspects of human experience in a language other than one’s mother tongue may be challenging, we should also consider bilingual and multilingual speakers.

Bilingual speakers tend to associate their languages with unique emotional experiences (Pavelnko 2005), which could be attributed to variations in emotional expression across different cultures, as noted by Dewaele in 2020. Studies have shown that bilingual speakers code-switch when emotional (Williams et al., 2020), but evidence about the link between code-switching and emotions is limited to clinical case studies (Aragno & Schlachet, 1996; Foster, 1996; Javier, 1989; Marcos & Alpert, 1976; Movahedi, 1996; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983; Santiago Rivera & Altarriba, 2002, as cited by Williams et al., 2020), and self-report studies (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2010, 2008). Pavlenko (2012) suggests that bilingual speakers use code-switching for emotional regulation, choosing what they find most appropriate when speaking with another bilingual, regardless of the language context (Panayiotou, 2010). In such situations, code-switching is intentional to achieve particular social ends (Myers-Scotton, 1998).

This dissertation aims to investigate code-switching in a bilingual/bicultural setting. It describes the correlation between code-switching in the emotional narratives of English and
Arabic bilingual speakers related to sadness and love. Furthermore, it examines the types of linguistic structures as they appear in the stories of bilingual speakers. These particular emotions have been chosen based on a pilot study that I conducted on two adult female early bilingual speakers of Arabic and English who experienced both cultures and languages. One of the previous findings showed cultural differences in how emotions are used and expressed. Love and sadness are expressed differently because of cultural conventions: Arabic culture prefers to express love indirectly through deeds, consistent with Dewaele (2008) love is expressed and perceived differently in different cultures, for example, in Chinese and Czech. In expressing sadness, the pilot study showed cultural differences, for example, using religious terms and expressions in Arabic cultural and social contexts. Arabic is closely tied to its speakers' religious identity; thus, using religious expressions is crucial in displaying that identity. When faced with a sad experience, individuals project their religious identity by employing formulaic expressions related to religious beliefs, regardless of their language proficiency and cultural background, which reflects a deep understanding of the social, cultural, and linguistic differences in two distinct cultures (Zentella, 1997).

This study delves into code-switching as it relates to expressing emotions from both linguistic and sociolinguistic viewpoints. Linguistically, it examines the various types and structures of code-switching that occur when bilingual speakers of English and Arabic express their emotions. From a social perspective, it investigates the reasons behind code-switching and its correlation with social, cultural, and identity factors. This work's theoretical framework is based on Dell Hymes' Ethnography of Communication (1960s). According to Hymes, speech cannot be viewed in isolation but is instead influenced by various sociological and cultural factors that shape its linguistic form and meaning. This work hypothesizes that there may be a
correlation between cultural and social contexts and emotional code-switching in the narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic.

The goals of this work are:

1) to describe the code-switching in the emotional narrative of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic.

2) to examine to what extent cultural and social contexts correlate to code-switching.

3) to explore reasons for code-switching in the bilingual speakers’ narratives.

4) to examine how code-switching in these situations correlates to bilingual identity.

5) to describe the types and the structure of code-switching in the narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic.

More specifically, the research questions of this dissertation are:

1. Do English-Arabic bilinguals code switch when expressing their feelings of love and sadness?

2. If the English-Arabic bilinguals use CS, which contexts do they believe correlate with their CS?

3. How do English-Arabic bilinguals believe that their CS correlates to their identity in these situations?

4. What are the reasons for CS?

5. What are the types and structures of CS?

### 1.1. Purpose of Study

This current study aims to obtain an in-depth understanding of code-switching (hereafter, CS) in the emotional narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. It uses narratives to explore
the use of CS in expressing specific emotional experiences, followed by a semi-structured interview to understand their perception of using CS and why. Additionally, it uses these narratives to explore their perception of their perceived identity in two different languages and cultural contexts.

1.2. Significance of the Study

The significance of this dissertation lies in examining CS through the narratives of emotional experiences of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Exploring the correlation between CS and bilingual identities in various emotional, social, and cultural contexts provides valuable insights for sociolinguistics. One significant contribution of this study is addressing the gap in the literature regarding CS in emotional narratives among English-Arabic bilingual speakers, delving into the culture and identity aspects within the Arab community in the USA, which is an understudied group. Focusing on this particular group provides cross-linguistic and cross-cultural insights into CS practices, allowing comparisons between two linguistically and culturally distinct languages. Because this dissertation examines bilingual speakers' emotional CS and identity, it contributes to our understanding of how language choices intertwine with cultural identity, heritage language maintenance, and negotiating identity. Also, exploring how emotions are linguistically expressed through CS has implications for understanding cultural nuances in expressing feelings in bilingual contexts.

In addition, it has some practical applications in other fields, such as education; it can inform language teaching strategies for bilingual educators and instructors. Designing more effective language learning programs that incorporate the emotional aspect of language use facilitates English language learners' understanding of the subtle differences in conveying
emotions and personal experiences between English and Arabic, especially in emotionally charged situations where cultural differences come into play. Lastly, this study may open a new avenue for future research on emotions and CS from psychological and cognitive perspectives.

1.3. Chapter Summary

Chapter II extensively examines the literature on CS in emotional narratives, covering various topics such as bilingualism, CS, borrowing, culture, emotions, and identity. It explores different definitions of bilingualism and criteria for identifying bilingual speakers. The literature on CS is reviewed, including its definition, theories on CS in sociolinguistics, and types of CS, highlighting the differences between CS and borrowing. Chapter II discusses emotions, cultural differences, and CS in emotional experiences and identity. Furthermore, it covers narrative methodology, observer’s paradox, SPEAKING model, thematic analysis, and Matrix Language Frame (MLF). The chapter aims to provide a clear understanding of the relevant concepts, theories, and methods used to analyze bilingual emotional narratives.

Chapter III introduces an overview of the research methodology, presenting a detailed overview of the research design, instruments, participants, data collection, and data analysis chosen to fit the purpose of this study.

Three different qualitative research methods were used to examine this phenomenon from a sociolinguistic perspective:

1. An open-ended questionnaire was distributed to gather background and linguistic information.

2. The participants were observed in pairs while narrating stories related to love and sadness.
3. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to discuss their narratives and reasons for CS and the connection between their language choices, culture, social contexts, and identities.

This study recruited adult male and female English-Arabic bilingual speakers who are first-generation Arab immigrants. They reside in a small Arab community in Mississippi in the United States. These participants acquired their two languages at an early stage. The sociolinguistic analysis process involves two stages: (1) using the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1967) for both narrative and interview tasks and (2) using thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017) to decide the reasons and types of CS. In the linguistic analysis phase, the Matrix language Frame (MLF) (Myers-Scotton, 1993) examines CS at both the sentence and whole language levels. This model helps to determine the linguistic structures and forms of CS.

Using thematic analysis in conjunction with Hymes' SPEAKING model offers a comprehensive examination of the data. Hymes' model helps understand how cultural norms and values shape communication by examining the participants' backgrounds and language choices, emphasizing the sociocultural and contextual aspects of the communication. The thematic analysis identifies recurring themes and patterns by providing a detailed understanding of the content. Using both methodologies provides a richer interpretation of the data by describing CS patterns in the data and explaining why they occur in specific contexts, how they relate to cultural norms, and what they signify within the emotional narratives.

Chapter IV presents the findings from the qualitative analysis of the CS in the narrative of emotions of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. It discusses the social and linguistic results, providing examples and excerpts from the participants’ stories and interviews to support the findings and discussion. The findings are divided into two sections: the sociolinguistic
section presents the contexts of CS, reasons for CS, and identity in expressing emotions. The linguistic section discusses the narratives and interview responses at two levels: the language and the sentence level.

Chapter V discusses the findings of the social and linguistic analysis of the CS in the narratives of emotions of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. It examines the results obtained from data analysis, including examples, excerpts from the participants’ narratives, and interviews supported by other studies. The discussion chapter provides conclusions for the research questions based on data from the questionnaire, observation, and interviews. It examines the contexts, reasons, types, and structure of CS.

Chapter VI wraps up the research findings and discussion, summarizing the results of this study, revisits the research questions, and examines their validity in the data obtained from bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Furthermore, it addresses the limitations of this study and different directions for future research.
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Emotions help people thrive in communities (Oaska-Ponikwia, 2013) and allow them to interact and share their experiences with others (Wierzbicka, 1992). The interaction and sharing of emotions require a mutual understanding of how people express their emotions in a given language and the cultural conventions in a particular setting. Based on the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), speakers and interlocutors of a specific community recognize that the choice of a particular code is either accommodation or divergence, and they have to associate these codes with specific scripts and users (Myers-Scotton, 1998; Giles & Coupland, 1991, as cited by Myers-Scotton, 1998). Following this line of thought, expressing some emotions, such as sadness, could trigger CS as the speakers adjust their speech in specific social interactions because of the cultural differences between Arabic and English.

According to Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (MM) (1998), individuals who belong to a particular speech community exploit the relationship between a linguistic variety and who uses it and how. She suggests that in each interaction, unmarked, expected, right, and obligatory (RO) exchanges exist (Myers-Scotton, 1998), and marked exchanges may exist too. The participants who engage in communication may make marked choices with CS when the speakers wish consideration from the listeners. CS is not random but can be a deliberate choice by the speakers to draw attention to the message.

Bilingualism offers new perspectives on the relationship between language and culture
(Wierzbicka, 2004). Early bilingual/bicultural speakers are considered experts in language and culture, as they acquire both languages and are exposed to the cultures early in life. This study examines how bilingual speakers of English and Arabic, who learned both languages at an early age, use CS to express emotions in both languages. It also explores how culture correlates to the expression of emotions in both languages and how language and culture are tied to the identity of the speakers.

The following sections discuss bilingualism, code-switching, borrowing, culture, emotions, and identity.

2.1. Bilingualism

2.1.1. Who are Bilingual Speakers?

The terms “bilingual” and “bilingualism” refer to the ability to use two languages. However, the terms have many definitions in the literature, which are related to aspects such as the level of proficiency in both languages, age of acquisition, and sometimes language dominance and context.

It is not easy to provide an accurate definition of bilingualism due to its numerous interpretations and associated definitions. On the proficiency level, Grosjean (2010, 2013) describes the idea that bilinguals have perfect and equal knowledge of both languages as a common myth. Bilingual and multilingual speakers have differing abilities in two or more languages. Regarding the age of acquisition, some scholars believe that speakers are considered bilingual when they acquire their languages as children, which means that they acquire both languages simultaneously at the same level and without an accent (Grosjean, 2014). Using two or more languages may vary from native-like competence to survival skills. Also, one language
could have different varieties and accents, which makes the issue even more complicated. Multilingualism involves different degrees of command of the abilities of all languages (Wardhaugh, 2010). In other words, individuals are bilingual or multilingual when they have some abilities and competence in all the languages that they use. According to Bloomfield's (1933) definition, considered one of the earliest definitions of bilingualism, a bilingual speaker is a perfect foreign language learner with a native-like control over the two languages. However, this definition may ignore other bilingual speakers who do not have native-like abilities but can communicate using the L2 appropriately. Most bilingual speakers do not resemble the 'perfect' bilinguals mentioned in Bloomfield's definition (Grosjean, 2015).

Most of the definitions of the term “bilingualism” focus on the native and non-native abilities in controlling two or more languages, which was criticized (in Grosjean, 1992, and others) as ignoring and excluding those who acquire their languages in different contexts and different stages in their lives. Romaine (1995) argues against the use of words like 'perfect' and 'native-like' bilinguals, as they could refer to other bilinguals as 'late' and 'deficient,' who still are users of two or more languages even though their abilities do not match other bilingual speakers. The term L2 user was introduced by Cook (2003) to avoid the term 'non-native,' in which he defines the bilingual speaker as the individual who uses the L2 for everyday life. This definition is inclusive since the term 'user' includes all the purposes of language use. Dewaele (2018) proposes a definition for using two or more languages as the L2 vs. LX user's dichotomy. LX refers to any number of learned, used, or forgotten languages. The LXs can be equal to or more advanced than the L1, so it does not imply any heritage or proficiency level. The proficiency level variation could be part of the L1s and LXs due to the multi-competence in the users' languages (Pavlenko, 2005). A looser definition of “bilingualism” is the ability to use one of the
four language skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking), even to a minimal degree (Macnamara, 1969). Thus, bilingualism can include speakers with limited or lower levels of competence in the other language.

Grosjean (2015) argues that bilinguals cannot have equal knowledge of both languages. Instead, he proposes a new definition of bilingualism based on language fluency and use. According to this definition, bilinguals learn and use their languages in different contexts and purposes. If one of their languages is used less frequently and with a limited number of people, it may not be as developed as the other language used more often and in various domains.

Bilingual speakers are defined by Grosjean (2010) as those who use two languages or dialects in their everyday conversations. Unlike other definitions, his emphasis is on language use rather than fluency. Moreover, his definition includes dialects, not only languages, since bilingual speakers use their languages in different situations, with different people, and for different purposes. It is important to note that some bilinguals are dominant in one language, and not all have equal abilities in all language skills; for instance, some may be unable to read or write in one language. Therefore, Grosjean's definition uniquely highlights the importance of language use over fluency.

In the context of this dissertation, the English-Arabic bilingual is an individual who acquires both languages early in life before puberty. Hence, this group consists of early immigrants, raised in the USA and a second generation of immigrant families. This group speaks the two languages fluently and uses them in different social and cultural contexts. They live in an Arab community in the USA, exposing them to Arabic and American cultures. When individuals learn multiple languages in a natural environment at a young age, it raises the question of
whether they switch between those languages, particularly when expressing emotions, since it is the goal of this dissertation.

An additional question that arises is whether the differences between cultures, as reflected in their respective languages affect how emotions are communicated. Individuals who speak a second language and reside in a foreign country may interpret emotions differently due to their exposure to a foreign language (Pavlenko, 2005). According to Pavlenko (2008), emotional concepts can differ across languages, perhaps due to cultural differences because different contexts may be associated with different emotional responses. However, these reactions are not inherently tied to a particular language (Panayiotou, 2010).

2.2. Code-Switching (CS)

Any language or dialect that people use in any communication setting is called a ‘code.’ It is usual for any language speaker to use different varieties of their language. Arabic speakers, for instance, use the standard and regional varieties of the language, depending on the situation. It is also common to use different languages in the same communication. For example, Moroccan speakers of Arabic may use Arabic, French, or Tamazight, depending on the situation (Wardhaugh, 2010). To keep their community's “ways of speaking,” native speakers have a tacit knowledge of how to use the language appropriately according to different speech situations (Hymes, 1974, as cited by Zentella, 1997). Likewise, bilingual children in a speech community alternate between their two languages' repertoire to adjust to certain situations; they know how, when, and where to use each language and how they may be used together in a single utterance (Zentella, 1997).
The sociolinguistic dimensions of CS concern when and in which situations CS occurs (Thuy, 2015). There are different approaches to analyzing why and in which situations CS occurs: The macro level approach explains individual language choices derived from societal norms and structures (Thuy, 2015). On the flip side, the micro level approach focuses on the interlocutors of the conversation and their relationship to concluding speech behavior (Thuy, 2015). Therefore, language choice is not a random matter but a social behavior (Li Wei, 2000). Ferguson (1959) argues that, in any community, the coexisting languages are likely to have different functions and be used in different contexts (Li Wei, 2000).

2.2.1. What is Code-Switching?

CS is a linguistic process whereby speakers of different languages or varieties of the same languages switch between the languages or varieties depending on the situation. It is also defined as using multiple languages in the same interaction situation (Heller, 1988). In 1988, Heller examined CS from a functionalist perspective. According to this perspective, CS is a strategy to level or maintain boundaries. This strategy works effectively when the participants in the communication course share social conventions.

Gumperz (1982) presents CS as juxtaposition exchanging within two different grammatical systems within the same speech. In the same way, Poplack (1980) defines CS as mixing of two or more languages in discourse, which may occur at any level of linguistic structure.
Example:

(1) Chicano professional in California, exchanging goodbyes (Sp-E).

A. well, I’m glad I met you.
B. Andale pues (‘O.K. swell’). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59)

(2) A college student in India, telling an anecdote (H-E):

Mai gaya jodhpur me (‘I went to Jodhpur’). There is one professor of Hindi there, he is phonetician. To us-ne pronouns kiya apne vias-se (‘so he pronounced it in his own voice’). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 60).

Examples 1 and 2 provided by Gumperz (1982) were obtained from recording natural talks from Hindi and Spanish bilingual communities, whose speakers are fluent in both languages and use them daily (Gumperz, 1982). The speakers communicate fluently in these exchanges, maintaining the interaction flow without hesitation or pausing. The exchange indicates that the speakers understand each other (Gumperz, 1982).

Every speech community has two or more different varieties or languages (Myers-Scotton, 1998). According to Myers-Scotton (1998), speakers choose one code over the other because of the benefits they may get. Choosing one or both codes occurs when speakers are competent in both languages and when both speakers and interlocutors know both languages well enough to distinguish between them during their speech (Rouchdy, 2001). Speakers may decide to switch from one code to another or mix codes to create a new one, known as “code-switching” (Wardhaugh, 2010).

In expressing emotions by bilingual speakers, it is crucial to identify what influences the speakers to switch to specific codes from their sets of language repertoire to express specific emotions. Participants, content, and setting are the significant factors that govern CS (Pang, 2010). The participants' characteristics, such as age, ethnicity, gender, language proficiency, and preference, influence the choice of a language and CS (Pang, 2010).
When examining multilingual societies, it is crucial to consider the factors that determine code choice on a given occasion (Wardhaugh, 2010). As Wardhaugh (2010) discussed, these factors are the choice of a particular code, switching and mixing between codes, and what influences this choice. For bilingual speakers who learn English and Arabic early, CS may occur where both the speaker and interlocutor have a mutual understanding of both languages and share the same social and cultural experiences. The speakers may use CS to express a particular emotional expression for social and cultural reasons. CS is a helpful communication resource as it takes place unconsciously and is not only used to fill linguistic needs (Grosjean, 1983), but also as a communicative strategy used to convey linguistic and social information (Grosjean, 1983).

There is a community pattern of choosing and changing language (Zentella, 1997); some factors contribute to the changing patterns, including the physical setting, the linguistics and social identities of the participants, and the addressee and the listeners. Also, the location of the interaction and the occasion may influence the choice of the language. Zentella (1997) sheds light on essential points regarding the changing of the language during interaction, which shows respect for the community's values and the symbolic value of the language. Changing between languages and choosing one language over the other in an interaction is made with anticipation of some outcomes; "this social and linguistic knowledge is built up over years of participating in interactional activities in their cultural setting" (Zentella, 1997, p. 83).

CS is a known practice for early language learners and those with a balanced exposure to both languages (Gumperz & Hernandez, 1969). There are many reasons for this practice, some of which are discussed by Grosjean (1983):
• Bilingual speakers switch when they cannot find appropriate words or expressions or when one of the languages does not have the items or a sufficient translation for the expressions and words needed.

• Some languages express some notions better than others.

• There are some fixed phrases and topics that are related to particular topics, such as greetings.

• To show solidarity or exclude others.

• When discussing a particular topic with a lack of facility in one of the bilingual languages.

Bahatia (2004, as cited by Alrowais, 2012) conducted a study in the USA about bilingualism in which the findings showed that Saudi English learners reported that they switch to English to show politeness, particularly in situations where the words are taboo in the Arabic language and culture, such as cursing. Another example is an engineering student from Saudi Arabia studying in the USA who mentioned switching to English to demonstrate his technical expertise. As in the above examples, CS is common for late learners to switch using their L2 for different reasons, such as showing identity or prestige or for euphemism.

In 2001, Rouchdy conducted a study on an Arab American community residing in Detroit. The Arab community in Detroit "is a unique laboratory for the study of Arabic as an ethnic minority language because Detroit metropolitan area has the largest concentration of Arabs outside the Arab world" (Rouchdy, 2001, p. 133). Most of her data was obtained from a particular neighborhood in Detroit from spontaneous interviews with people in their authentic cultural and social contexts, such as weddings, stores, and family gatherings, and spontaneous interviews of older people of this community conducted by her colleague Seikaly. Seikaly's
interviews aimed to examine the oral history of Palestinian Americans and not the language of this group, but they provided very insightful data to study CS and borrowing. Rouchdy's study focused on borrowing and CS by observing these phenomena in their natural conditions. One of the groups she examined was bilingual Arab Americans, who use both languages for many functions. They are well-educated newcomers, Arabs married to Americans, or first-generation immigrants. Her study examines how language contact and conflict can explain the changes in the spoken language used by the second, third, and fourth generations of Arab Americans. The Arabs in her study speak different dialects of Arabic, as they are immigrants from different Arab countries. She found that the use of language depends on the social surroundings, in this case, the neighborhood in which they live. For example, the Arabs who live in a neighborhood inhabited mainly by Arabs speak only Arabic. At the same time, the newcomers, highly educated and of mixed families (Arab and American), are bilingual Arabs who use both English and Arabic. This study is significant because it is one of the rare examinations of CS and borrowing investigating an Arab community in the USA. Also, it concentrated on collecting data from natural cultural and social settings, similar to what this study aims to investigate. Specifically, this study intends to explore the social and cultural environments associated with CS when narrating personal stories and experiences.

There is a debate regarding why people code switch with some suggesting it is due to either pragmatic knowledge or the lack of lexical and grammatical knowledge. De Houwer (2005) suggests that children's utterances show their awareness of social norms, indicating that bilingual speakers are pragmatically competent, and that CS behavior reflects their awareness. Therefore, CS behavior may reflect their grasp of language norms in different social settings.
CS in bilingual speakers may reveal a high competency in grammatical use (Poplack, 1980; Grosjean, 2010); switching between languages in bilingual speakers may indicate that they are fully aware that some expressions are restricted by culture and social norms.

Holmes (2001) provides many reasons for CS, including privacy, identity creation, fitting in, and solidarity within the community. CS may express affection, anger, happiness, and sadness. For example, Al-Khatib's (2003) study focuses on language choice when Arabic-English bilinguals code-switch without formality-based social restrictions. She explained in one of her examples that the participant used marked intra-sentential language alternation to express annoyance:

W in O9: (*ah ana ba rif* no way!)
(Oh, I know... no way!" (Al-Khatib, 2003, p. 414).

Poplack (1980) states, "Code-switching is a verbal skill requiring a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other … [R]ather than representing deviant behavior, [it] is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence" (p. 615). CS follows strict constraints, and bilinguals must be competent in both languages to code-switch (Grosjean, 2010).

CS has different types: extra-switching, inter-sentential, and intra-sentential. CS, for example, can involve one word, a phrase, a sentence, or several sentences from the other language (Grosjean, 1982). Extra-switching (‘for example,’ ‘you know,’ ‘so,’ and fillers) is flexible because it can be inserted without violating the syntactic rules (Pang, 2010). The difference between this type of switch and borrowing is that it is not integrated; instead, there is a total shift to the other language (Grosjean, 1983). Inter-sentential (as in 2) involves switching on the sentence boundaries (Grosjean, 1982), while intra-sentential switching refers to a within a sentence switching.
Example:

(2) *Mai gaya jodhpur me* (‘I went to Jodhpur’). There is one professor of Hindi there, he is phonetician. *To us-ne pronouns kiya apne vias-se* (‘so he pronounced it in his own voice’). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 60).

(3) Go and get my coat *aus dem Scharank da* (‘out of the closet there’). (E-G). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 60).

(4) That has nothing to do *con que hagan ese* (‘with the fact that they’re doing this’). (E-S). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 60).

In 3 and 4, CS occurs within a single sentence; the two grammatical systems are combined in one utterance to form one message, and its interpretation depends on the understanding of both parts (Gumperz, 1982).

### 2.2.2. Situational and Metaphorical Code-Switching

Blom and Gumperz (1972) identify two types of linguistic practices that hold different social meanings:

1. **Situational CS:** Language choice changes based on changes in the situation, such as the setting and the participants.

2. **Metaphorical CS:** Language choice changes to achieve communication effects while the setting and interlocutors remain the same.

Situational CS is when the social situation changes, different norms, interactional rights, and relations between speakers occur (Swann et al., 2004). People use a specific code or language in certain situations, especially during religious or ceremonial events. Metaphorical CS is defined as changing the code as people redefine the situation, from formal to informal, politeness to solidarity, which may be used when talking with other bilinguals who share the same languages and experiences. The term ‘metaphorical CS’ is not prompted by a change in the situation; instead, it pertains to the use of two languages within a single social setting with the
same interlocutors (Thuy, 2015). It is used to achieve a specific communication effect and to convey meaning through language choice (Thuy, 2015).

Bilingual individuals who speak Arabic and English may switch between the two languages when using religious expressions like "Insha Allah," which means "if God wills."

Example from Almahmoud (2021), “Excerpt 2 Iman-Amy | English-allocated turn
1. Amy: ah, I'm going home in November, for the Thanksgiving holiday,
2. and so maybe you can meet my sisters
3. Iman: okay uh uh, in Atlanta s'ah? okay uh uh in Atlanta, right?
4. Amy: yes! in Atlanta
5. Iman: ah okay inshallah I want to see
6. Amy: yeah inshallah
7. Iman: ((Iman talks to someone behind her screen)) (p. 265).

The switch in the previous excerpt is for cultural reasons, using the religious expression “Inshallah.” According to Al-Rowais (2012), CS occurs mainly in greeting situations, which could be related to the religious basis that goes hand in hand with the Arabic language.

'Alhamdulillah,' which means 'praise be to God,' is considered one of the components of the Arabic verbal greeting system, which signifies several CS instances that are present in the interaction of Arabic speakers regardless of their country of origin (Woolard (2004), as cited by Al-Rowais, 2012). CS, in these situations, depends on the context and the interlocutors. The speaker and the hearer should be familiar with the term and its use because the category of the participants determines situational CS (Heller, 1988).

CS characterizes many speech communities worldwide where two or more communities live in close contact (Zentella, 1997). According to Zetella (1997), it is usually confused with borrowing; for example, londri 'laundry' lonchar 'lunch,' biles' bills' and el bloque 'the block' are English words that have been used and adapted phonologically and morphosyntactically by monolingual Spanish speakers in NYC to the extent that they think it is part of the Spanish lexicon (Zentella, 1997). It is challenging to distinguish borrowing from CS, especially with
bilingual speakers, as some words may become integrated into one of their languages (Zentella, 1997).

### 2.3. Borrowing

One of the outcomes of the contact situations in bilingual and monolingual societies is borrowing. Haugen (1950) discusses borrowing as the process of reproduction, in which bilinguals reproduce patterns of a language that are different from their language and reproduce them in the context of another language.

*Borrowing* can be defined as fully or partially adapting words from one language to another. The language from which the words have been borrowed is called the donor, and the language that borrowed these words is called the recipient. *Borrowing* is a process that occurs directly when two cultures are in contact for some time or indirectly when modern technology (radio, television, social media) and globalization introduce a new way of cultural contact. Vocabulary and phonology are the language types borrowed more rapidly than morphology and syntax.

Borrowing is an example of the description of external linguistic influences since it deals with the social and historical study of languages but not the internal linguistic systems of languages. It shows the history and culture of the contact between two or more languages and cultures. Haugen (1950) also mentions that using language patterns from two languages is not a random mixing because the speaker switches from one language to another during actual speech or inserts one word or phrase.

A question about the problem of distinguishing between borrowing and CS has been raised by scholars such as Heller (1988). Different approaches are used to distinguish between
the two. Myers-Scotton (1988) uses the level of significance of the social item: If the item carries social significance, it is then CS. On the other hand, Poplock (1988) refers to the phenomenon that once occurs as “nonce borrowing,” which differs from CS. For her, the item is “nonce borrowing” once enough speakers use it and accept it in their language dictionary. Two approaches distinguish between CS and borrowing (Boztepe, 2003). One is associated with Poplack's view (1978, 1980, 1981, as cited by Boztepe, 2003). For Poplack, CS, and borrowing are connected with different mechanisms. Unlike Poplack's view, from the perspective of Myers-Scotton (1993) and Bentahila and Davis (1983) (as cited by Boztepe, 2003), insertion and alternations are two forms of CS. For the first group, lone items are different from longer utterances of switches. For the second group of researchers, the distinction between CS and borrowing is not critical to analyzing bilingual speech.

Rouchdy (2003) defines ‘borrowing’ as transferring lexical items from one language to another. According to her, borrowed items "are either unchanged or inflected like words of the same grammatical category in the borrowing language" (Rouchdy, 2003, p. 136). In borrowing, the speakers are not necessarily competent in both languages, and borrowing could occur easily on all linguistic levels regardless of the differences between the language systems. For example, Rouchdy (1992, as cited in Rouchdy, 2001) found that the most significant number of borrowings from English to Arabic was in the noun category; some of these borrowed nouns are new to the Arab speakers, and some of them already exist in the Arabic language, as in *is-citizen' the citizen' and *il-livingroom 'the living room' (Rouchdy, 2003, p. 137). Rouchdy's (2001) research reveals a difference in borrowing patterns between educated and less educated speakers. She found that verbs are the second largest borrowed items among the group's speakers, which
she refers to as 'unnecessary' borrowing, resulting from the substantial contact between the Arabic and English in this immigrant community.

The following are some examples of CS/ borrowing obtained from a study conducted by Rouchdy (2001) on bilingual speakers of Arabic and English in the USA:

10) kolmi bukre
   “Call me tomorrow”
14) I see inti sayrah muthqaah
   “I see you became educated”
15) I swear inti majnuuna
   “I swear you are crazy” (p. 139).

2.4. Emotion, Language, and Culture

2.4.1. Emotion

There is no precise definition of emotion. However, emotion is a complex conscious experience that involves bodily sensations and behavioral changes reflecting the personal significance of things and events (Roberts, 1984). The focus of this study is to describe the correlation between emotional narratives related to love and sadness and CS. The aim is to demonstrate how cultural and social factors influence participants' perception of language choices that correlate with their emotional experience rather than exploring the emotional experience itself.

2.4.2. Culture, Language, and Emotions

The study of bilingualism has much literature as a phenomenon related to psychology. The psychological dimension of bilingualism is related to the internal mental world of bilinguals, for instance, how the two or more languages process in the mind, how bilinguals perceive the world, how they express their emotions, and the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. Since this study focuses on CS and its interaction with social and cultural dimensions of bilingualism, it does not address psycholinguistic aspects.
According to Dewaele (2001) and Pavlenko (2003), the first language is often associated with emotions. They conducted a study using the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ) on 1,579 adults from different cultures and languages. The results showed that people prefer using their first language when swearing, and that swear words in the first language carry more emotional weight than those in the L2 or the LX. L2 or LX users used swear words instead of their L1s for cultural and social reasons, which can be attributed to their intense socialization and frequent use of the L2 and LX, which leads to the use of swear words for interaction purposes with a specific group of interlocutors (Dewaele, 2020). Furthermore, in cultures where swear words are considered taboo, such as the Arab and Chinese cultures, people may use swear words in languages other than their first language to avoid the emotional weight of the word.

Because some emotions, such as 'love,' are expressed and recognized differently in different cultures (Dewaele, 2008), this may lead to CS in a conversation to avoid the emotional weight of the expression that may not be suitable or appropriate in either culture. The level of socialization in either language and familiarity with the cultural scripts and socialization in an L2 may impact the choice of the selected language for expressing emotions (Pavlenko, 2004; Dewaele, 2004).

Bilingual speakers are not always bicultural; for example, second and foreign language learners do not always adopt cultural habits (Grosjean, 2015), and people who move to a different country where the minority culture in which they live uses the same language are bicultural without being bilingual. In both examples, there are questions about how bicultural bilinguals identify themselves. Bicultural people are in contact with two or more different cultures; they usually have knowledge of each culture. According to Grosjean (2015), bicultural people are part of two or more cultures, adapt their behavior and attitude to these cultures, and
combine and blend aspects of them. Grosjean (2015) examines whether bilingual-bicultural speakers have a double personality. He states that many bilinguals report that they experience a change in their attitude and behavior when switching languages. For example, some bilinguals feel more reserved and gentler in one language and aggressive and tense in the other (Grosjean, 2015). Grosjean (1982) proposes that people act according to the context, and what may appear as a change in personality is, in fact, a shift in attitude and behavior resulting from changes in their situation and context. Bicultural and bilingual individuals adapt their behavior and attitudes to align with the cultural expectations of the context in which they are currently situated.

Ervin-Tripp (1964, as cited by Grosjean, 2015) showed in her experiment that bilinguals tell different stories in different languages. When asked to describe pictures, the participants in her study project different aspects of their personalities, such as feelings and attitudes. The experiment was conducted in two sessions: the first was six weeks apart from the second. The participants describe pictures in one language in the first session and then describe them in the other language in the second session. According to Ervin-Tripp, three variables show language effects: verbal aggression, autonomy, and achievement. She observed that in French, the elicited themes were aggression and seeking autonomy, while in English, the wife supports her husband. In her study on Japanese American women (1968), the participants completed a sentence in both Japanese and English, where the sentence endings were different in their different languages and more emotional in Japanese than in English. She explained, "It is possible that the shift of language is associated with a shift in social roles and emotional attitudes. Since each language is learned and usually employed in a different context, the use of each language may come to be associated with a shift in a large array of behavior." (p. 506). The following are some examples
of sentence completion in both languages of Ervin-Tripp’s experiment (Ervin-Trip, 1968, p. 96) on bilingual Japanese Americans:

1. WHEN MY WISHES CONFLICT WITH MY FAMILY...
   (Japanese) it is a time of great unhappiness.
   (English) I do what I want.
2. I WILL PROBABLY BECOME ...
   (Japanese) a housewife.
   (English) a teacher.
3. REAL FRIENDS SHOULD ...
   (Japanese) help each other.
   (English) be very frank.

Grosjean (2015) concludes, "It is the environment and the interlocutors together that cause bicultural bilinguals to change attitudes, feelings, and behaviors (along with language), and not their language as such" (p. 584). The change in personality is not primarily driven by the language itself but rather by the dynamics of the social and cultural context and the individuals involved in the conversation. This dissertation seeks to investigate how bilingual-bicultural speakers of English and Arabic employ these two languages to express their emotional experiences, exploring the extent to which cultural and social contexts are connected to CS practices.

2.4.3. Emotional Code-Switching and Identity

In the case of bilingual and multilingual speakers, different languages mean different worlds and experiences, highlighted by the autobiographical insights of the written experiences of writers such as Besemerades (2004) and Wierzbicka (1985).

Many studies have shown that people feel different when using different languages. Pavlenko (2006) states, "Languages may create different worlds for their speakers, who feel that their selves change with the shift to a different language," as reflected by her participant's
comment: "Speaking a different language means being a different person belonging to a different community character. (Marina, 42, Russian-English-Hebrew-Ukrainian)" (Pavlenko, 2006. p.7).

According to Pavlenko (2002b), when a second language is learned after puberty, the two languages may differ in their emotional impact: the first language is the language of personal attachment, and the second is the language of distance and detachment, which is why some writers prefer writing in their L2 to escape the traumatizing power of their L1 (Kellman, 2000).

Expressing emotions can be influenced by language preferences and cultural and social contexts in which languages are used, especially for bilingual speakers. The emotional reactions can differ depending on the context in which a language is used. According to Panayiotou (2014), cultural contexts can be a significant factor in determining emotional reactions that may not be related to a particular language. Different cultures have distinct norms and expectations regarding how emotions are expressed and managed. For instance, some cultures encourage the open expression of emotions, while others value emotional restraint. In these cultural contexts, individuals may adjust their emotional responses to align with what is considered socially appropriate, regardless of the language they are using. LaChapelle (2019) also highlights that the use of emotions can be influenced by the contexts in which bilingual or multilingual speakers express themselves in a specific language. Different languages often have unique ways of expressing and articulating emotions. Bilingual or multilingual individuals may choose a particular language to convey their feelings because it offers more precise or nuanced vocabulary and expressions for the emotions they want to communicate. For example, one language might be better suited for expressing love, while another might be more appropriate for discussing sadness or anger. Cultural norms and expectations regarding emotional expression vary from one
community to another. When bilingual or multilingual individuals switch languages, they may adapt their emotional expression to align with the cultural context of the language they are using.

Based on my pilot study, two participants reported a correlation between social and cultural contexts and language choice and identity when talking about an emotional experience. For example, the participants felt more polite and formal when talking in Arabic and with Arab friends. One of the participants mentioned that she feels funny and free when talking in English and with American friends, which could be attributed to the cultural and social contexts in which the communication occurs. Different cultures have varying ways of expressing emotions, which could be why such feelings are experienced differently in Eastern and Western cultures (Dewaele, 2008). Further, the participants in the pilot study employed numerous Arabic religious expressions and phrases to display their Arab/Muslim identity.

Grosjean (2010) reports a finding of Charles Galagher that there is a distinct character between the bilingual speakers of Arabic and French when expressing themselves with French friends from that in Arabic. Understandably, the cultural context could correlate to the changing identity of the bilingual speakers—context and domain trigger changes in attitudes, behaviors, and impressions (Grosjean, 2010).

2.5.1. Narrative Methodology

Narrative research examines human lives and experiences as a source of necessary knowledge through the narrative lens (Patton, 2015, p. 128). Narrative methodology focuses mainly on eliciting data from individuals' experiences and stories (Creswell, 2013, as cited by Ravitch & Carl, 2021), which can be elicited from different sources, such as interviews and observation. Moreover, it can be used in different contexts, such as sociocultural, historical, political, and
linguistic (Cresswell & Poth, 2018, as cited by Ravitch & Carl, 2021). For example, Labov's
(2013) question in sociolinguistic interviews about the danger of death effectively elicited
personal narratives. He observed that one of his participants, who was a 16-year-old Irish-Italian
boy from a lower-working class family, switched linguistically from using standard (-ing) to
colloquial (-in), used a double negative, and dropped the formal vocabulary when he was asked,
“What happened to you?”

Labov and Waletzky (1997) define narrative as "the choice of a specific linguistic
technique to report past events" (p. 3). Their framework proved to help approach various
narrative situations and types developed for oral narratives of personal experience. It allows us to
understand the essential experiences in the participants' own lives and deal with the significant
events of life and death, including the sudden outbreak of violence, near-death experiences and
witnessing, and premonitions of the future (Labov, 1997). Focusing on serious topics, such as
life and death experiences, will not limit the scope of the analysis (Labov, 1997).

Labov (1997) suggests that it is only possible to understand individuals' linguistic
behavior by looking at the communities to which they belong. He argues that the performance of
individuals of particular communities is systematic and not random. To Labov, to know a
language is to know how to use it (Wardhaugh, 2010). This dissertation uses the narrative
method by asking the participants about emotional experiences related to sadness and love,
following Labov's guidance to elicit naturalistic and authentic narratives in an informal setting,
allowing them to share their emotional and personal experiences. The study of bilingualism will
profit from community-based spontaneous speech data that allow squarely situating bilingual
phenomena in their social and linguistic context (Cacoullos & Travis, 2015). By examining the
emotional narratives of bilingual speakers within a specific community, this study aims to
squarely situate the bilingual phenomena in their social and linguistic context. This approach allows to gain deeper insights into the complex interplay between language, culture, and emotion in the everyday communication of bilingual individuals.

2.5.2. The Observer's Paradox

According to Labov (1973), "anyone who begins to study language in its social context immediately encounters the classic methodological problems: the means used to gather the data interfere with the data to be gathered" (p. 43). A reliable and sufficient way to collect data is through "systematic observation," which involves audio and video-recorded interviews (Labov, 1973, p. 209). However, an issue with using recorded interviews is that they differ from everyday conversations as they are more formal, monitored, and observed by an interviewer (Labov, 1973). There are two ways to overcome this issue: (1) to study the participants in their own natural social context, for example, with their families or peer groups, and (2) to see how people use language when not being observed or monitored, for example, observe how people of a particular community use language in everyday life apart from formal interviews (Labov, 1973).

Labov coined the term "observer's paradox" while exploring language variations and changes through different studies. Labov's approach to studying language variations and change was based on observing and recording unmonitored speech in everyday communications and various social situations (Cukor-Avila, 2000). Observing people influences their behavior and speech, particularly when they feel they are being observed, which is what Labov refers to as “the observer's paradox.”
Many factors may affect data collection using observation, interview, and narrative. For example, the qualities of the researchers may also affect the quality of data (Labov, 1972). The responses to the researcher's questions may be influenced by other factors, such as the ethnicity and sex of both the interviewer and the interviewee (Garrette, 2010; Cukor-Avila, 2000). Additionally, the presence of other interlocutors in the interview, the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, the strategies used in the interview, and the role of the interviewer (Cukor-Avila, 2000) could also affect data collection in this kind of methodology.

One way to mitigate the observer's paradox is to shift the focus away from speech and allow natural speech to emerge, which can be achieved by several breaks and intervals so the participants will assume they are not being interviewed. The interviewer is not a passive agent but can help minimize the effect of a formal interview on the participants. They can allow them to interact more informally like other participants and "behave like any tired, hot, or sleepy employee who has now finished his job and is free to be himself" (Labov, 1973, p. 88). It usually occurs at the end of the interview, allowing a more casual speech to emerge as the interviewer leaves the formal interview (Labov, 1973). Shifting the focus from the participants to the strategic sites of linguistic interaction (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 1995, as cited by Cukor-Avila, 2000) could also minimize the paradox's effect. Familiarity, the amount of time spent between the researcher and the participants, and the use of peer groups help mitigate the effect of race (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 1995, as cited by Cukor-Avila, 2000).

An introductory interview for the participants was essential to get familiar with each other and the recordings. The participants are all family, have the same background, and live in the same community, which helps make them feel more comfortable when sharing personal information. Since the participants are Arab-Americans, they share race, language, and culture,
which may help obtain more reliable data (Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994, as cited by Cukor-Avila, 2000). However, having the same race, language, and culture will not guarantee more reliable data because they were either born or moved to the USA at an early age and have different cultural belongings (a detailed discussion of this point is presented in Chapter III).

Since this study focuses on the emotional experience of sadness and love, the participants will be fully involved in the narration and may produce authentic data. A researcher can minimize the risk and harm to participants by allowing them to stop sharing their emotional experiences at any time. Based on the questions about the danger of death, Labov (1973) suggests that "The effect of probing the subject's feelings at the moment of crisis can be effective even with speakers who are quite used to holding the center of the stage" (p. 94). These questions about emotional experiences and personal stories may provide spontaneous and casual speech even though the level of spontaneous and casual speech will differ during the whole interview. For example, when Labov interviewed six lower-class Irish-Italian brothers between the ages of 10-19, most spoke freely and spontaneously except for one, who had been very quiet and careful. He was reserved and careful until he was asked, "What happened to you?" At this point, there was a shift in his style to casual speech. At the very end, however, he returned to his careful style.

2.5.3. The SPEAKING Model

Hymes SPEAKING Model, known as the ethnography of communication, was offered by Dell Hymes in the 1960s. The model was developed to understand communication in a cultural context and emphasize the role of cultural norms, values, and beliefs in shaping communication. This model comprises eight elements necessary for effective communication within a particular
culture or speech community. Understanding this component is crucial to understanding effective communication within a speech community. Analyzing how they interact, and influence communication can provide a deeper understanding of how language and culture intertwine. This model can provide a valuable framework for understanding the cultural, social and contextual aspects of CS and how they interact with other components of communication.

This study employs Hymes' SPEAKING Model for data analysis, which requires a shared set of speaking rules within a speech community. Hymes divides the model into various components:

- **Situation (S)** is the scene's setting, which is the physical circumstances of a communicative event, including time and place. The scene is the psychological setting (what kind of speech occurs according to the cultural definition).
- **Participants (P)** include speakers, addressee, and the addressee (source).
- **Ends (E)** of a speech event can be divided into two outcomes: the event's purpose from a cultural point of view and the goal (the purpose of individual participants).
- **The message of how something is said and the content (what is said) are called the act of sequence (A).**
- **Key (K)** refers to the manner or spirit of a speech that is carried out.
- **Instrument (I)** refers to the instruments and means used in the communication.
- **Norms (N)** are both interaction and interpretation.
- **Genres (G)** refer to categories like poetry, myths, proverbs, and lectures.

The methodology chapter will detail how the SPEAKING model was used to analyze the data and justify its selection.
2.5.4. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method in qualitative research that identifies and analyzes repeated patterns in the data. It is a flexible technique that can be used in any research paradigm (Clarke & Braun, 2017). There are plenty of beneficial uses of thematic analysis. As Clarke and Braun (2017) state, “It can be used to identify patterns within and across data in relation to participants’ lived experience, views and perspectives, and behavior and practices; ‘experiential’ research which seeks to understand what participants’ think, feel, and do” (p. 297). It can also be used with participant sampling and qualitative research questions and designs (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Additionally, thematic analysis provides a framework for organizing and reporting the researcher’s analytic thought (Clarke & Braun, 2017), in which they identify and interpret key features based on the research questions of data sets, not only report and summarize sets of data (Clarke & Braun, 2017).

Thematic analysis analyzes CS by examining recurring themes related to CS instances. Following a series of steps is essential to identify patterns within data. Becoming familiar with the data by reading it multiple times helps understand its content and linguistic features. General themes should be created based on the research questions and initial reading of the data transcription in the early stages. These themes should be coded and grouped together. It is crucial to provide examples and evidence from the data that illustrate the identified themes and their linguistic characteristics and to interpret their contribution to the understanding of the sociolinguistic and linguistic dimensions of CS.

In conclusion, thematic analysis was chosen as the methodology for this study because it offers a systematic and flexible approach to analyzing CS data in an exploratory context. It aligns with the research goals of uncovering patterns, contextualizing CS practices, and interpreting the
meanings behind language choices in emotional narratives among bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. The thematic analysis provides a nuanced and contextually grounded analysis of this complex sociolinguistic phenomenon. Using the SPEAKING model and this approach provides comprehensive insights into how CS functions within specific communication contexts.

2.5.5. The Matrix Language Frame Model

According to the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), bilingual speakers use one of their languages as a base language/matrix language (ML) and the other as the embedded language (EL).

According to Myers-Scotton’s (1993) model, the process of identifying the ML is as follows: 1) the ML sets the grammatical frame, 2) it is the source of more morphemes, 3) it is the unmarked choice in the interaction (Alenezi, 2006). The EL is integrated at the morphology and syntax level; it could be morphemes, words, phrases, and complete sentences. Speakers have a conventional agreement on what language should set the ML (Alhamdan, 2019). The ML sets the structure of the interaction, meaning the ML controls the syntactic rules of the sentence while the EL inserts elements into the sentence (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2002, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019). The process of CS involves at least two languages—ML, which sets the morphosyntactic frame for CS utterances, and EL, which provides the singularly occurring lexeme and EL ‘islands.’ The single-occurring lexeme and EL islands are borrowed forms different from CS forms (Myers-Scotton, 1992).

The MLF is used to gain insights into the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of CS. It helps understand how bilingual and multilingual speakers navigate between languages and make language choices in different communicative contexts. It helps identify CS types, patterns, and structures.
2.6. Conclusion

Chapter II conducted a comprehensive analysis of the literature regarding CS in emotional narratives, including topics such as bilingualism, CS, borrowing, culture, emotions, and identity. It explored the various definitions of bilingualism and the criteria for identifying bilingual speakers. The literature review on CS includes its definition, theories on CS in sociolinguistics, and types of CS, focusing on differentiating between CS and borrowing. The chapter also delved into emotions, cultural differences, and CS in emotional experiences and identity. Additionally, it covered narrative methodology, the observer’s paradox, the SPEAKING Model, thematic analysis, and the MLF model. Chapter II aimed to gain a thorough understanding of the pertinent concepts, theories, and methods utilized in the analysis of bilingual emotional narratives.
3.0. Introduction

This chapter introduces an overview of the research methodology, presenting a detailed description of the research design, instruments, participants, data collection, and data analysis that has been chosen to fit the purpose of this study, which is to examine the CS of English-Arabic bilinguals in expressing sadness and love. A qualitative method was used to examine this phenomenon from sociolinguistic and linguistic perspectives, applying three instruments: first, an open-ended questionnaire; second, observation of narratives; and third, semi-structured interviews (Appendices 1, 2, and 3). These tasks provide an overarching understanding of how and why CS is used in the narratives of emotions in bilingual speakers’ speech. These particular emotions have been chosen based on a pilot study I conducted with two adult female early bilingual speakers of English and Arabic who experienced both cultures and languages as discussed earlier in the Introduction chapter. The following section provides an overview of the methodology used to explore CS in the narratives of emotions.

3.1. Methodology Overview

The research questions of this dissertation are:

1. Do English-Arabic bilinguals code switch when expressing their feelings of love and sadness?
2. If the English-Arabic bilinguals use CS, which contexts do they believe correlate with their CS?

3. How do English-Arabic bilinguals believe that their CS correlates to their identity in these situations?

4. What are the reasons for CS?

5. What are the types and structures of CS?

Based on the literature and research questions, this dissertation aims to describe CS when narrating stories related to emotional experiences by English-Arabic bilingual speakers and to what extent, in their opinions, the switching between two languages in emotional narrative correlates to their bilingual identity.

To answer the research questions, a qualitative technique was used to examine this phenomenon from linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives, using three tasks:

1. An open-ended questionnaire was used to gather some background and linguistic information.

2. The participants were observed in pairs, narrating stories related to love and sadness.

3. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in which the participants discussed their narratives and the correlation between their language choices, culture, and social contexts, and their identities.

3.2. Participants

The participants were recruited via referrals from friends and family. They are English-Arabic bilingual speakers who were born in or immigrated to the USA at an early age. All participants are both male and female adults and are either second generation or early-childhood first generation Arab immigrants, who had acquired their two languages at an early age.
The participants are eight bilingual English and Arabic speakers belonging to a small Arab community in Mississippi (MS). They represent a particular sample of bilingual speakers of Arabic and English who are well-educated Arabs who live in America, and are bilingual and bicultural, meaning that they have experienced both cultures and languages from an early age. Five participants were born in Arab countries and then moved to the USA between 2-11 years old; one was born in Canada but raised in the United States, whose her family originally came from Syria. Two participants, whose family originally came from Palestine, were born and raised in the United States. All participants study and have jobs in the United States.

This study used self-reports and the researcher's own assessment based on narratives and interviews to determine language proficiency. It did not use proficiency tests of the participants in either language. The rationale is that bilingual speakers are their identities' language and culture experts. These participants are Arabs living in the USA in two entirely different cultures and experience both cultures and languages in their homes and public spaces. They are cognitively knowledgeable about their languages and the cultures encoded in the scripts and narratives that particular groups share (LeVine, 1997). A full description of each participant is discussed in the data analysis section.

The Arab community in MS is a very small one and thus the researcher was familiar with most of the participants’ parents and met some participants through friends who live in this small community. They were willing to participate in the study since expressing emotions is one of the topics they usually discuss with their bilingual peers. The participants were contacted immediately after receiving the IRB approval to ask for their consent and arranged a convenient time for us all to start the data collection process. The data collection took place via Zoom as was chosen by participants.
Oral consent was received before proceeding to the tasks. The consent form (Appendix 4) indicated the purpose of the study and why those particular participants were chosen to be part of it. It also provided the participants’ rights and confidentiality statements and how their identities would be secured during and after the study.

After getting their oral consent, the questionnaires were sent via email and WhatsApp and completed before conducting the observation. All the data from narratives and interviews was collected during a four-month period. The following section offers an overview of the Arab community in MS, to highlight the identity of those participants, their community, and their relationships with their languages and cultures.

### 3.2.1. The Arab Community in Mississippi

![Mid-South map](image)

Figure 1. Mid-South map

Labov (2010) suggested that to understand individuals' behavior, we should study the social groups of which they are members. This section paints a picture of this community: race, religion, beliefs, from where the people came, and why they are here.

The Arab community in MS, in general, is small but growing compared to other Arab communities in the United States (such as in New York, Michigan, California, and Virginia). According to the census website USA.com, Oxford, MS, is ranked number 58 with an Arab
ancestor population of 1.6% percentage. The most significant Arab immigrants in Mississippi mainly came from Yemen, Morocco, and Egypt (Arab American Institution Foundation, 2020).

According to Mark Habeeb (2020), Most early Arab immigrants to Mississippi (1880-1900) were Christians with different sect affiliations. These immigrants, primarily from Syria and Lebanon, were characterized by modest levels of education and had previously sustained themselves through small family farming in their native countries. However, the farming system in Mississippi, which relied on tenancy and sharecropping, was unfamiliar to them. Many arrived intending to make money before returning to their homelands, showing little interest in settling on farmland. As a result, they turned to peddling household goods, a business that required little investment and only basic English skills. Since most of Mississippi's population resided in rural areas without convenient store access, the state was a receptive environment for peddlers. Syrians and Lebanese immigrants tended to cluster along the Mississippi River, in proximity to railroad towns, as well as in the urban centers of Jackson and Meridian.

According to Mark Habeeb (2020), in the 1970s, a fresh wave of immigration to Mississippi from the Middle East began due to the civil war in Lebanon, regional conflicts, and changes in US immigration laws. The majority of these newcomers are Muslims and come from Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Morocco, Lebanon, and Syria. Compared to the early immigrants, the Arab immigrants who have come to the United States are generally better educated, many of whom are professionals or academics. As a result, they tend to search for jobs and settle in metropolitan areas, particularly in Jackson (Mark Habeeb, 2020). According to the 2000 US Census, there were 4,215 people of Arab descent living in Mississippi. If we also count those who have only one parent or grandparent of Arab descent, the number would likely be closer to 10,000 (Mark Habeeb, 2020).
Reliable and accurate sources and statistics about the Arab communities in Mississippi were mainly about the general Muslim community of all races. As most Arabs in this small town are Muslims, these families are willing to maintain their Islamic roots and identity by teaching their children the Arabic language and the Quran and Islamic education through Sunday schools, Qur'anic schools, and summer programs (Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi 2006). Muslim families seek educational options for their children away from the secular system of schools in the U.S. The Masjid ('mosque') offers Sunday readings, where Arab volunteer teachers teach children and sometimes adults the Arabic language and the Quran. According to its website, the University of Mississippi has a Muslim Student Association (MSA), which is a Muslim on-campus organization run by Muslim students. The mission of this organization, which includes all Muslims from all countries and races, is to promote Islamic awareness and understanding and help Muslim students and faculty fulfill their religious duties while fostering inclusion and respect for all (MSA olemiss.edu, n.d.). According to Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi (2006), the first Muslim community in Mississippi was the Nation of Islam congregation, which gathered in 1960 in Jackson. Islam is practiced diversely in Mississippi, with variations in belief, practice, and ethnic makeup of the congregations. According to Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi (2006), although no statistical surveys are available on the ethnic composition of the congregations, the estimation based on masjid visits and discussions with local imams is that the number of African-American Muslims is slightly higher than the number of foreign-born Muslims and their families. A well-known local Muslim from Jackson has estimated the total number of Muslims in the state to be around 4,000, with multiethnic congregations (Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi 2006).
In urban areas of Mississippi, the Muslim communities grow steadily, and the size of urban Masjids is increasing. However, in rural areas, the Masjids have closed in recent years because of the suffering of the Delta generally (Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi 2006). Those people who moved from the Delta aimed to join other Muslim communities in other cities. Because of this movement out of the Delta, there is a sharp growth of Islam in other parts of Mississippi. According to Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi 2006, “the large and thriving Muslim populations in Mississippi are found in urban areas, such as Jackson or Biloxi, and especially in college towns, such as Oxford and Starkville” (para. 5). This population, which includes college students and professors, works in fields like engineering and medicine. The communities in Oxford and Starkville are comprised of young international Muslim students and teachers at the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State University, and the University of Southern Mississippi (Mapping Muslim Communities in Mississippi 2006).

The participants in this study are young and educated; most are or were undergraduate and graduate students in fields such as pharmacy and medicine. Their parents are also educated, and some have jobs in MS. The families originally came from different Arab countries: Yemen, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Some left their countries because of war, and others were looking for better lives and job opportunities in the United States. Based on the questionnaire and interview, they all identify themselves as Arab, Muslim, and American. They believe that their parents and the community in which they live have had a significant role in shaping their identities. As they have been living in the U.S. for a long time, their parents made sure to teach them both the Arabic language and the Quran. They are fluent in their respective dialects from home and can also read and understand Standard Arabic. Regarding cultural belonging, based on the questionnaire, some participants believe that they belong more to the Arab culture regardless of
where they were raised. However, other participants think that they belong to the Arab-American culture.

After describing the participants’ backgrounds and the communities they belong to, the following section presents the instruments and tasks used in this study.

3.3. Instruments

3.3.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was given in English. It was divided into two parts, the background information, including age, gender, education, place of birth, profession, current city, years spent in the U.S., years spent in countries other than the U.S., and relationships with native speakers of both languages. The background information provides insights into the participants' culture, level of education, years of exposure to Arabic and English, and their knowledge of Arabic and American cultures. It presents an idea about the community in which they live and what languages are spoken for communication with different people in different contexts. The second part is linguistic information: the number of spoken languages, order of acquisition, how and where these languages are learned, and the dominant language. The second part also offers a self-report language proficiency evaluation by asking about the perceived proficiency level of both languages, fluency in language skills in both languages, Arabic dialect spoken, proficiency level of the parents in both languages, the language used in communication at home, and socialization in both languages (Appendix 1). Generally, the questionnaire aims to elicit information about participants' perceived proficiency level since this study did not use proficiency level tests. It also sets out the base for the following narrative and interview tasks.
The survey contains twenty questions distributed through email and WhatsApp before the narrative and interview tasks.

3.3.2. Observation of Narratives

I observed three pairs of participants narrating stories related to love and sadness. Each pair was a family. The first pair were a brother and sister, the second and the third groups were two sisters, and they all belong to the Arab community of a small town in MS. Two other participants did the narrative and the interview by themselves, so they were excluded from the observation of paired narrative analysis, but their data is still used in the results and discussion. The narrative was elicited through an informal interview alternating between English and Arabic for each question. As suggested by Labov (2013), the interview provides an ideal setting for the elicitation of narratives “under the full control of the narrator” (p. 8). Following Labov’s guidance, the interview started with simple yes/no questions about experiences related to love and sadness followed by “What happened?” and “Can you tell me the story?” (Appendix 2). The narrative was audio-recorded. For accuracy purposes, the translation of the narratives and interviews was checked both by the participants (Panayiotou, 2014) and by one of my Arabic/English bilingual university colleagues.

Before recording the participants’ narratives, the participants and I talked several times through WhatsApp, phone calls, and zoom to discuss the timing, procedures, what they were expected to do, and if they had any questions. Communication with the participants beforehand made it easier to make the narratives and the interviews more informal. After that, the participants were recorded narrating their stories, each pair talking about their experiences for less than an hour, allowing me to observe CS.
The elicitation of personal experience through narratives is effective to avoid the observer’s paradox within the face-to-face interview (Labov, 2013). Reducing formality is an effective way to elicit personal narratives to evoke more authentic and natural stories (Labov, 2013). Since all participants were siblings, it was clearly easy for them to share similar experiences and complete each other’s stories. It made them feel more comfortable talking about personal and emotional experiences. The participants were laughing, interrupting each other’s stories, commenting on their experiences, and providing more than was expected.

The stories of the participants were discussed later in the interview, which helped to explore their experiences and learn more about their different ways and reasons for switching languages. Immediately, after finishing each narrative, I transcribed my data by writing the Arabic sentences in Arabic without using IPA or Latin alphabet, which were used later for writing this dissertation. I listened and read each participant’s data several times to figure out the reasons, types, and structure of CS. Whenever CS was noticed in the narrative, it became a question for discussion in the following interview.

3.3.2.1. Mitigating the Observer’s Paradox

This study conducted an introductory interview for the participants to get familiar with each other and the recordings to minimize the effect of the paradox. The participants and I talked several times via WhatsApp, email, and phone before the interviews to get to know each other and be familiar with the setting. When talking before the interviews, the participants were asked if they knew someone to participate with them in the interviews, and everyone decided that they would ask their siblings. I contacted the siblings beforehand to discuss their willingness to participate and to explain the procedure. Since the participants are Arab-Americans, we share the same race, language, and culture, which may help to some extent to obtain more reliable data.
(Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994, as cited by Cukor-Avila, 2000). Sharing the same language and culture helped me as a researcher to understand the reasons and intentions behind language use in specific cultural and social contexts. However, it was only sometimes the case because these participants are bilingual and bicultural, which I am not. Furthermore, although we broadly share the same Arabic culture, we differ since we come from different Arabic backgrounds. For example, some Arab cultures are more closed and conservative than others, which was noticeable in the narrative of the love experiences; some participants found talking about “love” is taboo, while others did not feel it was an issue.

In this study, the main focus was on the emotional experiences of sadness and love. The participants were fully engaged in the narration and shared genuine data. All necessary steps were taken to reduce the risk and potential harm to the participants, particularly when sharing personal stories and discussing their emotional experiences. The participants were given complete control to pause the narration whenever they wanted and share any story they felt comfortable sharing. Based on the questions about the danger of death, Labov (1973) suggested that “The effect of probing the subject’s feelings at the moment of crisis can be effective even with speakers who are quite used to holding the center of the stage” (p. 94). These questions about emotional experiences and personal stories provided spontaneous and casual data even though the level of spontaneous speech did not stay the same during the whole interview. In this study, as explained later, all the participants spoke freely and shared more than expected.

To mitigate the effect of the observer’s paradox, the participants chose a place for meeting for them to feel more comfortable. All decided to meet via Zoon because, as they mentioned, they could access it anytime and anywhere. We talked several times before the observation to build rapport and trust, which made it easier for us all to be comfortable with each
other and talk naturally. Furthermore, being with a family member helped tremendously, as the participants encouraged each other to speak. For example, a participant was teasing her sister to share a story by telling her, “You did not share; do you want to share something?” Then the sister laughed and said, “I was eating.” At some points of the observation, the participants seemed less self-conscious and behaved naturally.

During the observation, I participated by commenting on the participants’ experiences after they finished or when there was a long pause of silence, saying, “I understand,” “I am sorry,” “that is true,” “yeah,” “okay” (in both languages depending on the experience and the language used), to help them talk and feel my presence. I did not, however, share experiences or stories; rather, I was listening to them the entire time. When the participants discussed some topics in the interview, particularly identity and culture, they would speak intensely in English to discuss their identity enthusiastically. These topics would make the participants go off topic and talk about differences between them and other Arabs by noticing the differences even in how other people dress and practice their social life. If I sometimes agreed on some points, the participants would talk more; my approval worked as a reinforcement. For example, a participant discussed how some Arabs who came to this town did not teach their children Arabic intentionally, which made them forget their cultural and social identity. I said, “That is true,” and she started providing examples of the consequences of doing such a thing. In this case, my interaction influenced the response by directing her attention to a particular topic as right or wrong, which I tried to avoid in the other observations. Implementing these strategies as much as possible mitigated the effect of the observer’s paradox to obtain more natural and reliable data from the narratives.
3.3.3. Interview

This study used an audio-recorded semi-structured interview to organize and guide the discussion. The purpose of a semi-structured interview is to ask questions based on the participant’s awareness of the already constructed questions, as participants may produce unexpected information that may not be part of the original goals (Vanderstorp & Johnson, 2008). It is beneficial for data collection via interviews to let the participants choose the language of the interaction to get more free and uncontrolled responses (Codo, 2009). I asked the participants which language they preferred for asking the questions before starting the interviews. Additionally, since the discussion was about the participants’ narratives, CS, and identity, it was essential to let them choose the language to obtain natural and authentic data. All the participants preferred using English to answer the questions, about which I will provide more details in the following sections. Part of the interviews was related to the narrative task; the participants discussed their narratives, language choices, social and cultural factors determining CS, and identity (Appendix 3). A question-and-answer session helped in understanding the reasons for CS in an emotional experience and also helped in exploring the participant’s perception of their language choices and what surrounds their choices.

The second section of the interview was about expressing emotions, the perceived role of culture in CS, and perceived identity changes (Appendix 3). Participants checked their narratives as a way of ensuring validity. They were asked to interact with me (1) to check the translation of their narratives, if needed; (2) to reflect on their answers to check if they feel the congruity between what they think and say, which could lead to a more consistent picture of reality, and (3) to see if they thought that something was missing (Cho & Trenet, 2006). The interviews helped to gain insights into the cultures and backgrounds of the participants, which allowed us to
identify similarities and differences in how emotions are expressed across different social and cultural contexts. The interviews also provided valuable insights about the types and reasons for CS. Finally, the participants reflected on their identities when using Arabic or English in CS and any perceived changes in their identity at switch points.

All the interviews were audio-recorded and conducted via Zoom; they took approximately one hour for each pair. The participants and I talked very often before the interviews; I would always ask them if they had any questions before we started each task. After finishing the questions, I asked them if they would like to add anything or discuss something that we did not tackle. Some participants alluded to topics such as identity, religion, and culture and expressed emotions from different perspectives, which will be discussed in the findings and discussion sections. After finishing each interview, I immediately listened, transcribed, and read the data several times to highlight the structure, reasons, and functions of CS.

3.4. Data Analysis
The data from each group of participants were placed in a separate file containing a questionnaire, an audio-recorded file, a transcription of the narrative, and a transcription of the interview. The data analysis was divided into two parts. The first part was the preliminary analysis which includes four steps: (1) analyzing data from a questionnaire; (2) transcribing data from narratives; (3) transcribing data from interviews; and (4) translating the Arabic utterances to be used as examples in the study. The second part was the in-depth analysis, which consists of two steps: (1) using the SPEAKING Model— used for both narrative and interview tasks; and (2) deciding the social reasons for CS and identity correlation with CS using thematic analysis. The preliminary analysis helped in comparing personal and linguistic background information.
Furthermore, it helped in focusing on central themes, based on both the narrative and the interview, such as which emotion triggers CS, types, and reasons for switching, and correlations to bilingual/bicultural identity. I examined the interview responses in the preliminary stage to decide if follow-up interviews were needed. This in-depth analysis required first using the SPEAKING Model (Hymes, 1967) to analyze the participants’ use of language in narrating and expressing sadness and love, their interaction with their partners and the interviewer, and the correlation between the social and cultural contexts and CS.

After setting up the scene using the SPEAKING Model, I used the thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017) to decide the social reasons and types of CS from a sociolinguistics perspective. From a linguistic perspective, I used the ML model (Myer-Scotton, 1993) to analyze language use as a whole and scrutinize CS at the sentence level to decide the linguistic structures and forms of CS. The purpose of this stage is to provide an in-depth analysis of the participants, the setting, the interaction between everyone engaged, and the language used to narrate emotions, which is the purpose of using the SPEAKING Model. The purpose of the thematic analysis was to extract the participants' opinions and repeated themes from the interviews. The sets of data from the participants were compared to get a sense of the common ideas and views related to CS.

3.4.1. The Preliminary Analysis

In this part of the analysis, I started by (1) analyzing data from a questionnaire; (2) transcribing data from narratives; (3) transcribing data from interviews; and (4) translating the Arabic utterances to be used as examples in the study. To do so, I started with the questionnaires because that was the first task obtained from the participants. The questionnaire, as mentioned
previously, was divided into two parts: personal and linguistic background information (Appendix 1). I started with the analysis by making a table representing each question in the first part with information from each participant’s responses, and I did the same with the second part of the questionnaire. After filling in the tables with the replies, I started to take notes, which I placed in a separate file. Those notes were related to similarities and differences between groups of participants and participants from the same group. A thick description of participants (a detailed description of the important contextual factors in the research—participants, and experience, to produce complex interpretations and findings) examined their background, families, and community background information to give the reader an in-depth idea about each participant’s language and social and cultural background. It allows the readers to have more information and a depth of context of the research to form their own opinions about the quality of the study and the researcher's interpretations (Ravitch & Carl, 2020).

The second step of the preliminary analysis is the transcription. In this stage, I listened to the audio-recording right after each task and the narrative was transcribed immediately after we finished the meeting. It was placed in a Microsoft Word file, transcribing them as utterances. Each group is different in the length of the narratives; some took 20 minutes, while others took 35 minutes. The interviews that followed the narrative observation took about an hour maximum for all participants. Each narrative required between two to three weeks to complete the transcriptions. The transcription process was to listen to the recording and transcribe five minutes of the recording, then stop and listen again and read the transcription to make sure it was accurate. If I could not hear the word or if there was an overlap that made it hard to recognize the utterance, I would write unintelligible between parentheses. The following sample shows how
the words that were impossible to be understood were transcribed in my data in the earlier stages before translation.

Sample 1
There is no one like her.
(unintelligible)
On my mom side
They talk about her to us. (S, F, 22).

If there was a pause or omission, I would use ellipsis. For example,

Sample 2
I work in a hospital, and I see,
Like, How, like …
I have so many old patients. (S, F, 22).

When there was laughing, I used brackets and wrote laughing.

Sample 3
I think it is in Arabic, it is easier because all they say لدائن ‘daughter of’ blah-blah.
[laughing]
But other than those words I have no idea.
We are not really taught that.
Even if when we see it in social media.
Someone says something bad. (S, F, 22).

In organizing the transcription, I used the speaker's initials and the interviewer's labels and wrote utterances as each person spoke in the narrative and the interviews. I also labeled who said what at the end of each excerpt using parentheses containing speaker/s initial, gender, and age (see samples 1, 2, and 3). The Arabic utterances were written in Arabic at this stage (sample 3). In the next step, I used the Latin alphabet for the Arabic utterances for excerpts and responses that will be used in the dissertation.

Using fillers such as “um, uh, oh, so,” etc., was transcribed from both languages. The utterances of all participants were used as they were produced, without making changes. The participants and I discussed the translation of the specific examples mentioned in the interview and the narratives, to come up with a suitable translation, especially with the terms that do not seem to have an appropriate translation in English, taking into consideration, the differences between Arabic dialects used in those narratives. Furthermore, the expressions that specifically
belong to a particular Arabic dialect\(^1\) to express emotion were referred to as dialect-specific when applicable. For example, in the Palestinian dialect, one participant discussed how they express love in their family using the phrase *tukburni*\(^2\) ‘you bury me’ (literal meaning) and ‘outlive me,’ which is used specifically in the Levantine dialects with different pronunciations. Some terms and vocabularies are used similarly in all Arabic dialects (e.g., religious expressions). As suggested by Ravitch and Carl (2020), the original language and regional dialects should be presented whenever possible in the form of brackets or footnotes. When a term had a more flexible translation, I wrote them all as possible translations in the footnote or next to the word. I also consulted my participants to check those translations to ensure validity and accuracy. Moreover, I consulted online Arabic-English dictionaries (such as Collins, Google Translation, and Reverso), especially for dialectal vocabulary, to present a more precise translation.

One goal of this dissertation is to explore CS in the narratives of emotions, so in transcribing the data sets, I did not provide detail on paralinguistic activities, for example, facial or body expressions, long and short pauses, silence, interruption, etc. Though some of these were used in the transcription (as mentioned above in samples 1,2, 3), they were not discussed in the analysis as they were not part of my study’s purpose. It is worth mentioning that the transcription was as rigorous and verbatim as possible to the original participants’ utterances as used by the participants in their own dialects. I tried to make the transcription suitable for the purpose of the study, which is to explore where and in what situations during narrating emotional experiences CS occurs.

\(^1\) Participants speak different Arabic dialects (Egyptian, Syrian, Yemeni, and Palestinian).
\(^2\) ‘A love so deep you can’t imagine life without them’ (Collins online dictionary). ‘I wish I could die before you, and you bury me because I can’t live without you’ (participants’ translation).
For my last two pairs, and to save time, I used Otter.ai transcription, an application and a website that transcribes meetings, interviews, and everyday voice conversation. This application has multiple beneficial uses: it automatically takes meeting notes, records and transcribes interviews, and provides live captioning to the deaf and hard-of-hearing communities and ESL learners. Otter.ai can transcribe real-time conversations with high accuracy. Google, Microsoft, and Zoom can be connected to it automatically to record and transcribe meetings. Furthermore, it organizes the transcription and labels the speakers in the conversation. After finishing the transcription, users can save, copy and paste files as PDF, TXT, SRT, and MP3 (otter.ai App). Despite its accuracy, I listened and reread the transcription several times to ensure precision. It is better not to rely mainly on the program, particularly if another language is involved, since it transcribes only English. If it encountered an Arabic word, it would transcribe it sometimes as if it were an English word. Checking and rereading the transcription was a necessary task in this case.

Once I had received the questionnaires, note-taking started. I had a separate file to organize my notes from all three tasks. This was not systematic, mainly jotting down observations from questionnaires and interviews. I took notes while observing the narratives and conducting the interviews, which helped tremendously at the analysis stage. After completing my transcription, I printed my data files, read them multiple times, and used color markers to highlight the CS. I highlighted the Arabic utterances since they were the deviation in this case. Also, I used different colors for religious expressions and vocabulary related to love.

In each highlighted excerpt, I wrote a note in the margins next to each observation. In my following readings for data sets, I started to find patterns and repetitions of CS. In the pre-final reading, I connected the speakers' background and linguistics abilities with language uses and
CS. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that it is vital for researchers to immerse themselves in the data to be familiar with the depth and breadth of the content. Immersion involves repeated reading at different stages and times (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The entire process of reading and taking initial notes, re-reading and looking for patterns, and final reading and connecting data obtained to the participant's linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds helped in deciding themes for data analysis and findings. The final reading was to compare the pairs of participants’ narratives and interviews and find similarities and differences among them. Riessman (1993, as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006) explains that even though the transcription process is time-consuming and frustrating, it is an excellent strategy to become familiar with the data. The transcription process was indeed time-consuming, but it was extraordinarily beneficial to recognize, interpret the data, and create meaning in this phase.

3.4.1.1. Data from Questionnaires

The data was analyzed after collecting the responses from the questionnaire and before starting the next task in order to examine the participants’ personal and linguistic backgrounds. All the information gathered from the questionnaire was arranged in two tables to find differences and similarities between the participants. Table 1 depicts the background information of the participants: age, gender, residence, level of education, and professions. Table 2 illustrates the linguistic background information: spoken languages, order of acquisition, parents’ linguistic background, the language of communication with their family and/or friends, and dominant language and culture.
Table 1: Background information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>participant</th>
<th>age</th>
<th>gender</th>
<th>Years spent in the US.</th>
<th>Years spent in other countries</th>
<th>Education &amp; profession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(H)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Egypt 8 years, Japan 2 years</td>
<td>student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Egypt 7 years, Japan 2 years</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Yemen 4 years</td>
<td>Phlebotomist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(J)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Yemen 3 Years</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(F)</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that all participants were exposed to the English language and culture at an early age, before 5 years old, except for the first group, who came to the U.S. at the ages of 10 and 11. It also shows that all the participants, except for group 1, have lived in the U.S. for long periods, ranging between 16 to 27 years. Some participants hold B.A. degrees, while others currently pursue undergraduate or graduate education in addition to their jobs.
## Table 2: Linguistic background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>participants</th>
<th>languages</th>
<th>Order of acquisition</th>
<th>Self-reported dominant language</th>
<th>Perceived proficiency in Arabic</th>
<th>Perceived proficiency in English</th>
<th>Parents’ level of proficiency in English &amp; Arabic</th>
<th>Language of communication at home</th>
<th>Cultural belonging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>Arabic/English</td>
<td>Arabic -&gt; English</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Proficient</td>
<td>Expert</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>Arabic/English</td>
<td>Arabic -&gt; English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Semi-proficient</td>
<td>Proficient</td>
<td>Father fluent in both. Mother fluent in Arabic but can understand simple English sentences.</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(J)</td>
<td>Arabic/English</td>
<td>Arabic -&gt; English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Intermediate-advanced</td>
<td>Proficient</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>In the middle, but predominantly Arabic side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Z)</td>
<td>English-&gt;Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Native speaker</td>
<td>Father fluent in both, Mother fluent in Arabic, intermediate in English</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
<td>Neither, Arab-American culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>English -&gt; Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Intermediate-advanced</td>
<td>Native speaker</td>
<td>Father, English. Mother, Arabic.</td>
<td>Both 50/50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows the linguistic background of all participants. All of them except the first one speak only Arabic and English fluently. Their families also use both languages to communicate. All participants, except the first group, report that their dominant language is English. All the participants but the third group, learned Arabic first, then English. Arabic was learned at home, and English was learned from preschool and friends. The third group learned English first at home and Arabic at school and by speaking and writing to family overseas. The table displays that the participants rated their language abilities as intermediate, intermediate-advanced, expert, simi-proficient or proficient in English and Arabic. One participant from the second group and the participants from the third group thought that they were intermediate-advanced in Arabic. Those particular participants, who either came to the United States when they were 3 and 4 years old or were born and raised in the United States, reported that they have an accent in Arabic, which I also noticed during the interviews. One of them rated her Arabic language ability as fluent in reading and writing and intermediate in speaking. Furthermore, based on their responses to the questionnaire, all participants reported that they established relationships with their neighbors, classmates, friends, and coworkers in the English language while Arabic was used at home and with people who only spoke Arabic.

3.4.2. The In-depth Analysis

The in-depth analysis is divided into two steps: (1) the sociolinguistic analysis and (2) the linguistic analysis. The sociolinguistic analysis includes two stages: (1) using the SPEAKING Model (Hymes, 1967) for both narrative and interview tasks; (2) using thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017) to decide the social reasons and types of CS. In the linguistic analysis, the ML
model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) is used to analyze CS at two levels: the whole language and the sentence level. This model helped to decide the linguistic structures and forms of CS. As mentioned above, the purpose of this stage is to provide an in-depth analysis of the participants, the setting, the interaction between everyone engaged, and the language used to narrate sadness and love during this interaction. In the following section, I analyze the setting of the narratives and the interviews using the SPEAKING Model. The purpose of using Hymes’ model is to understand the cultural context surrounding communication, the role of cultural norms, beliefs, and values in shaping communication, and how culture participates in people’s choices of language. It established the scene and provided insights into the participants, their social and cultural backgrounds, and the interaction between them and the interviewer. This framework is designed to understand how cultural values, beliefs, and conventions shape communication.

At the sociolinguistics stage, I was familiar with the data obtained from all three tasks (questionnaires, observations, and interviews) and generated ideas about what was in the data and what was understood based on them. This stage consisted of organizing the data into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005, as cited by Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis started in the earlier stages of the transcription as an ongoing process. It was used to determine and identify themes related to the sociolinguistic dimension of CS, focusing on general themes from the research questions, which are: the correlation between social factors and CS, the correlation between CS and identity in expressing emotions in different contexts, and reasons and forms of CS. The thematic analysis focuses on recurring topics and concepts related to CS and groups them into meaningful themes.
3.4.2.1. Thematic Analysis

Since this dissertation is an exploratory study, utilizing both inductive and deductive approaches to identify recurring topics and concepts related to CS and to group them into meaningful themes, thematic analysis was chosen to analyze CS in the narratives and the interview contents. The goals of this dissertation are to explore CS in the narratives of emotions, the correlations between social factors and CS, the participants’ perceived identities in expressing these emotions in different cultural and social contexts, reasons for CS from their point of view, and forms and categories of CS in the emotional narratives. To achieve these goals with accuracy, thematic analysis was accompanied by other methods in each stage. I used the SPEAKING Model to analyze the scene of both narratives and interviews to provide insights about the participants and the setting. After completing the analysis of the setting and scene, thematic analysis was used to analyze, generate, and determine the themes, guided by research questions, as discussed in the interview with the participants after the narrative task. The linguistic analysis utilized different techniques: the ML model for analyzing the use of CS at the whole language level analysis and then thematic analysis for deciding the forms and reasons for CS.

The interview task differed from the narrative because Arabic was not used spontaneously in most situations. The participants decided to conduct the interviews in English as their language of preference. They used Arabic to provide examples of terms and expressions for various reasons, which will be discussed later in the next chapter.

The research questions mainly focused on four goals: (1) social and cultural contexts correlated to CS, (2) identity perceived in expressing emotions in two different languages, (3) reasons for CS, and (4) forms of CS. The first three goals were the central purposes of the interview task. When analyzing the interview data sets, I focused only on the ideas related to my
research questions to decide the themes based on the participants' responses conveniently and efficiently. The analysis is both deductive and inductive because it started with four general themes (the research goals) and then, with a thorough analysis, expanded to a myriad of subthemes (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Initial thematic map**

Figure 2 illustrates the initial thematic map for the thematic analysis of the narrative and the interviews. The four goals of the dissertation were set as the main themes, while the subthemes were generated based on the multiple readings of the transcriptions of both the narratives and the interviews.

For the linguistic analysis, I reread the whole transcription, specifically to examine the forms and the categories of CS in each utterance of the narratives. As mentioned earlier, English was the base language of interaction, and Arabic was the switched language. In the printed
transcription, CS was highlighted in colored markers, the possible reason, form, and category of CS was written as a side note. The analysis was at two levels: the whole language level analysis using the ML model and the sentence level analysis, where I decided on the form of CS (inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential). In the last stage, I identified the category and the structure of CS (verb phrase, noun phrase, adjective phrase).

3.4.2.2. The SPEAKING Model for Narrative and Interview

**Speech event #1: Narrative**

**Setting and scene:** The physical setting of the narratives was Zoom. All participants chose to do the narrative task via Zoom since it was more convenient and could be done at any time according to their schedules—each pair of participants Zoomed from their homes. The timing was different for each group. Some participants did their narratives on the weekend in the afternoon, and other participants did theirs at night during weekdays after getting off work. All of them were in their hometown in MS, during the interviews. The narrative questions were asked by switching to both languages; for example, I would ask the first part in English and then switch to Arabic or ask the question in English and then paraphrase it in Arabic. In the Zoom meeting, there were the two participants and me, except for some cases where their younger siblings, cousins, or mothers jumped into the scene.

**Participants:** During the interview process, I spoke with each sibling pair in their shared residence to gain valuable insights from the participants while also providing a comfortable and convenient setting for the interview. All the groups of participants are in their twenties, with age ranges between 19 and 27 years old. Each pair are very close, evident from how they shared their experience and talked to each other. The participants are educated: some have jobs, while the
others are still graduate or undergraduate students. They originally came from Egypt, Yemen, or American-born with parents originating from either Syria or Palestine. Their families are educated and work in MS. All participants, except for the first group, either came to MS before age 5 or were born in MS. Two participants came to the U.S. from Yemen at ages 3 and 4, and the third group, whose family is originally from Palestine, were born and raised in MS and have never been to any Arab countries. Some participants shared that their parents insisted they learn Arabic and Arabic culture and use it in the house as much as possible.

**Ends:** The purpose was to ask the siblings to share emotional experiences and stories related to love and sadness. They were given time to share as much as they desired. Since it was not always easy to think of stories, they took time to share a story. They helped each other to remember stories related to sadness. For all participants except the third group, the sad experiences were related to losing a family member with whom they were close. Also, one participant talked about how the war forced them to leave their country.

For the stories related to love, the case was different to a certain extent. Some talked about their love for their majors and careers. Meanwhile, others shared personal narratives of their deep-seated fondness for their family, which will be expounded upon in the succeeding section.

During the interaction, the participants helped each other remember stories, interrupted, laughed, and made jokes about themselves. As the interviewer, I asked short yes/no questions, then asked them, “What happened?” or “Tell me the story,” and observed how they shared their experiences. Sometimes, they took turns completing each other stories, and other times they overlapped. They asked each other for a reminder, for example, “When did that happen?” “Was it at this time?” They also confirmed each other stories. CS occurred during the interaction, but
to different degrees, ranging from a word, short phrases, or several sentences to a complete shift to Arabic.

**Act:** The narrative was informal and had some emotionality but was not intense. For the love experiences, participants did not share as much as they shared with sadness. The first group shared the loss of their grandfathers from both sides. They used Arabic to talk about the whole experience, but one brother talked about his experiences, one in Arabic and the other in English, with some switches. The second group talked about the loss of their grandmother, whom they did not remember because they were 2-4 years old when she passed away. This group came to America when they were 2 and 4 years old. They used CS for some expressions, terms, and vocabulary mostly related to culture. The third group was different: they talked about an experience not related to death. This group was the only one born and raised in the U.S. and has never been to any Arab countries. They considered themselves native speakers of English, and they learned and are still learning Arabic. They did not switch when they talked about their sad stories. Like the second group, they switched to Arabic, using some religious and cultural expressions when discussing sadness and the switching was almost always from English to Arabic. The form and content of the actual narrative, what was said, and how was said will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The narratives related to sadness divided the participants into three groups:

1. Starting in English, then narrating the whole story in Arabic.

2. Narrating the story in English to switch to some phrases and expressions in Arabic, mainly related to religious expressions, to express the loss and death of a loved one.
3. Switching to religious expressions related to how the Arab culture uses these expressions in remembering the deceased people when they were asked about the differences between Arab and American culture in expressing sadness and love.

**Key:** Generally, the whole interaction was informal. The manner of talk in the first group was emotional when talking about the loss of their grandfathers, which they experienced at a young age. For the second group, the manner of the talk was emotional, too, when talking about the loss they have never experienced, but because their parents had to grieve that loss, one can notice the shift from a cheerful to a sad tone. The code choice shifted to more religiously loaded utterances when talking about death. On the other hand, it was enthusiastic and sarcastic when talking about love in two ways: when talking about their love for their parents and their career, they were excited and showed fun by laughing and switching to both languages. Participants commented on the taboo nature of the topic and the discomfort of discussing it with non-intimates and sarcasm ensued.

**Instrument:** Zoom was the instrument, the channels of the spoken narratives were different depending on many reasons, which will be examined in detail in the data analysis section. The choice of English and Arabic as the channel of the narrative was different among participants. The choice depended on the topic, participants (language exposure, meaning that those who were exposed to English before five years old chose English as an instrument of communication more than Arabic), and interlocutors.

**Norm:** The norm was always English until the switch point, depending on the participants' choice of topic. Some participants switched to a phrase or one sentence, and other participants continued in Arabic and switched to some English words.
Genre: The genre was a prose narrative that mostly stayed the same between the participants and me since I was an observer then. However, between the participants, it varied depending on the story.

Speech event #2: Interview

Setting: The setting of these scenes was also Zoom.

Participants: The interlocutors were the same as in the narrative task.

Ends: The purpose was to ask the participants questions about the narrative and discuss how they use the language to express certain emotions, the correlation between culture and language use, and identity.

Act: The form and content of the interview were informal as well. It was mainly in English from each part, with some switches to Arabic to show examples, explain an expression, and discuss their narratives.

Key: The participants and I were informal. It was informative from the participants’ side; they shared many examples and situations of the differences between Arabic and English in expressing emotions. Furthermore, they talked about the differences in cultural and social contexts in expressing emotions, particularly sadness.

Instrument: Zoom was the instrument for the interviews. Unlike the narrative task, the question-answer session was mainly in English. CS was encountered, but it was not at the level of the narrative. The participants used Arabic only to discuss why they used Arabic words in their narratives, give some examples, and share some words they did not think had an appropriate translation in English.
Norms: The interview was in English until a switch point, which differed from the narrative. The CS intentionally provided examples in Arabic to show how they say something in Arabic vs. in English.

Genre: The genre was an informal question-answer session. The interview aimed to clarify why they switched to another language when discussing sadness or love. It also provided examples of terms, expressions, and vocabularies that are usually switched to Arabic with certain people in certain situations.

3.4.2.3. Sociolinguistic Analysis

The sociolinguistic analysis focuses mainly on the social and cultural factors that lead to CS in the narrative of emotions. Thematic analysis accompanied by Zentella's (1997) reflection was used to identify, analyze, and report themes in the content of the observation and interviews, as referred to in the in-depth analysis section. Zentella (1997) divided language choice into three factors: (1) the setting 'on the spot,' (2) the social and cultural knowledge 'in the head,' and (3) the linguistic factor 'out of the mouth.' The setting of both the narrative and the interview was described in detail in the previous section.

According to Zentella (1997), "In the head of the speakers is the shared knowledge of how to manage conversations, how to achieve intentions in verbal interaction, and how to show respect for the social values of the language" (p. 83). Respect for social and religious values is highly appreciated in Arab culture. The knowledge of social and linguistic variables is developed over years of cultural interaction (Zentella, 1997). The participants were raised in the United States in families that insisted that they learn the Arabic language and culture, and thus they all grew up acquainted with the social and cultural norms of their native culture. The only way to do
that is by learning the Arabic language. They practice the culture because they live in a community where Arabic culture is still alive. In the same way, the environment they live in, their friends, and their jobs necessitate awareness of American culture's social and cultural norms. The linguistic knowledge 'out of the mouth' for this study depends on several factors; the participants switched to Arabic in particular contexts and with particular people for many reasons that will be presented in the next chapter. The following table illustrates central themes and generated subthemes based on the second stage analysis (the thematic analysis).
### Table 3: Themes generated from thematic analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Subthemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 1</strong>&lt;br&gt;Even when I am talking with my dad or my friends. <em>Wa la amati wala banat xali ‘or my aunts</em> (from father’s side) or my cousins (uncle from mother’s side) ‘When I speak with them in English, I say a couple words in Arabic.’</td>
<td>Reasons for CS</td>
<td>• Words with no equivalence in English&lt;br&gt;• Use Arabic with certain people</td>
<td>1. Culture&lt;br&gt;2. Proficiency&lt;br&gt;3. Contexts</td>
<td>1. Family&lt;br&gt;2. Interlocutors&lt;br&gt;3. Word translation&lt;br&gt;4. Word equivalence&lt;br&gt;5. Word economy&lt;br&gt;6. Which language the emotion is learned&lt;br&gt;7. Where and with whom the language is used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 2</strong>&lt;br&gt;See the word <em>meidaigah</em> ‘uneasy and upset’. Like when someone says <em>ani meidaigah</em> ‘I am uneasy and upset’. Like, there is something on their chest. There is so much in mind.</td>
<td>CS in narratives</td>
<td>• Using English is not appropriate in certain situations/contexts, and with certain people.</td>
<td>1. Culture&lt;br&gt;2. Setting&lt;br&gt;3. Cultural contexts</td>
<td>1. Topic&lt;br&gt;2. Interlocutors&lt;br&gt;3. American Vs. Arabic&lt;br&gt;4. Arabic: doesn’t express emotions verbally&lt;br&gt;5. American: express emotions freely&lt;br&gt;6. Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 3</strong>&lt;br&gt;of course, you can use English. But I just don’t feel like it fits the situation. If you’re going to an Arabic wedding, you can use English, but they’re all Arabic speakers. Why are you not using Arabic? Or if you’re going to <em>aza</em> ‘funeral’.</td>
<td>CS in sadness</td>
<td>• Switch to Arabic to use religious expressions.</td>
<td>1. Culture</td>
<td>1. Religion (when it is related to death)&lt;br&gt;2. Show respect&lt;br&gt;3. Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 4</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Mush mutardin alahukum rab ala’alamin, bas, ya’ani.</em> ‘We don’t object Allah’s will, but, like’, something, you know, I wish I have spent time with her.</td>
<td>CS in love</td>
<td>• Taboo&lt;br&gt;• Switch to Arabic to explain why.&lt;br&gt;• Express feeling about this topic in English.</td>
<td>1. Culture&lt;br&gt;2. Social reasons</td>
<td>1. Interlocutors (family, friends, strangers)&lt;br&gt;2. Topic&lt;br&gt;3. Context&lt;br&gt;4. Identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table shows the use of thematic analysis to analyze the data sets from narratives and interviews. The questions that guided this study were used to generate the themes obtained from the participants’ responses to the interview questions and analyze the narratives. In the extract section of this table, I used a few examples from the participants' narratives and interviews as samples to portray how thematic analysis was used to create themes and subthemes based on the research purposes. The Arabic utterances were shaded and the codes that showed reasons, types, or explanations were underlined to generate themes, as shown in Table 3.

In the goals section, I used the main goals of this study, which are exploring CS in the narrative of emotions, identifying reasons for CS, and exploring perceived identity in expressing emotions. According to the narratives and interviews, social and cultural factors, contexts, and language proficiency emerged as central themes. Further, subthemes were generated by examining the major themes that appeared in the participants’ responses.

3.4.2.4. Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic analysis of the narratives of the bilingual speakers of English and Arabic used several techniques to identify the structure and categories of CS to gain insights into the function and sociolinguistic meanings of CS in the narratives of emotions in particular contexts. The meanings embedded in CS practices reflect speakers’ social group, affiliation or belonging to a specific group or culture, and identity. To interpret CS in the narrative of emotions in this study, first, I identified CS instances as used by participants, then marked them as they appeared in the transcription and wrote notes next to the switch point of CS. Second, I described CS instances at two levels as will be discussed below. Furthermore, I decided on the type of CS (inter-sentential,
intra-sentential, and extra-sentential). Identifying categories and structure of CS (analyzing words, phrases, and sentences) was the final stage of the sentence-level analysis.

This section introduces the linguistic analysis at two linguistic levels: the whole language level analysis and the sentence level analysis. According to the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton, 1993), bilingual speakers use one of their languages as a base language (ML) and the other as the embedded language (EL). According to Myers-Scotton’s (1993) model, the process of identifying the ML is as follows: 1) the ML sets the grammatical frame, 2) it is the source of more morphemes, 3) and it is the unmarked choice in the interaction (Alenezi, 2006). The EL could integrate at the morphology and syntax level; it could be morphemes, words, phrases, and complete sentences. Speakers have a conventional agreement on what language should set the ML (Alhamdan, 2019). The ML sets the structure of the interaction, which means that the ML controls the syntactic rules of the sentence while the EL inserts elements into the sentence (Myers-Scotton & Jake (2002), as cited by Alhamdan, 2019).

In the data collected from the narrative, the ML language identified, based on the three steps mentioned above, was English (most of the time), while Arabic was the EL. The ML and EL can be identified when a sentence contains CS, and this sentence is part of a larger corpus. We cannot judge based on one sentence (Myers-Scotton, 1993), but since I have a larger corpus, which is the narrative, the ML was determined to be English when comparing it to the use of Arabic in the narrative task. On the sentence level, the analysis focused on the structures and categories of CS in the utterances of the narratives. The leading questions of the narrative task were asked interchangeably using English and Arabic, yet, all the responses were initiated in English, and the switches were in Arabic. English was the ML because it sets the structure and word order, provides more morphemes, and is used as the unmarked choice in the narratives. As
I stated before, in narrating their experiences and stories, participants used English as ML and Arabic as the EL, certainly based on the topic discussed. For example, they switched to Arabic religious terms and expressions when talking about the death of loved ones.

3.4.2.4.1. The Language Level Analysis

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the CS in the narratives, I followed the same strategy for analyzing the data using thematic analysis, which involved examining the communication’s elements: speakers, context, audience, and the purpose of communication to gain a thorough understanding of how CS was utilized in these particular situations.

I started by identifying what language was used as the base language: English and Arabic were not used at the same level in the narrative of the three pairs of participants. It was unsurprising because, based on the analysis of the questionnaire, the participants reported that English is the dominant language, even though for some of them, Arabic is used with family and at home. On the other hand, English is used at work, school, with friends, and at home as well.

As noted earlier, the ML frame determined the base and the embedded languages in the narrative of emotional experiences. This stage (the whole language level analysis) examined each narrative to identify the ML and the EL. I paid attention to the switch point, which depended on factors like the topic, the interlocutors, and the context. It was crucial to identify why the switch took place at a point of narrating a story (as presented in Table 4).

In the narrative task, I asked the questions alternating between Arabic and English or asked them in English, then paraphrased them in Arabic. However, the influence on the participants' responses was different based on many factors (which will be discussed in detail in
the next chapter). It is necessary to mention that being an Arab, who shares similar cultural and religious background, influences the CS, particularly using religious expressions.
Table 4: Language level analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Switch point</th>
<th>type</th>
<th>reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 4</strong>&lt;br&gt;(S): I think I would say, <em>Jadati Allah yarhamha</em> ‘My grandmother may God have mercy on her.’ My grandmother <em>allah yarhamha</em> ‘May god have mercy on her’ died when we are really young. S, F, 21)</td>
<td>1. Explore if there is any CS in narrating emotional experiences. 2. Decide the ML and the EL. 3. Decide the type of CS (situational or morphological).</td>
<td>death of a loved one. (grandmother) switching to Arabic by mentioning who, and religious expression used after the dead person.</td>
<td>English is ML. Arabic is the EL. Situational &amp; metaphorical CS.</td>
<td>Culture. Lack of accurate translation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 7</strong>&lt;br&gt;S): <em>ani mathalan be alenglizi</em> ‘for me, in English,’ It’s easy to say I love you. <em>Bas lama qulaha be alarabi</em> ‘but when we say it in our language in Arabic.’ <em>Yunken umri maqultaha le ahad</em> ‘I don’t think that I’ve ever told to anybody.’ <em>Ya ‘ani sabah awahed qulaha be alanglizi</em> ‘it is easy to say it in English.’ <em>Ya ‘ani asgul lesahbatu be alshugul</em> ‘I tell my friends at work.’ I love you, drive safe. (S, F, 21)</td>
<td>Describe the difference in expressing love verbally between English and Arabic. switch to English complete sentences (I love you, drive safe).</td>
<td>English is ML Arabic is EL Switching between Arabic and English at sentence borders. Situational CS.</td>
<td>Cultural and social reasons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 8</strong>&lt;br&gt;(H): <em>uh, wana sugaiarah</em> ‘when I was little.’ <em>Baba huu</em> ‘dad is’ pharmacist <em>A’andu saidaliti</em> ‘he owns a pharmacy.’ <em>Men wahna sugaiarin kuna daiman ma’ah fe alsaidaliah</em> ‘when we were kids, we were always with him in the pharmacy. ya’ani ana shuft hagat, mashyufahsh’ ‘I mean, I saw many things I didn’t see’ outside el ‘the’ field’ (H, F, 22).</td>
<td>Describe the story behind her love for her career. decided to tell the story in Arabic.</td>
<td>Arabic is ML English is the EL. Situational &amp; metaphorical CS.</td>
<td>Experience happened in a different context.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 presents a sample of how I conducted the language analysis. I took notes during the observation of the narratives, specifically when CS occurred, and those notes were discussed in the following interviews to explore the possible reasons for CS. Furthermore, after reading the transcription, I started highlighting the CS and took notes of when and where it occurred in the narrative. In this stage, I decided on the base language, embedded language, and the type of CS (situational or metaphorical). This stage facilitated the next one (the sentence level analysis), deciding the structure and the categories of CS.

3.4.2.4.2. The Sentence Level Analysis

After giving a thorough analysis of CS at the whole language level, an analysis of CS at the sentence level was conducted, examining the following: how CS was used in the participants’ utterances, what type of CS was used, and which syntactic categories were used in these utterances.

Three types of CS occurred in the participants’ narratives: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS. The following table depicts types of CS and some examples from the participants’ narratives.

Table 5: The sentence level analysis of CS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 4</strong>&lt;br<em>Mush</em> <em>mutardin alahukum rab</em> <em>ala</em>’alamin, <em>bas, ya’ani.</em>&lt;br&gt;‘We don’t object Allah’s will, but, like’. something, you know, I wish I have spent time with her.</td>
<td><strong>Inter-sentential</strong> Occurs at the sentence boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 4</strong>&lt;br&gt;I think I would say <em>jadati Allah yarhamha</em> ‘my grandmother may Allah have mercy on her’.</td>
<td><strong>Intra-sentential</strong> Occurs within a phrase or a sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 4</strong>&lt;br&gt;Uh, um, <em>Ya’ani</em> ‘like’&lt;br&gt;<em>Bas</em> ‘but’</td>
<td><strong>Extra-sentential</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second stage of the linguistic analysis, I analyzed the type of sentences used in the CS. As seen in Table 5, there are three types of sentences in the narrative of sadness and love: inter-sentential (occurs at the sentence boundary), intra-sentential (occurs within a phrase or a sentence), and extra-sentential (occurs anywhere in the utterances without much consideration of the structure). The following table presents the structure and category of the CS used in narrating emotional experiences by bilingual speakers of Arabic and English.

Table 6: Structure and categories of CS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Ya’ani ‘like’</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>Arabic &amp; English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Qasdi ‘I mean’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bas ‘but, only’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• el ‘the, a’</td>
<td>determiners</td>
<td>Arabic (Arabic is the ML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• outside el field</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Zhkani ‘bored’</td>
<td>adjectives &amp; adverbs</td>
<td>Arabic (English is ML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• makhbutah, ‘sad and repressed’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• medaigah ‘sad and uneasy.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Amati ‘aunt from father’s side’</td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>Arabic (English is the ML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Xalati ‘aunt from mother’s side’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Zheket ‘I am bored’</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>Arabic (as expression) (English is the ML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shuft ‘I saw’</td>
<td>VP (Arabic is the ML)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Tukburni ‘you bury me’ to express deep love ‘you outlive me’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Insha Allah ‘if God wills</td>
<td>Complete sentences</td>
<td>Arabic &amp; English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Allah yarhamha ‘may Allah have mercy on her’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Allah yafar lahum ‘may Allah forgive them’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I love you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drive safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows how CS utterances were analyzed to determine the category and the structure used in the participants’ data. This stage of language analysis examined the words, phrases, and sentences in which CS occurred to decide the structures of the CS (for example, VP, NP, PP) and the category of CS (noun, verb, adjective). Language level analysis was relied upon to facilitate the examination of the sentence as a whole.
3.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the research questions and a comprehensive description of the methodology used in this study. It gave an overview of the instruments used to collect the data. I used a qualitative technique to explore CS from linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives: a questionnaire, an observation, and an interview. First, the open-ended questionnaire gathered some background and linguistic information. Second, I observed the participants in pairs narrating stories related to love and sadness. Finally, third, I used semi-structured interviews, in which the participants discussed their narratives and the correlation between their language choices, and cultural and social contexts as well as their identities.

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the participant's personal and linguistic background: their cultures, languages, and how they all form a small and growing community in Oxford, MS. The data analysis was divided into two parts: the preliminary analysis, which described how the data was gathered and transcribed, and the in-depth analysis, thoroughly explained the sociolinguistic and linguistic analysis. This chapter displayed excerpts from the participants' narratives and responses to the interview questions in order to better illustrate the methodology of analysis. The next chapter will present the findings of the data analysis.
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the qualitative analysis of the CS in the narrative of emotions of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. It discusses the findings of the social and linguistic analysis, providing examples and excerpts from the participants’ stories and interviews to support the findings and discussion. The findings are divided into two sections: the sociolinguistic findings, including reasons for CS and identity in expressing emotions, and the linguistic findings, which discuss the narratives and interview responses at two levels: the language level and the sentence level. The following reviews the research questions of this dissertation, followed by the findings obtained from the social and linguistic analysis:

1. Do English-Arabic bilinguals code-switch (CS) when express their feelings of love and sadness?

2. Which contexts do they believe correlate with their CS?

3. What do they believe influences their choice of language when expressing love or sadness?

4. How do English-Arabic bilinguals believe that their CS in these situations correlates to their identity?

5. What are the types of CS? What are the structures of the CS?
The first four research questions are combined in the findings because they are related to each other. The answer for the first question is simply, yes, English-Arabic bilinguals code-switch when expressing their feelings of love and sadness. However, CS in expressing emotions depends on many factors including social and cultural factors as well as linguistic factors. The social and cultural factors include the setting, the interlocutors, and the topic. The linguistic factors include the participants’ proficiency in both languages, interlocutors’ proficiency level, and length of exposure to the language. Since these factors are part of the above research questions, they will be discussed together in this section.

As mentioned in the above paragraph, the participants of this study code switch to Arabic in narrating their stories and experiences of sadness and love. However, there are differences between them in the level of intensity of CS. The intensity of CS in the narratives differs depending on the two factors mentioned above. These factors were determined based on analyzing the narratives using the SPEAKING model and thematic analysis and interviewing the participants afterward. The following discusses these factors and provides supporting excerpts and examples from the participant’s responses.

The participants all grew up knowing the social and cultural norms of their native culture because their community celebrates Arabic culture, which is why they practice it. Besides, they understand American culture due to their residency, surroundings, friends, and jobs, which requires them to be aware of social and cultural norms. The following presents some of their responses to the interview questions related to language and culture, showing their knowledge of the norms of both cultures:
Excerpt 3: Of course, you can use English. But I just don't feel like it fits the situation. If you're going to an Arabic wedding, you can use English, but they're all Arabic speakers. Why are you not using Arabic? Or if you're going to aza ('funeral') and this person is a member of your community? You will have to use Arabic and, of course religiously, without a doubt Arabic. (H, F, 21).

Excerpt 9: Yes, I have no idea about any curse words in Arabic! only yal’an ‘damn’ That’s simply it. Even in English, we don’t because that is another taboo I used to get scared to say the word hell Though it’s not like… Just thinking about cursing in front of my parents Or family members It’s such a scary thing. (S, F, 21).

Excerpt 10: So yeah, if I am like in a religious setting, like at the masjid, typically, I'm speaking Arabic or if I'm around, like native Arabic speakers, but I will, definitely, like switch just because my Arabic is not, like 100%, And then if I'm with my Arab American friends, like we all do, like a mix of English and Arabic, especially if we're like trying to express emotions a lot. Um, yeah, for us, like Arabic phrases for that. But then if I'm with my like, regular American friends, that's all in English. (Z, F, 21).

The previous excerpts from three participants' responses to the interview questions show how they use Arabic and English or even switch between them for social, cultural, and situational—interlocutors and topic—reasons. In excerpt 3, the participant indicates that using Arabic is crucial in communicating condolences at funerals. From her point of view, some situations demand the use of Arabic, and those situations are usually cultural: if at an Arab funeral, everybody supposedly knows Arabic, so why use English? Also, in weddings, she believes that Arabic is more expressive and fits the situation better. In Arab culture, funerals are religious since the process of burial includes rituals of praying and supplications using mostly religious expressions. In excerpt 9, the participant shows how some topics, such as cursing, are taboo in Arabic culture. She explains that she did not learn Arabic cursing words since they are not used in her social circle. Further, she does not curse in English either, because of how she was brought
up. The participant in excerpt 10 reports that she uses Arabic religious expressions in a specific setting, which is Masjid (‘mosque’) but that also depends on to whom she is talking. As a result of being raised in an Arab culture household, these participants acknowledge cultural and social norms and adhere to them. Hence, they know how the language is used and why some expressions and topics cannot be discussed in particular social and cultural situations. The participants’ language choices are selected based on the setting and the social and cultural norms. According to Zentella (1997), the setting and the social and cultural knowledge determine the language choice in a communication.

The linguistic knowledge ‘out of the mouth’ (Zentella, 1997) for my study depends on the language proficiency of the interlocutors and the situation. The participants mentioned that they switched to Arabic because the interviewer is an Arab. All the participants think that whom they are talking to, and their level of language proficiency are central factors in language choice.

**Excerpt 11:**
(H): if all the people present speak Arabic.
Interviewer: so, do you speak to each other in English more or in Arabic more?
(M): I would probably say 60% in English and 40% in Arabic
(H) So, when we spoke, or let's just say we were planning events, we had all that going on.
So, I would speak English, of course, because I'm considered that those people have to understand what I'm saying.
But I also, if it's just like four of us, and there's only Arabs on the team at that time.
I would use English and Arabic with them easily, like, I switch easily between them. (M & H, 21, 20, M, F).

**Excerpt 12:**
I think it really depends on who I am talking to, um, because they do speak both, yes, but, however, I do speak more Arabic in the house. Actually, my mom doesn’t like for me to speak English. So, it’s only “Arabi Arabi” (‘Arabic’). I speak Arabic in my house. So, that’s why I have been able to be proficient in Arabic. Just because we are so strict on that. (N, 27, F).

The above extracts are from the participants' responses to questions about the use of English and Arabic. The participants, as mentioned earlier, believe that the choice depends on the interlocutors and the situations, which means that, as in excerpt 13, the participant uses
Arabic because the situation requires it. Her mother insists that they speak Arabic, so they can be proficient in their native language; she switched to Arabic when quoting her mother asking them to speak “Arabi, Arabi” ‘Arabic’.

The following section discusses the findings from the sociolinguistic analysis of CS first in the narrative about sadness and then in the experience of love.

4.1. Sociolinguistic Findings from Narratives and Interviews

This section presents the findings from the sociolinguistic analysis of the narratives and the interviews. It shows the reasons for CS based on the discussion of the interviews, highlighting the participants' perceived identity when talking about emotions in two languages and within two different cultural contexts.

4.1.1. CS in the Narratives of Sadness

The following is an excerpt from the first group- a brother and sister, who came to the U.S. when they were 10 and 11 years old. The following is the brother’s part of a story about the loss of his grandfather. The participant switched to Arabic after making it clear that he would tell the story in Arabic. Based on this excerpt, there are two experiences of loss, one from the father's side and one from the mother’s side. The participant described the first one in Arabic without switching to English. Then, he talked about the second one in English and switched to Arabic. He started his first experience by saying “I’ll answer in Arabic”, then continue in Arabic.
In the following utterances from excerpt 13, the participant switched to English to narrate another sad experience of loss related to the death of his grandfather. The switching started after concluding the first experience; he started the second experience by telling it in English. He switched to the Arabic cultural expression “alhamdulelah” ‘praised be to God’ and completed it in English. After that, he switched again to Arabic after using the fillers “ahh, umm” to say a complete sentence in Arabic.

**Excerpt 13:**

Same thing, but it was with my grandfather from my mother’s side.
But alhamdulelah (‘praised be to God’), we got to see him one last time before we went, ahh, umm,
ruhna maser fi 2018 shufnah
(‘We went to Egypt in 2018, and we saw him’)

`hwa bardu tufi men arba’a snin masalan`
(‘he also passed away 4 years ago’). (M & H, 21, 20, F, M).

When he was asked about that in the interview, he emphasized that it comes naturally and it also depends on to whom he is talking; in our case, there were two people: his sister and me.

He mentioned before that he switches when talking to his sister. CS in the narratives of this first pair was different to some extent compared to the others because they switched to Arabic when telling the story about sadness by saying, “I will tell the story in Arabic.” When asked about the
reason in the following interview (as in excerpt 40), they said that because of to whom they are talking, it comes naturally, even though they prefer to use English:

**Excerpt 40:**
but when it comes to answering questions
I will be completely honest
The quicker one that we usually use is English
So, if we're answering a question
somebody asks me a question
I do usually answer in English
That's what I am used to doing
But, if I am speaking to somebody in Arabic
And I feel like they won't understand English that I speak
I'll completely speak Arabic
So, we both understand what we are saying
(H): for me, it comes naturally
as (M) said, sometimes the situation depends on who am I speaking with \( \text{(H & M, 20, 21, F, M)} \).

When analyzing their narrative, the act of the two participants shifted from English to Arabic and then returned to English. In sadness narratives, the brother talked about two experiences switching between Arabic and English, while the sister talked about them in Arabic. This type of CS is metaphorical and situational because, from their points of view, it happens naturally for no reason, but the topic—sadness—would trigger the switching to Arabic; the situation requires a switch to Arabic, and the emotional and cultural parts of it need to be expressed in Arabic. Another potential reason for CS in sad narratives is that the experiences occurred in another language and within another cultural setting, Arabic, which could be a reason for describing them in Arabic, for example, in excerpt 13, he refers to the United States in his experiences as 'there in the U.S.' vs. 'here in the U.S.' in the second. Since this dissertation focuses on sociolinguistics, it will not examine the psychological and cognitive aspects of CS.

In the first experience, the brother spoke in English with few expressions, primarily religious, but when the sister switched to Arabic, he started to switch to Arabic, as in excerpt 13. After analyzing their narrative using the SPEAKING model and the thematic analysis, it is evident that the use of English and Arabic as channels to their narrative differs from the other
two pairs. They used Arabic to narrate the experience itself. They talked in English, but when describing the event, they decided to switch to Arabic after stating that clearly. The topic (death), the language proficiency level (compared to the others, they were late learners and have been in the U.S. for about ten years), and the interlocutors (interviewer and the siblings) may have influenced the switching to Arabic. The norm was English until the switch point, which was deciding to switch to Arabic ("I can say this in Arabic" or "I'll say it in Arabic"). They might feel more comfortable using Arabic in narrating a story for the reasons mentioned above. One can sense the sister's influence on her brother's language choices between these two participants' interactions. As mentioned previously, the brother (who is younger) was talking in English and switched to some Arabic expressions, mostly cultural, in the first narrative, but when his sister said: "I can say this part in Arabic," he did the same with the second narrative, which was about the death of his grandfather.

They switched to Arabic for cultural, social, and linguistic reasons. The cultural and social reasons include the context, the interlocutors, and the topic. They discuss that in the interview, as shown in excerpts 3, 11, and 40. The narrative showed that the topic of death triggered CS to religious expressions. Additionally, the context in which these narratives took place might influence their choice of Arabic. The linguistic reasons could be because they became exposed to the English language and the American culture at a later age than the others and their family primarily communicates with them in Arabic, or that they are, unlike the others, are proficient in both languages, but feel more comfortable using their first language.

The following excerpt is part of the narrative of the two sisters, who came to the United States when they were 2 and 4 years old. In this narrative, there is less CS than in the first group; the switches were mostly related to cultural expressions, for example, *jadati Allah yarhamha*
‘my grandmother may God have mercy on her,’ *alhamdulelah* ‘praised be to God’. There were also some switches using interjections and complete sentences, for instance, *ya’ani*, which means in this narrative the interjection ‘like,’ where its literal meaning is ‘mean.’ Based on the thematic analysis of the narratives, CS was used for cultural and social reasons in the narratives of this pair.

**Excerpt 4:**

(J): *Alhamdulelah*, I don’t think of anyone that
('Praised be to God')
I love that died, that I know of, and grieved upon
*Ya’ani alhamdulelh*, you know,
('like' ‘praised be to God’). That I remember of.
(S): I think I would say
*Jadati allah yarhamha* ('My grandmother may God have mercy on her')
My grandmother *Allah yarhamha* ('May god have mercy on her') died when we were really young
(J): yeah
(S): so, I think every time someone mentions her…
They talk so much about her. She died when I was 4
She died when (J) was 2
Like very vaguely, *bas* ('but') *Abi yatakalm anha* ('my father talks about her') *Ayoni tadma’a* ('I get tears in my eyes'). I feel something. Like, I feel bad. And everyone talks about her, like, oh,
*jadati allah yarhamha* ('my grandmother may God have mercy on her'). There is no one like her.

(S & J, F, 21, 19)

The use of the expression *alhamdulelah* ‘praised be to God’ was very common in all the narratives of sadness, showing the Arabic identity of the participants since, as mentioned earlier, religion plays a huge part in their culture, regardless of what religious beliefs one holds, always present in the speech of Arabs. What was always present in the narrative of sadness is whenever a religious expression (*Insha Allah* ‘if God wills, *alhamdulelah* ‘praised be to God’), or term (*Aza* ‘funeral’) was encountered, there is almost always CS. Furthermore, in this excerpt, there was CS of a complete sentence: *Abi yatakalm anha* ‘my father talks about her’ *Ayoni tadma’a* ‘I get tears in my eyes’, which is a switch to express how she felt when her father talks about his mother. All the above switches are translatable to equivalents in English and are used in English as well. Yet, they preferred to use them in Arabic.

The following is also part of the same narrative of the two sisters:
Excerpt 4:
(J): yeah
(S): Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al'alamin
(‘we don’t object to the rule and judgement of the lord of the worlds’)
bas ya’ani, something
(‘but, like’)
You know, I wish I would have spent time with her
(J): yeah,
I …. met her, remember her story
Because I don’t remember a thing with her
(S) allah yarhamha
(‘God have mercy on her’)
(J): we just hear when people talk about her
And that’s it. (S & J, F, 21, 19)

This utterance from the above extract (Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al'alamin 'we do not object to the rule and judgment of the lord of the worlds') shows CS to a complete sentence for cultural reasons, religious, to show acceptance of death. The above extract shows how their religion, part of their Arabic culture, is rooted in their identity. In the Arab culture, people are advised not to be so extreme in their grief upon the loss of loved ones because this would be considered an objection to Allah's will, explaining why Arabs tend to use a lot of religious expressions to remind themselves and others to be patient: this is God's will, they have to accept it as part of their faith. Thus, the participant says, "We do not object to Allah's will, but we feel sad to lose her." Further, one cannot mention someone who has passed away without saying a prayer after their name as a form of respect for death and the person's memory in Arab culture. Again, this indicates a knowledge of the culture and shows solidarity. When asked in the interview why they used some Arabic expressions, both participants answered that when the interviewer is an Arab, they switched to Arabic. They also mentioned that some expressions need to be used only in Arabic because they were learned in Arabic, for example, the religious expression alhamdulalah 'praised be to God.

According to the analysis using the SPEAKING Model of this group, the code choice switched to religiously loaded utterances when the topic was death. Additionally, the channels of
their narrative and their choice of language mostly pertain to their proficiency level in Arabic. They both came to the U.S. when they were very young (before the age of 5) and thus it is understandable that their switches in these particular situations would probably mainly relate to some cultural and religious expressions, as they learned religion at home in their mother tongue. Therefore, for them, the norm is English until they reach the switch point, which usually depends on the topic (like death), the audience, and their level of knowledge of English.

CS in the first and second pairs’ narrative of a sad experience, which in both is the experience of the death of loved ones, is both situational and metaphorical. The situation, the topic, and the interlocutors influenced the choice of language. The speakers switch to cultural expressions to convey nuanced emotions that are not easily expressed in English, especially in this situation, where specific cultural expressions are necessary. This use of cultural expressions can be seen as a metaphorical representation of the situation.

Next is the narrative of sadness of two sisters, who were born and raised, and have spent their entire lives in the United States.

**Excerpt 14:**

um, well, not like in death or anything like that.
Um, it was, you know, caring a lot for someone, and then, um,
Like, this like, in a romantic spectrum, like, someone like I was, like engaged to
And then, it didn’t work out
And, um, I, I don’t know if losing the person is the right way to say what happened.
But, yeah, I cared about someone, and then, they were no longer in my life.

Oh, I just said, um, I lost someone before
but I think it was mainly just due to like incompatibilities.
Like as we grow older, we kind of fit into our own bubble,
and then they tend to let go, because like they...
I’m from Oxford.
I've been born and raised here my whole life.
And I feel like this is definitely a city where people come, and they do their thing.
And they leave.
So, yeah, for sure. (Z & F, F, 21, 27).

The above excerpts are from the third group, which, as mentioned before, is the only one who is a native speaker of English and has been exposed to the culture since birth. There is a shift in the
topic choice and language choices and unlike the others, their sad experiences are not related to death but losing life partners. Regarding language choice, there are no switches in talking about this experience. Based on the SPEAKING Model, this pair differs from the others regarding their first language and proficiency level in Arabic. The channel of the narratives was always English, which could be related to several reasons, including the topic (not death) and proficiency level (they both speak Arabic, but they considered themselves intermediate and can express themselves better in English). The interlocutor did not influence the language choice because even when I switched to Arabic when asking the questions, they would still use English. Furthermore, they identified themselves with Arab-American culture. They are not as reserved as the others, which was reflected in their choice of topic, yet they cannot consider themselves as fully Americans, which we discussed when they talked about their identities.

### 4.1.2. CS in the Narratives of Love

For the narratives of the love stories, all participants talked about their families, specifically their parents. The stories were about the love of their families, which is highly valued in Arab culture. The question about love experience was hard to answer for some participants because Arab culture expresses and shows love through actions more than words, which is why participants found it hard to think of a story or experience related to it. The following excerpt is from the participants' narratives and responses to the interview questions about expressing their love in both cultures.
Excerpt 8:
I’d say, ahh so career wise,
Let’s say that I love anything that has to do with the health.
Health career.
So, pharmacy school.
I am currently a BM pharmacy student.
And I hope, Insaha Allah (‘if God wills’) to go to (-) school.
That’s my plan.
I’d say that I love the career.
As seen in excerpt 8, the brother narrated his experience with only one
switch to Arabic (Insaha Allah ‘if God wills’). The sister began in English but made a deliberate
decision to switch to Arabic when discussing her experience. She chose to tell the story of her
love for her career. This pair has been in the U.S. for about ten years, and according to them,
they learned English when they were 10 & 11, and are proficient in both languages, as mentioned
in the questionnaire. As seen in excerpt 8, the brother narrated his experience with only one
switch to Arabic (Insaha Allah ‘if God wills’). The sister began in English but made a deliberate
decision to switch to Arabic when discussing her experience. She chose to tell the story of her

Excerpt 8:
(H): me too.
I think what I think important to me
Let’s just say career wise.
Why I chose pharmacy school.
Maybe I can say that part in Arabic.
oh, wana sugaiarah (‘when I was little’)
Baba hua (‘dad is’) pharmacist
A andu saidalitu (‘he owns a pharmacy’)
Men wahna sugaiarinh kuna daiman ma’ ah fe alsaidaliah (‘when we were kids, we were always
with him in the pharmacy’)
Mama shagalalah doctorah fe aljama’ah (‘my mom works as a professor in a university’)
Fa daiman betsafar le aljama’ah eli betdares feha (‘she always travels to the university campus,
where she teaches’)
Yumin talatah masalan fe alosbu’a (‘two or three days a week’)
Fa ehna bnebah’a ba’a fe elumin aljama’ah dol (‘so, during those two, three days’)
Once en ehna xalasna madrasah (‘we finished school’)
Nu’ad ma’ah fe alsaidalihah lahad (‘we would stay with him in the pharmacy until’)
You know, whenever he closed.
ana shakhshian ana muta’aalia qedan bialsaydalia bisabab an aexperience ali ana akhtaha wana
sughira (‘I am personality, I am very attached to the pharmacy because of the experience I have
when I was young’)
yu’ani bashuf baba masalan bisaeid nas masalan mumkin makumush meahum fulus kaftyih
masalan an huma yadfa’au (‘I mean, I see Baba, like, helping people, they may not have enough
money with them’)
mosalana bexahlum yu a’aloo a’adi on his expense (‘like, treat them’)
bashuf masalan marda, they can’t afford an huma yeruhi l duktur (‘I saw, like, patients’)
wayakthi appointment (‘schedule’). (H & M, M, F, 20, 21).
passion for pharmacy in Arabic, saying: "maybe I can say that part in Arabic." Based on the SPEAKING model and thematic analysis of this narrative, it is clear that the use of Arabic in this narrative depends on several factors, such as the interlocutors, the context, social and cultural identity, and language proficiency. It is likely that the participant switched to Arabic because the experience happened in an Arabic-speaking environment in her hometown. The interlocutors are her brother and the interviewer (native speakers of Arabic), so she might feel more comfortable using Arabic in expressing emotional experiences relating to her father and her love for her career since Arabic is her mother tongue and her dominant language besides English, as she mentioned in the questionnaire. Identity is another factor that may influence the language choice in her narrative; she was trying to emphasize a point, praising her father and how he helped people through his work in his pharmacy, which led to her attachment to this field. It could be to show her honor of how and when she learned about this field. In her narrative of the story where she used Arabic, there were different types of switching to English at all language levels: words, phrases, and sentences, for example, “once”, “appointment”, “whenever he closed”, and “they cannot afford.” Switching between Arabic and English could indicate a high-level language ability in the respective languages. In this narrative, this bilingual speaker seems to combine metaphorical and situational CS in her decision to switch to Arabic. She switched to Arabic to explain precisely her emotions, her love for her career, and what makes her appreciate it that much. This decision was likely influenced by the fact that everyone involved in the conversation spoke Arabic, particularly since the story relates to the speaker's family and career. It is possible that the context of the experience being in an Arabic-speaking setting also played a role in the language choice.
Based on excerpt 7, for the two participants, who have lived in the U.S. almost their entire lives, using the phrase “I love you” is easier in English. The younger sister shared a story about her morning routine every Friday, in which she expresses her love to her parents in English by saying, “I love you.” When one of the sisters mentioned the phrase ‘significant other,’ she switched to English for cultural reasons, a culturally sensitive topic typically only discussed with close individuals. When asked about this in the interview, the sisters gave the following response.

Excerpt 5:
It's just not really comfortable to speak about love
It’s just a weird topic to speak to them in Arabic
Ashan ihna alarab almona ma nethkash a’an alhub (‘because we, the Arabs, were taught not to talk about love’)
So, it’s like, no, what!
What are you talking about? That’s a taboo! (S, 21, F).
In excerpt 5, the participant switched to Arabic when she mentioned why it was uncomfortable to talk about love in her culture: "because we, the Arabs, were taught not to talk about love," It is possible that she switched to Arabic because she was taught about the taboo nature of the topic in Arabic, but not in English. Another reason for the language switch could be to express her identification with her Arabic culture, evident in her statement, "we, the Arab," which demonstrated her desire to showcase her cultural identity and solidarity.

The analysis of the situation using the SPEAKING Model and thematic analysis revealed that the use of Arabic instead of English was due to cultural and social reasons including the topic and the interlocutors, rather than linguistic ones. They used English but switched to Arabic to explain why, which as mentioned earlier is due to culture (the taboo nature of the topic) and social reasons (their family taught them not to talk about it), so they tended to use English to express love directly in English even with their family. It is worth noting that expressing love to family and friends is not taboo in Arab culture, but it is not conventional; love is usually expressed through deeds in most Arab communities. As discussed in the previous chapter, in analyzing the act of the SPEAKING Model, the participants, as shown in excerpt 7, did not actually talk about a love experience, but rather focused on expressing love within their culture, except for the last part when the younger sister shared her Friday routine with her parents. She switched to Arabic to share her routine and reversed to English when she said: “my mom and my dad, I kiss their forehead and I say I love you.” It is possible that her choice of language was influenced by her older sister, who started speaking in Arabic. Compared to their narrative of sad experiences, their narrative about love showed more CS displaying more cultural sensitivity to this topic, as it is related not only to culture but also to social identity. In contrast, the topic of death is related more to their cultural identity (religion). CS in this narrative is situational and
used to fit the situation demand in this context: the interlocutor is Arab, and the topic requires a switch for cultural and social considerations discussed earlier.

Looking at the excerpt below from two sisters who were born and raised in the U.S. and whose native language is English, when asked, “Is it easy for you to show people that you care about them and express it verbally?,” one of them answered “yes,” and the other answered “no.” Nevertheless, they both express love more in English, which is understandable since it is their native and dominant language.

**Excerpt 15:**
(F): uh, well, I mean, I would say I express love to (Z) pretty often
Um, I, you know, like, I think I called her an angel on earth
(Z): [laughing]
(F): um, I love you so much. You’re amazing.
(Z): [laughing showing shyness]
(F): you are a perfect human being
(Z): for me, I don’t know, it depends.
Every now and then, usually, I am not the one to initiate that,
But like I did text Honey the other day
And told her that I missed her a lot
Um, but usually, I don’t do that
That’s out of character.
(Z) I feel like Arab family never express emotions of love as much
Would you agree with that honey?
(F) I mean I would agree with that, but like for me personally like
I tell people that I love them all the time
Yeah, I am very verbally expressive
(F) for me I say it in both like I say bahebik (‘I love you’), and I’ll also say I love you
I’ll also say you are amazing or that kind of thing
Like, it is not just I love you
Like, different types of verbal complements
(Z): for me, if I’m talking to my sisters, I’ll say it in English,
But, if I’m talking to my mom, it’s in Arabic. (F & Z, F, 27, 21).

There is no significant CS in the above excerpts, only one word in Arabic bahebik 'I love you'.

Unlike other participants, as mentioned earlier, these two were born and raised in America, which is what they also talked about in the questionnaire and the interview. These participants mentioned in the questionnaire that although they fluently speak Arabic, their dominant and native language is English, which makes them more comfortable using it. Like the previous pair, they did not share an experience or a story but talked about themselves and how they would
express love personally. Based on the analysis, and since there is no noticeable CS, their communication channel is always English, which was not influenced by the interlocutors or the topic. The norm was that they talked to each other in English and switched to some Arabic expressions when I was included in the talk. When the sister used the expression (bahebik 'I love you), she was telling the interviewer that this is what she used to express her love and appreciation to her sister. Their intermediate proficiency may influence this preference in Arabic, as they mentioned in the questionnaire. They also identified themselves as Arab-American, which may explain why they do not express their Arab identity through their use of the Arabic language. However, their family and their culture may indirectly influence that, as discussed in excerpt 15, where the participant mentioned that their family is not verbally expressive, so they could not learn it in their Arabic context. The following excerpts, 16 and 17, describe their culture as Arab-American and their family culture.

**Excerpt 16:**

um, probably Arab culture. Um, in a lot of ways, Arab culture. And, um, But I also feel like, think that the American culture is kind of also like up there in covert ways. So, I think like, on the surface, I would say Arabic.

But then, I do feel like a lot of the ways I think have been shaped by American up bringing. Like, I feel like, I have a different mindset. Like, I don’t really like, I don’t really get along with a lot of my family overseas. Not because I don’t like them, but because we just have totally different ways of thinking about life. *(F, F, 27).*

Their family’s culture is more conservative, particularly in showing and expressing emotions, which is different from their own.

**Excerpt 17:**

*(F):* I think it does have to do with the Arabic culture

Um, you know, just coz, um, I feel like we weren’t

Like, we didn’t grow up to be lovey-dovey all the time

And like, hugging each other.

And you know, telling each other.

How much we love each other all the time

So, I think that part of that is kind of has to do with the Arabic culture

Coz, you know, like, I am thinking like the other arab (‘Arab’) that I know, too

Similar experiences, so... *(F, F, 27).*
The above excerpts show that the participants are familiar with the cultural norms in Arabic families where love is not expressed overtly. They explained the reasons for not using Arabic in expressing emotions, as presented in excerpts 16 and 17. However, according to their narratives, they did not use Arabic but could express their emotions in English easily and openly.

The type of CS is hard to decide because it was limited to one expression, and it is translatable (bahebik 'I love you').

4.1.3. Differences in Expressing Emotions: American vs. Arabic Cultures

One of the questions in the narrative task was if expressing sadness and love was different or similar in the two languages and within the two cultures. Also, the participants were asked to think of a story, or an experience related to the differences between the two. The following are responses to the differences between the two.

**Excerpt 18:**
I feel like Americans,
_Ya'ani sah yehebu ahlahun_, (‘like, they do love their families’)
and stuff like that
bas ‘but’, for example
I work at a hospital, and I see,
Like how, like…
I have so many old patients
Mathalan aialahun mush mawgodin (‘their children are not with them’)
Yahutuhum bedar, ya’ani (‘they put them in a home,’)
like a home,
Or like a place to take care of them
Bas aralab (‘but for the Arab’,)
I don’t think you’ll
Ever see someone like that
Or if you do, it… it’s something super rare
Ya’ani (‘like’,)
I think that I don’t…
That question makes me think of that.
Ya’ani aralab alhamdulelah (‘like, Arab, praised be to God.’)
I feel like they…
That’s why I was saying I love you in Arabic is harder.
Ya’ani (‘like’)
Because we love, actually love
Our family is priority,
Number one no matter what (S & J, F, 19, 21).
Excerpt 18 shows that the participant alternated between Arabic and English, switching to Arabic after using interjections like "ya'ani," "bas," and "mathalan," which mean "like," "but," and "for example," respectively. She switched from Arabic to English after using "ya'ani," repeating the word "home" in English after saying it in Arabic, "dar." The cultural factors, the setting, and the interlocutors influence the choice of religious expressions, like "praised be to God" in Arabic, describing the experience in Arabic to express how this situation is not customary in her Arabic culture.

She referred to Americans and Arabs and their cultures as "they." However, she used the cultural expression "praised be to God" to explain that this situation usually does not exist, and family is always a priority in the Arab culture to show identity and solidarity. The interaction was mainly between this participant and me; she was directing her speech toward me, which could be a reason for the switching to Arabic.

The following illustrates how the third pair, who are native English speakers, talk about the cultural differences between Arabic and English; they switched for religious expressions only, as follows:

**Excerpt 19:**
um, I don’t know if this is, like, what you are asking  
But, in..., I don’t know if that an Arabic culture thing  
Or, like a Muslim thing, but, I feel like, you know, in English  
If I want to express, you know, something sad  
You know, for example, if someone like, loses a family member  
Or, you know, something like that  
You know, if they passed away  
You know, English, you would say  
Uh, I am sorry for your loss  
But, then in Arabic, like there’re so many things you can say  
Like, you know, Allah yrhamu, insha Allah mathuah aljanah (‘may Allah have mercy on him’),  
(‘may Allah make him abide in paradise’)  
Like, that kind of thing. I don’t know, it is like a lot more…  
You know, I feel like, religion kind of might play more into this  
But, I feel like, there is a lot more than religious saying about sadness  
That make it more, oh, I am just sorry for what happened  
Like, there is another answer to it in Arabic  
And, it is, you know, like, you know, religion of the afterlife (F & Z, f, 27, 21).
Compared to the other participants, the third group used less CS, and their stories were also different than the others. For example, in narrating sad experiences (excerpt 14), they did not talk about death as the others did. Their stories were about losing either friends or romantic partners. The only switches observed were when talking about the differences between Arabic and American culture when expressing emotions (excerpt 19), where they only used CS with religious expressions (“Allah yrhamu, insha Allah mathuah aljanah ‘may Allah have mercy on him,’ ‘may Allah make him abide in paradise’). The switch here was intentional to present examples of how Arabs express condolences in situations like death. She explained in this excerpt that it is more related to the Muslim culture, not only the Arab culture. They discussed in the interview that some of the religion-related expressions are better expressed in Arabic, as discussed in the following section.

4.1.4. Reasons for CS from the Participants’ Point of View

This section presents the participants’ point of view for the reasons behind CS. When the participants were asked when they would tell a story only in Arabic or in English, their responses focused on a few mutual factors: the audience, the setting, proficiency levels of both the speaker and the interlocutors, and the topic.

1. word translation
2. lack of equivalent words in English
3. interlocutors
4. culture and social setting
5. the language in which the emotions were learned.
6. word economy.
4.1.4.1. Word Translation

Translation of some religious expressions in celebrations and cultural occasions such as funerals and weddings could convey the denotative meaning. However, participants believed there were no culturally adequate translations for these expressions. The translations of these religious expressions are usually literal, ignoring the underlying cultural meaning of the expressions. For example, in expressions of condolences, such as al baq'a'I'lah 'only Allah lasts forever,' as discussed by the participants, there are good translations for these expressions, but they do not convey enough meaning of these expressions, with religious connotations about the Islamic faith. If something sad or devastating happened, they would turn to religion, which in turn led to the use of Arabic more (excerpt 4,19). They can quote Islamic hadith' sayings of the prophet,' dua'a 'prayer,' supplication, and expressions such as alhamdulillah 'praised be to God,' and Insha Allah' if God wills,' which are tied to religion. Even though these expressions could be translated into English, they were used in Arabic. According to the participants, they would lose their meaning if they were to be translated into English.

In the following excerpt, the word ("tukburni" 'you bury me') was hard to translate into English. As mentioned above, it could convey the denotative meaning but not the cultural connotation of their Arab culture and how they express deep love.

Excerpt 20:
I think like, most expressions in Arabic should stay in Arabic, because they don't translate well at all. Like, I mean, like, just the just like, the stereotypical stuff like, tukburni 'you bury me' like, how are you going to translate that and in English, like, you know, like, the meaning is very beautiful. (F, F, 27).

The participant believes that some expressions related to culture do not have to be translated to English because they will not convey the same meaning.
4.1.4.2. Lack of Equivalent Words in English

CS also occurs for words that do not exist in English, for instance, ‘aunt (from both sides of the family).’ In Arabic, there are two different words for ‘aunt from the mother’s side of the family’ and ‘aunt from the father’s side of the family.’ One of the participants, who thinks that she has an accent in Arabic and that her Arabic is not the best, illustrated this perceived lack of proficiency:

Excerpt 1:
Even when I am talking with my dad or my friends,
Wa la amati wala banat xali ‘or my aunts (from father’s side) or my cousins (uncle from mother’s side)’
When I speak with them in English
I say a couple words in Arabic,
And those words in Arabic are usually,
Words that, I don’t know,
Like stand out the most. (S, 21, F).

Excerpt 21:
yes, especially,
When I talk with older people, and we suppose to speak to them, like, in Arabic,
Whenever I go and talk with my ama (‘aunt from father’s side’)
Or xalti (‘aunt from mother’s side’). (J, 19, F).

The switch in these excerpts is to words that do not have equivalents in English, such as ama 'aunt from father's side', xala 'aunt from mother's side,' and banat xali 'cousins from the mother's side.' CS to Arabic shows clearly who they are talking about, but if they use English, there will be confusion about whom she is talking about and which side of the family.

Below are examples of participants' replies to the question, "are there any terms, expressions, or vocabulary you think can be expressed in one language or another?"

Excerpt 2:
(S): it is like “depressed”
(J): no, not really, I don’t think that’s “depressed”
Dan! that word, see!
That’s what I mean.
(J): yeah, it is…
(S): it is so much stronger. See the word metdaigah (‘uneasy and upset’.)
Like when someone says ani metdaigah (‘I am uneasy and upset’.)
Like there is something on their chest
There is so much in mind
(J): yea, those
(S): they say “am upset, am depressed”
They don’t think about all that. (S & J, F, 21, 19).
The two sisters struggled to find a suitable translation for the term "metdaigah," which means "sad and upset." They eventually switched to Arabic because, as previously mentioned in 4.1.4.1, certain words, especially those connected to culture, cannot fully convey their cultural significance even with explanations in another language. Tokburni ‘you bury me’ to express deep love, meaning ‘you outlive me’, was one of the words brought up by one of the participants, who speaks the Palestinian dialect, as in excerpt 20. This expression of love does not have an equivalent love term in English, because it does have an underlying cultural meaning as well, so it was easy to switch when using it.

### 4.1.4.3. Interlocutors

All the participants report that switching between Arabic and English will always depend on the interlocutors. The following examples are from the participants' responses to the interview questions, “When do you think you would tell a story only in Arabic? Or only in English? When do you switch to Arabic, English, or mix the two?”

**Excerpt 22:**
if all the people present speak Arabic
Like, if we are, in the family, us, five,
Me, my sister, my brother, my parents
We all speak Arabic at home. (H, 21, F).

**Excerpt 10:**
if I'm with my Arab American friends, like we all do, like, a mix of English and Arabic, especially if we're like trying to express emotions a lot. Um, yeah, for us like Arabic phrases for that. But then, if I'm in with my like, regular American friends, that's all in English. (Z, 21, F).

As seen above, for these participants, the switch always relies on the interlocutor; if the interlocutors only speak Arabic, they use only Arabic. If the participants in the conversation are bilingual speakers of Arabic and English, they mix both languages. There are a few cases where

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3 *metdaigah* is sad and upset, there is something on your chest (participants translation). uncomfortable and annoyed (Reverso translation).
the participants switch to Arabic with their monolingual English-speaking friends, but these cases are related also to language proficiency. For example, in the interview, when I asked the participant (H) do you switch between Arabic and English in conversation with certain people?

In part of her answer, she mentioned the following:

**Excerpt 23:**
(H): when I don’t know the English word for this Arabic word, then I would just say it in Arabic. but it’s like, I don’t know how to express it. Otherwise, I just say it. And they’re like, what are you saying? I am like, I’m sorry, I did not... that’s Arabic, ignore me. but then as I got older, I was able to, of course, control that and like, you know, know the term to use. (H, F, 21).

Another example is related to the use of the interjection *ya’ani* ‘like’. The participant of the second group used it a lot during the narrative and the interview, and even mentioned in the interview that they use it with their close friends, who are monolingual speakers of English, explaining that because they are really close and because they use it a lot, their friends understand the meaning.

**Excerpt 24:**
(J): even when I am talking to my English-speaking friends, and I have a specific friend (A). I’ll say *ya’ani* (‘like’). you know this is a word that is simple, and she understands what I mean because I say it so often. but again, it’s who I am gonna talk to like, someone I’m really comfortable with. (J, F, 19).

### 4.1.4.4. Cultural Reasons: Cultural and Social Setting

Another significant factor determining CS is culture and social settings. According to the participants, where they are located and with whom they are speaking are reasons for CS.

**Excerpt 25:**
so, ah, again I think just perhaps, like, in terms of culture, maybe Perhaps English, I think because it is just more accepted. To be free with your emotions, and how you’re feeling. I really think for the most part I think all kinds of emotions, you can I just take into consideration Like in terms of sadness I don’t express that as much For the Arab culture The rest of emotions you can express it. (N, 27, F).
Excerpt 26:
I've noticed, and this is why I don't, like, it's kind of hard for me to connect with my family overseas is because they don't express emotion when they talk to me, like, you know, like, there's that thing, like, if you ask them, like, oh, like, you know, *kaif alhal* ('how are you'), they really, every single time, they'll say *alhamdulelah* ('praised be to God'). Like they'll never actually tell me what's going on in their life. Whereas with me, if someone asks me, like, how are you? Like, I'll say like, *alhamdu lilah* ('praised be to God'), but I'll actually like start saying, like, what's going on with my life? Like, you know, like, I'm frustrated with this thing that's happening or oh, I'm happy I have this thing coming up. *(F, 27, F).*

Arab culture is more reserved than American culture, particularly in showing emotions, noted the participants. For the most part, Arabs worry about others' judgments and perceptions, which is why they are usually reserved and do not have the freedom to express their emotions (as also discussed in excerpts 5, 7, and 17). Excerpt 25 shows that this participant adheres to cultural norms and avoids emotion when talking with her family. The family's feelings are important, as she mentioned, one does not want to express sadness, so stay strong for the family's sake, as in the Arab culture, family comes first. Excerpt 26 depicts that this participant has difficulties communicating emotions with her Arab family overseas because of cultural differences. She explained that when she asked: "how are you?" she was seeking a conversation, but among most Arabs, the answer to these questions is only a couple of words, it is not something to start a conversation. Interestingly, these two participants were raised in the same community in Oxford, MS, yet there are some individual differences in their attitudes toward Arab culture. The examples below present how the cultural setting could determine CS:

Excerpt 27:
Without a doubt if we have funerals or weddings, We … I have attended weddings here in the United States, Arabic weddings. I have attended of course, a couple of funerals that were, mostly, I was just more in the Masjid. I don't really go to the actual, you know, definitely… But, like, the ceremomial part of it. Without a doubt, we all use Arabic in those situations more than English. *(H, 21, F).*

Excerpt 28:
So, like, when we go for a wedding Like, Yemeni weddings. Like, I meet up with a friend that I know Like, she just recently came back from Yemen, or came back from oversees or stuff Her English … Or she’s just typically used to speaking Arabic I’ll just speak more Arabic to her, but I’ll still speak English. *(J, 19, F).*
The cultural and social setting also select which code to be used. In the mosque, weddings, and funerals, as mentioned above (and as was discussed previously in excerpts 3, 10, and 11), they would use Arabic more because it is an Arab wedding, the attendance would be Arab, and Arabic expressions, mostly religious, are usually used in those occasions.

4.1.4.5. The Language in which the Emotions are Learned:

This reason for CS came up when discussing the questions, “Which emotion(s) do you feel it can only be expressed in either language? Why? And in which language do you feel you can express love better? And why?”

**Excerpt 29:**

It’s fear. So, when I was younger,
I really didn’t have much,
Anything that has to do with fear
Like, I wasn’t …Nothing really happened, like, I was scared
Or I need to think being scared about it. But since moving here
You have to learn about fire drills
You have to learn about school shooting
You have to learn about exit building
You have to learn about car crashes
These things, I have learned in English
So, I think that it’s easier for me to express that in English. *(H, 21, F).*

This participant says that she learned how to express fear better in English because she has learned things related to it in the American context, such as drills about school shootings and fire, which are not typically taught in Arab schools in the Middle East. Understandably, she has learned many expressions and vocabulary related to these events in English, considering that this participant was the only one exposed to the English language and the culture from around 11 years old. Additionally, this participant and her brother reported that they prefer Arabic to express love since it is their native language and because they experience love in Arabic from their family, as shown in the following example.
Excerpt 30:
(M): When speaking Arabic, since it is my mother language, I feel like I can express my love better. So, the love that I have received for 99% of the time is from my parents and my siblings. And my parents only speak Arabic to me. So, when they express their love to me, 99% but they do put here and there. But for the most, since I was a kid until this moment My parents express love to me in Arabic. (H & M, 21, 20).

4.1.4.6. Word Economy

When discussing why some words should be used in Arabic or English, the idea of word economy (that is, using fewer words to express a concept adequately) arose. The adjective *zahkani* and the verb *zheket* ‘I’m tired of it’ and ‘I’m sick of it’ has equivalent translation in English, but the participant believes that it is better said in Arabic, and it sums up the emotions better than English. One participant mentioned that using Arabic is more economical, instead of using a full sentence “I am tired,” she could use the one-word ‘*zahkani*.’

Excerpt 38:
like, *zheket* (‘I’m tired of it’), there is, like, a direct translation for that in English, like I’m tired of it and I’m sick of it, but I don’t know... it is just so much. Instead of having three words in English, it is just nice to say *zheket.* (Z, F, 22).

Another participant describes the difference between Arabic and English in expressing emotion at a language level:

Excerpt 31:
Like, in Arabic, it's so easy to say a sentence, like half a sentence. And it makes sense. In English, sometimes to express emotions, you have to use, like, three sentences to make sense. Versus Arabic, I can literally tell you what I want in half a sentence. And it makes sense. (H, F, 21).

Because Arabic is a fusional language, it is logical that the participants feel that using Arabic is more economical than English.
4.1.5. Identity in Expressing Emotions in Arabic and English

One of this dissertation’s goals is to explore how English-Arabic bilinguals believe that their code-switching in expressing emotions correlates to their identity. Here, I will present their opinions about their identities when expressing emotions in both languages.

**Excerpt 32:**
just because my Arabic is really not the best, so, I am more free
I am so used to speaking English. It is gonna come naturally for me.
Okay, I feel more free
More comfortable to talk about it
But in Arabic, I am like, did I say this word right.
Am I saying this right?
Or, like, it’s just, like, my tone starts to shift to like
Worried, like am I really saying this right. *(J, 19, F).*

**Excerpt 33:**
Um, yeah, I do. Um, I do think that I have different, like, personalities. I think I am a lot, like, I'm a lot more like levelheaded in English. And I'm a lot more, like, excited, a lot more excitement in Arabic. And I think it's because my Arabic isn't as good as my English. So, I have to rely on like body language to convey how I'm feeling a lot of the time. So, like, I, I am someone who uses my hands and my body a lot to talk. And I tend to do that much more when I'm speaking in Arabic, because I feel like it helps me to compensate for, you know, like, maybe not being able to express something as fluently as I would have in English. *(F, 27, F).*

**Excerpt 34:**
Yes, I think there is a difference. So, for example, …
And I think it has to do with the language…
The language that way we express …
Maybe culture. *(H, 21, F).*

I intentionally presented many examples from all three groups because, as mentioned previously in the participants’ section, those participants differ in their language acquisition and years of exposure to the two languages. In the above examples, there were two main reasons for different identities from their point of view. For the first reason, they stated that their language proficiency somehow influences their code choice. They would use the language that is more comfortable for them. In the first excerpt, the participant stated that she is also worried about being judged if she does not use the language appropriately in Arabic. The other reason is culture, which I discussed in the previous sections. Some participants feel more reserved in
Arabic, and others are more reserved in English in expressing emotions, as explained with an example in the culture section. All participants showed their religious identity at different levels, but it was present throughout the observation and the interview. They also try to fit into the American culture and show belonging to the community, as shown in excerpt 35.

**Excerpt 35:**
like, I get patients asking me where are you from?
I’m like, I’m from (-).
they like, no, where are you really from?
I am from Yemen.
being Arab is part of my identity. (S, F, 21).

**Excerpt 39:**
I know I can speak English
But sometimes I feel nervous
Am I saying a word like with an accent
Or am I wrong
I get the cramps
They are gonna think that I am a complete foreigner
Like I don’t know English
but when I speak Arabic (‘Arabic’) with my family friends I mess up words
And I can hear my American accent coming out
Like, um, like they gonna think am such a xablah (‘idiot’). (S, F, 21).

In excerpt 39, it is evident that the participant feels uneasy about her accent in both languages, as she fears being perceived as a foreigner by Americans and as an Arab who cannot speak Arabic by other Arabs. She believes this is a common issue faced by Arabs who belong to two cultures and are caught in the middle. It is difficult for them to be entirely accepted in either culture. Due to this, the participant strives to speak without an accent in both languages to avoid being misjudged.

4.2. Linguistic Findings

This section introduces the findings from the two linguistic level analyses: the whole language level analysis and the sentence level analysis. The language level analysis was used to decide the ML and the EL languages in the narratives using Matrix Language Frame (MLF). A discription of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) was introduced in the literature.
review chapter. The sentence level analysis was used to scrutinize the use of CS in the sentences to decide the type and structure of the switching.

From the data collected from my participants’ narratives, the ML language was identified, based on three steps: 1) the ML sets the grammatical frame, 2) it is the source of more morphemes, 3) and it is the unmarked choice in the interaction (Alenezi, 2006). The EL could be integrated at the morphology and syntax level; it could be morphemes, words, phrases, and complete sentences. The findings were based on using this model to analyze CS in the narratives of love and sadness. Generally speaking, the ML is English, the majority of the time, while Arabic is the EL. The narratives of love (excerpts 7, 8, and 15) and the narratives of sadness (excerpts 4, 13, and 14), which will be elaborated on in the following sections, show that English is the ML and Arabic is the EL, but with some differences.

4.2.1. The Language Level Analysis

English and Arabic were not used at the same level in the narrative of the three pairs of participants. Based on the questionnaire analysis, the participants reported that English is the dominant language even though Arabic is used with family and at home for some. On the other hand, English is used at work, school, with friends, and at home. English is the ML in all narratives, as shown in the following.

4.2.1.1. ML and EL in the Narratives of Sadness

For CS in the narratives of sadness, all pairs used English and switched to Arabic; hence, the ML is English, and EL is Arabic. However, there are differences in how the CS occurred in the narratives of the three pairs. The first pair switched to Arabic intentionally by stating it clearly,
as discussed earlier in excerpt 13. For the second pair, as discussed in excerpt 4, English is the ML, and Arabic is the EL. In the third pair, as shown in excerpt 14, there was not any CS, so we cannot decide, in this particular narrative, the ML and the EL.

In excerpt 13, (M) used Arabic in his narrative after clearly stating that he would use Arabic. With that said, (M) used Arabic consistently until he finished his narrative, without much switching to English, as in the following part of excerpt 13.

**Excerpt: 13**

(M): I'll answer in Arabic. *Lma gina hina amrika, men ashar snin.* ('When we came here to the U.S. 10 years ago')

*Kuna axer marrah shufna fiha ahh, ahh, gedi men nahit baba.* ('It was our last time to see ahh, ahh, my grandfather, from my father’s side'). *(M & H, 21, 20, F, M)*

As suggested by Myers-Scotton (1993), the ML can only be identified if the sentence contains CS and is part of a large corpus. In this case, part of M's narrative, which was in Arabic, is identified as the ML. The participant started by saying," I will answer this in Arabic" using English, then, he concluded the first experience in Arabic by saying, "*fa, di kanet hagah hazinah hasalet lina lama kuna hinak fi amrika men nahit alailah* ('So, this was a sad thing that happened to us when we were there in America.') Then he immediately started narrating a new experience using English: "Same thing, but it was with my grandfather from my mother's side," and switched to Arabic: "*But alhamduLelah*" ('praised be to God') using a religious expression. He returned to English, and then, switched again to Arabic after the interjections: um and ahh:

"Ahh, um, *ruhna masef fi 2018 shufnah* ('We went to Egypt in 2018, and we saw him') *hwa bardu tufi men arba'a snin masalan*" ('he also passed away four years ago.') He finally concluded his experience in Arabic: "*di hagah hazina hasalet lina lama kuna hina fi amrika*" ('these were sad things that happened to us when we were here in the US.') In this specific part of the narrative, where the participant used Arabic to narrate the first experience, Arabic could be
considered the ML because it matched the criteria suggested by Myers-Scotton (1993). However, in the second experience, English could be identified as the ML because it also corresponded to the criteria of the ML.

In other parts of the first pair, the brother and sister's narrative, Arabic was the ML, in which CS was part of the sentences, setting the word order and providing more morphemes, as shown in excerpt 13. In this case, it is not easy to identify the ML and the EL. If we look closely at this narrative, it is obvious that the participant intentionally decides to switch to Arabic to tell the whole story by stating that in English and concluding it in English. The story itself is in Arabic and if we eliminate it from the context, we cannot identify Arabic as the ML because there is no CS to English in the story itself. Nevertheless, English is considered the ML because Arabic was used as the EL to tell the story.

The following is part of excerpt 4, showing how the participant used Arabic only to use religious expressions.

**Excerpt 4:**
(S): I think I would say

_Jadati allah yarhamha_ (‘My grandmother may God have mercy on her’)  
My grandmother _Allah yarhamha_ (‘May god have mercy on her’) died when we were really young  
(J): yeah. (S, F, 21).

To explain, the participants narrated the story in English until she reached the switch point, which was mentioning the deceased person (her grandmother). In this situation, the death of a loved one (grandmother) required switching to Arabic by referring to whom and the religious expression used after the dead person. The reasons for this switch are culture and translation. The ML in this narrative is English, setting the structure and providing more morphemes, and is the unmarked language choice for this pair. The EL is Arabic, providing content such as religious and cultural expressions. When comparing Arabic to English used in this narrative, it is apparent that they used English more than Arabic since English is the unmarked choice.
The leading questions of the narrative task were asked interchangeably using English and Arabic, yet, all the responses were initiated in English, and the switches were in Arabic. All in all, for narratives of sadness, English was considered the ML because it sets the structure and word order, provides more morphemes, and is used as the unmarked choice in the narratives. As discussed earlier in excerpt 4, English is the ML while Arabic is the EL, providing content, mainly related to culture. In narrating their experiences and stories, they used English as the ML and Arabic as the EL, certainly based on the topic discussed. For example, Arabic religious terms and expressions were utilized when talking about the death of loved ones.

4.2.1.2. ML and EL in the Narratives of Love

The narratives of love were somehow different than the sad stories; the three pairs of participants differ in language use and CS.

Excerpt 8:
(H): me too.
I think what I think important to me
Let’s just say career wise.
Why I chose pharmacy school
Maybe I can say that part in Arabic
oh, wana sugaiarah(‘when I was little’)
Baba hua (‘dad is’) pharmacist
A’andu saidalitu(‘he owns a pharmacy’)
Men wahna sugaiarin kuna daiman ma’ah fe alsaidaliah(‘when we were kids, we were always with him in the pharmacy’)  
Mama shagalah doctorah fe aljama’a(‘my mom works as a professor in a university’) 
Fa daiman betafer le alja ’amah eli betdares feha(‘she always travels to the university campus, where she teaches’) 
Yumin talatah masalan fe alosbu’a(‘two or three days a week’) 
Fa ehna bneba’a ba’a fe elumin altalitah dol(‘so, during those two, three days’) 
Once en ehna xalasna madrasah(‘we finished school’) 
Nu’ad ma’ah fe alsaidaliah lahad(‘we would stay with him in the pharmacy until’) 
You know, whenever he closed. (H & M, F, M, 20, 21).

The first pair (discussed in excerpt 8) was different in narrating love: the brother described the whole experience in English with only one switch to Arabic using Insha Allah ‘if God wills,’ while the sister was talking in English, then she decided to talk about her experience in Arabic,
again, by stating: “maybe I can say that part in Arabic.” Excerpt 8 shows the participants using CS in different ways, first introducing the story by stating that she would describe that part in Arabic, then Arabic was used as the ML, and English is the EL using different syntactic categories: nouns (‘pharmacist’), conjunctions (‘once’), fillers (‘oh’), and complete sentences (‘You know, whenever he closed’).

For the sister, English was the ML, and Arabic was the EL, excluding the part that she narrated in Arabic, where Arabic was the ML, and English was the EL.

For the second pair (excerpt 7), English was also the ML, and Arabic was the EL when talking about the differences between the two cultures and when talking about love.

**Excerpt 7:**

(S): \textit{ani mathalan be alenglishi} (‘for me, in English,’)

It’s easy to say I love you

\textit{Bas lama ngulaha belugatna be alarabi} (‘but when we say it in our language in Arabic’)

\textit{Yumken umri maqultaha le ahad} (‘I don’t think that I’ve ever told to anybody’)

\textit{Ya’ani sabil alwahed yqulaha be alanglizi} (‘it is easy to say it in English’)

\textit{Ya’ani alanglizi lesahabati be alshugul} (‘I tell me friends at work’)

I love you, drive safe

\textit{Bas be alarabi hathi alkalemah ahes laha ma’ana} (‘but in Arabic, this word, I feel has a different meaning’)

\textit{A’ashan ya’ani alamrikin} (‘because, like, Americans’)

They say I love you to everybody

\textit{Bas ehna ka arab ka musilmin} (‘but, for us, as Arab and Muslims’)

\textit{Ya’ani hathi alkalemah leumak w el abuk} (‘this word is for your mother and your father’)

and your significant other

\textit{ya’ani wa’aba taxruij min elfam} (‘it is hard to come out of the mouth’)

\textit{ya’ani mathalan lama tguilha} (‘meaning, for example, when you say it’)

It comes out of your heart. It is not just like a normal word. (S & J, 21, 19, F).

(J): yeah, that’s true.

I agree with (S)

\textit{Nafs alshai} (‘same thing’)

I was thinking about it more like.

\textit{Ya’ani a’andana be alguma’ah} (‘for us, on Fridays’)

I used to, you know

\textit{ya’ani basalem ala} (‘like, greet’)

my mom and my dad

And I kiss their forehead

And I tell them I love you

\textit{A’adati} (‘something I am used to’)

You know, that’s like I am used to. (S & J, 21, 19, F).

In the first part of the above narrative, it is evident that Arabic and English were not used equally, there was asymmetry in the use of English and Arabic.
For the third group, English was used with only one CS to Arabic, which was the expression *bahebik* ‘I love you.’ In this case, and according to Myers-Setton’s (1993) criteria, it is not possible to decide the ML and EL, even though there were not many CS in talking about love. For example, excerpt 15: (F) “for me I say it in both, like I say *bahebik* ‘I love you’, and I’ll also say I love you. I’ll also say you are amazing or that kind of thing. Like, it is not just I love you.” *Bahebik* is a verb that means I love you, *ba* (I) *heb* (love), and *ik* (you). In this narrative it was used only once, and it was shared as an example of how she could express love to her loved ones. Figure 3 shows CS differences among the pairs in all narratives.

The intensity of CS varies among the three groups of participants (Figure 3). These differences can be attributed to various factors, including linguistic, social, cultural, and setting including the interlocutors and the topic of discussion.
The language usage among the participants' narratives shows a clear asymmetry. Figure 4 indicates unequal use of Arabic and English when comparing the three pairs. In the three excerpts, English is the ML, while Arabic is the EL. This pattern remains consistent for the second and third pairs, as well. However, the first pair's narrative differs in that English is the ML until they switch to Arabic, at which Arabic becomes the ML.

![Diagram showing language usage among narratives]

Figure 4: ML and EL in the narratives of the three pairs

The most salient characteristic of switches in the bilingual narrative is the religiously loaded expression. However, CS differs based on the topic of the sad experience, the interlocutors, and the setting. Religious expressions were present in all the participants' CS in the narratives, for example, *Insha Allah* (‘if God wills’), *alhamdulillah* (‘praise be to God’), *Allah yramu/ha* (‘may Allah have mercy on him/her’). To elaborate, the first group used the most CS utterances among the other groups, particularly in expressing the loss of their loved ones. They used religious expressions and switched intentionally from English to Arabic. The brother and
sister in the first group also have differences: the sister switched more than the brother. The brother started his narrative of love in English with only one switch to Arabic, and once his sister switched to Arabic, he started to do the same in the second narrative. The second group only switched to Arabic, using religious expressions and sentences related to religious beliefs. They also use some interjections in Arabic such as *ya'ani* (‘like’) and *bas* (‘but’). This group switched less than the first group. The third group, who were a bit different from the other groups in that their native language is English, switched even less than the second group. They switched using religious expressions and using some Arabic words related to expressing sadness and love, for example, expressions that consist of one utterance, but form a complete sentence in Arabic, such as *tukburni* (‘you bury me’, which means ‘you outlive me’), *bhabik* (‘I love you’), *zhkani* (‘I am bored’). The language choice of the sadness experiences was different with the third group: both sisters talked about the loss of people to whom they were close, which did not trigger a switch to Arabic since their experience was not about death.

4.2.2. The Sentence Level Analysis

This section presents the findings of the analysis of CS at the sentence level: how CS is used in the participants’ utterances, what type of CS, and which syntactic categories were used in these utterances.

Three types of CS occur in the participants’ narratives: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS (Table 7). Inter- and intra-sentential CS indicate the speakers' proficiency in both languages (Poplack, 1980; Lipski, 1985, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019), which might be the case for those participants. The following table depicts types of CS and some examples from the participants’ narratives.
Table 7: Types of CS in the narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CS</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Inter-sentential**| • *Mush mutardin alahukum rab ala'alamin, bas, ya'ani* ('we don’t object Allah’s will'), something..., you know, I wish I have spent time with her.  
  • I’ll answer in Arabic. *Lama gina hina amrika, men ashar snin.* ('When we came here to America 10 years ago.') |
| **Intra-sentential**| • I think, um, alhamdulelah ('praise be to Allah'), I have a very good relation with my family.  
  • I think I would say *jadati Allah yarhamha* ('my grandmother may Allah have mercy on her').  
  • I am such a *xabla* ('idiot'). |
| **Extra-sentential**| • *interjection: uh*  
  *uh, wana sugaiarah ‘when I was little,’ Baba hua ‘dad is’ pharmacist.*  
  • *ya’ani*  
  *I feel like even you don’t have to say it, ya’ani, (’like’), there are ways you can show it.*  
  • *religious expression: alhamdulelah*  
  *Ya’ani alhamdulela you know, ‘like’ ‘praised be to God’* |

Extra-sentential CS is common because it requires less knowledge of the two-language grammar (Poplack, 1980). However, participants who reported lower proficiency did not use it despite its syntactic flexibility. Similarly, the two excluded participants reported higher proficiency levels but did not employ it either. Generally speaking, for some participants, CS was very limited compared to the others.
Table 8: Lexical categories of CS in the narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical category</th>
<th>Sentences &amp; Excerpts</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Which language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interjections</td>
<td>(H): uh, wana sugaiarah ‘when I was little.’ Baba hua ‘dad is’ pharmacist. (Excerpt 9).</td>
<td>Uh, um.</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ya’ani sahal alwahed yqulaha be alanglizi (‘it is easy to say it in English’) (Excerpt 7).</td>
<td>Ya’ani (‘like’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I mean in English, qasdi (‘I mean’) (excerpt 41).</td>
<td>Qasdi (‘I mean’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Still, I vividly remember her, like very vaguely, bas ‘but’ Abi yatakalm anha ‘my father talks about her’ (Excerpt 4).</td>
<td>Bas (‘but, only’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determiners</td>
<td>ya’ani ana shuft hagat, mashuftahash (‘I mean, I saw many things I didn’t see’) outside el (‘the’) field. (Excerpt 8).</td>
<td>el (‘the, a’) outside el (the) field</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>See the word metdaigah (‘uneasy and upset’). Like when someone says ani metdaigah (‘I am uneasy and upset’). Like there is something on their chest. There is so much in mind. (Excerpt 2).</td>
<td>makbutah (‘sad and depressed’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>But all I know in arabi (‘Arabic’) is metdaigah, makbutah, za’alanah (‘sad and upset, depressed, upset’). (Excerpt 37).</td>
<td>medaigah (‘sad and uneasy’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>Even when I am talking with my dad or my friends, Wa la amati wala banat xali (‘or my aunts (from father’s side) or my cousins (uncle from mother’s side) When I speak with them in English. (Excerpt 1).</td>
<td>Amati (‘aunt from father’s side’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>So, I think that part of that is kind of has to do with the Arabic culture. Coz, you know, like, I am thinking like the other arab (‘Arab’) that I know, too. Similar experiences, so... (Excerpt 17).</td>
<td>Xalati (‘aunt from mother’s side’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>like, zheket (‘I’m tired of it’), there is, like, a direct translation for that in English, like I’m tired of it and I’m sick of it, but I don’t know... it is just so much. instead of having three words in English, it is just nice to say zheket. (Excerpt 38).</td>
<td>Zheket (‘I am bored’)</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya’ani ana shuft hagat, mashuftahash (‘I mean, I saw many things I didn’t see’) outside el (‘the’) field’ (H, F, 22). (Excerpt 8).</td>
<td>Shuft (‘I saw’).</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned before, each group is different in their use of CS in the narrative of sadness. However, all the groups are similar in switching to Arabic religious expressions when discussing death. Table 8 shows the different lexical categories used by the participants in the narrative. All three groups use interjections from English even when switching to Arabic. Some Arabic adjectives came up as examples of expressing sadness, but they do not have adequate translations in English, so they were used in Arabic. Besides, the participants assume that religious expressions can be translated into English, but if so, they would lose their value for cultural reasons. The utterances below show the different CS at different levels, words, phrases, and sentences and the structures of the sentences, where CS takes place.

(a) CS in the noun phrase (NP)

1. I’m such a xabla (‘idiot’)
2. They are Muslimin (‘Muslims’)
3. How arabz would do it (‘Arabs’)
4. Fe el (‘in the’) excitement.
5. Be el (‘with the’) emotions of the person.
6. With my ama (‘aunt from father’s side’) or xala, (‘aunt from mother side’).
7. Your a’aqd (‘religious marriage contract’).

In example (a 1), the speaker switched to the Arabic noun xabla ‘idiot (SG FEM)’ after the English article a. In this sentence, from excerpt 39, English is the ML; the speaker used English structure to form this sentence and used the noun from Arabic. Interestingly, the speaker applied the English grammatical rules to the article a, followed by a noun starting with a consonant. In sentence (a 2), the speaker switched to the Arabic noun Muslimin, ‘Muslims.’ In this sentence, English is the ML; the speaker used an English structure to form this sentence. However, when she switched to the noun, she applied the Arabic plural rule on this noun by adding in (MASC. PL.). Sentence (a 3) differs because the speaker phonologically switched to Arabic using the noun arabz ‘Arabs.’ In this utterance, English is the ML setting the structure. Switching this word was only at the phonological level with applying the English plural marker z. It is worth
noting, as discussed, several times earlier and as shown in Table 8, that the word Arab is usually used in Arabic in almost all the participants’ utterances; it is only phonologically switched when English is the ML. In (a 4) and (a 5), Arabic is the ML, and the participants switch to English nouns, “excitement and emotions.” In (a 6) and (a 7), the participants switched to nouns that do not exist in English, such as aunt from both sides and the religious marriage contract “a’aqd.”

(b) CS subordinate conjunction

1. Once en ehna xalasna madrasah (‘we finished school’) Nu’ad ma’ah fe alsaidaliah (‘we would stay with him in the pharmacy’).
2. Lama tquliha (‘when you say it’), it comes out of your heart.
3. I know that, ani yameniah (‘I am Yemeni’)
4. If I’m fired up, axlet elethnin (‘I mix the two’)

In sentence (b 1), the speaker switched to the English conjunction “once” and completed the sentence in Arabic, which is the ML. Sentence (b 2) was part of the love narrative. Here English was the ML, and the speaker switched to Arabic in the dependent clause. In sentence (b 3), the same speaker used English as the ML, switching to Arabic in the independent clause. Switching in this particular sentence was also for cultural and social reasons since she was describing her identity. In (b 4), English was the ML, and the speaker switched to Arabic in the independent clause.

(c) CS in the prepositional phrase PP

1. I was raised be amrica (‘in America’)
2. ala (‘upon’) my mom and my dad.
3. Ma’a (‘with’) my friends
4. Bagul ani (‘I say I am’) from Yemen.

In (c 1), English is the ML, the speaker switched to Arabic at the PP be⁴ ‘in’ and the proper noun America was switched at the phonological level. In (c 2), the speaker switched to English after ala ‘upon,’ where English was the ML. In (c 3), the speaker switched to the Arabic preposition

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⁴ The preposition be ‘in’ is used with different meanings in the two sentences; the two speakers speak different Arabic varieties, and the preposition be, can be used to mean ‘of, in, with, at.’
ma’a ‘with,’ where English is the ML in this utterance. In (c 4), to English in the PP: she used the Arabic subject and verb I say, then switched to English “I say that I am from Yemen.”

(d) CS in verb phrase VP

1. Uh, shuft (‘I saw’) a different experience through pharmacy.
2. Yta’algu (‘they are treated’) on his expense.
3. Yaxdu (‘they schedule’) appointment.

CS in the VP occurs mostly when Arabic is the ML. In (d 1), the speaker switched to English after the verb shuft ‘I saw’ and in (d 2), yta’algu ‘they are being treated’ and in (d 3), yaxdu (literally translated as ‘took’ but it means ‘schedule’). In this sentence, when the speaker used an Arabic linguistic structure, she omitted the article 'a' before the word 'appointment. On the other hand, when another speaker used an English linguistic structure to say 'an idiot,' the structure of the sentence in English dictated the use of the article 'a' before switching to the Arabic noun.

Switching to an Arabic VP was very common when Arabic was the ML.

(e) CS in adjective phrase AP

1. I am metdaigah ‘sad and upset.’
2. But all I know in arabi (‘Arabic’) is metdaigah, makbutah, za’alanah (‘sad and upset, depressed, upset’).

In (e 1) and (e 2), the speaker switched to Arabic adjectives metdaigah ‘sad and upset,’ makbutah ‘depressed,’ and za’alanah ‘upset,’ which, according to the participants, do not have appropriate full translations in English. In (e 2), Arabic was the ML, in which the speaker switched to an English adjective ‘strong’.

(f) CS in determiners

1. El (‘the’ effect).

As shown above, the use of determiners occurs when Arabic is the ML. In (f 1), and in some examples from the PP and NP CS, switching to an Arabic definite article is commonly used when Arabic is the ML.
(g) Interjections

Excerpt 41:
Ya’ani ‘like’
Also, it catches other people’s attention
They focus on that word
Like if I say full sentence to you in Arabi (‘Arabic’)
I mean in English *qasdi* (‘I mean’). (J, F, 19).

As we previously discussed and was shown in Table 8, all participants used interjections substantially from both languages, there is a noticeable switch to the Arabic interjections ya’ani ‘like’ and bas ‘but.’

4.2.3. CS in the Structure

After providing a comprehensive presentation of the social and linguistics findings, this section introduces the results based on the linguistic analysis of where in the structure CS occurs.

Despite their language abilities and preferences, one of the salient features of CS in all participants is the use of religious expressions. Expressions such as "*alhamduleleah, Allah yarhamha/u*" ('praised be to God, may God have mercy on her') occur in the intra-sentential and extra-sentential CS structure. It is used everywhere in a sentence (excerpts 36, 13, 18, 26) because it is an expression, which could be one of the reasons it is used noticeably in the speech of bilingual speakers. The expressions "*Allah yarhamu/ha*” and (‘may God have mercy on her/him’) are used right after mentioning the deceased person in all excerpts (36, 13, 18, 26).

Furthermore, CS is distinguished in the love narrative (excerpts 7, 8, 15). Several sentences were analyzed to determine the placement of the switch and identify any patterns in the CS usage. The sentences selected contained natural switches used during narratives and interviews. These sentences were categorized into three sections based on their content: cultural/religious expressions, interjections, CS for lack of equivalence, and phonological CS. Those were primarily the most salient features based on social and linguistic analysis.
The cultural/religious CS, fillers, and interjections:

1. But *alhamduLelah 'praised be to God'*, we got to see him one last time before we went, ahh, um *ruhna maser fi 2018 shufnah* ('we went to Egypt in 2018'). (Excerpt 13).
2. Like, you know, *Allah yrhamu, insha Allah mathuah aljannah* ('may Allah have mercy on him', 'may Allah make him abide in paradise') (Excerpt 19).
3. *Alhambulelah*, I don’t think of anyone that ('Praised be to God') (Excerpt 4).
4. And grieved upon, *Ya’ani alhamdulela you know, ('like' ‘praised be to God')* (Excerpt 4).
5. My grandmother *Allah yarhamha* ('May god have mercy on her') died when we were really young. (Excerpt 4).
6. Like very vaguely, *bas ‘but’ Abi yatakalm anha* ('my father talks about her,') *Ayoni tadma’a* ('I get tears in my eyes'). I feel something. (Excerpt 4).
7. And everyone talks about her Like, oh, *jadati allah yarhamha* ('my grandmother may God have mercy on her'). (Excerpt 4).
8. *Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al’alamin* ('we don’t object to the rule and judgement of the lord of the worlds'), *bas ya’ani*, something ('but, like), you know, I wish I would have spent time with her (Excerpt 4).
9. That’s why I was saying I love you in Arabic is harder, *ya’ani ‘like’ because we love, actually love…* (Excerpt 18).
10. That question makes me think of that. *Ya’ani alarab alhamduleelah* ('like, Arab, praised be to God.') I feel like they… (Excerpt 18).
11. Or if you do, it... it’s something super rare, *Ya’ani ‘like’, I think that I don’t…* (Excerpt 18).
12. I feel like Americans, *ya’ani sah yehebu allahum*, ('like, they do love their families’) and stuff like that, *bas* ('but') for example (Excerpt 18).
13. *Ya’ani a’andana be alguma’ah* ‘for us, on Fridays’, I used to, you know, *ya’ani basalem ala* ‘like, greet’ my mom and my dad (Excerpt 7).
14. I have so many old patients *Mathalan aialuhum mush mawgodin* (‘their children are not with them’) *Yahutuhum bedar, ya’ani* (‘they put them in a home,’), like a home (Excerpt 7).

In the above sentences, most CS happened after interjections and fillers like um, ahh, *ya’ani ‘like’, you know, and bas* ('but'). In sentence 1, the switch to Arabic happened after 'but,' while the switch to English occurred after 'ahh' and 'um.' In sentence 2, the religious expressions followed, 'you know.' As for sentences 4, 7, 8, and 9, the switch to either Arabic or English occurs after an interjection. In 1 and 2, CS to *alhamdulillah* ('praised be to God') is used as an extra-sentential by inserting this phrase into the sentence. The same goes with 10 and 11, 12, 13, and 14 *ya’ani ‘like’ is used as an extra-sentential, introducing a reason or an explanation. In 15, the switch starts by using the word *mathalan* (‘for example, like') to explain, then switch back to English after *ya’ani ‘like.’
Subordinate clauses

1. It’s just a weird topic to speak to them in Arabic, *Ashan ihna alarab almona ma nethkash a’an alhub* (‘because we, the Arab, were taught not to talk about love’). (Excerpt 5)
2. *Ya’ani mathalan lama tqliha* ‘meaning, for example, when you say it’, it comes out of your heart (Excerpt 7).

In 1 and 2, the switch is to explain the reasons using *ashan* ‘because’ and *mathalan* ‘for example.’

CS for lack of equivalence, or an appropriate translation:

1. Whenever I go and talk with my *ama* (‘aunt from father’s side’), Or *xalti* (‘aunt from mother’s side’). (Excerpt 21).
2. Or if you’re going to *aza* ‘funeral’ (Excerpt 3).
3. *Ya’ani hathi alkalemah leumak w el abuk* ‘this word is for your mother and your father,’ and your significant other (Excerpt 7).
4. Even when I am talking with my dad or my friends, *wa la amati wala banat xali* ‘or my aunts (from father’s side) or my cousins (uncle from mother’s side)’ (Excerpt 1).

For the above sentences, CS occurred only for lack of equivalence or an appropriate translation that conveys the connotation of the words meaning. Sentence 4 is the only one with a switch to English for the words *significant other*, which, according to the analysis, was switched for cultural considerations. In all these utterances, there is no effect on the structure, the switch was only lexical.

Phonological CS

1. Actually, my mom doesn’t like for me to speak English. So, it’s only “*Arabi Arabi*” ‘Arabic’ (Excerpt 12).
2. like, I am thinking like the other *arab* ‘Arab’ that I know, too similar experiences, so... (Excerpt 17).

In 1 and 2, as discussed previously, the word Arab and Arabic are often CS phonologically, without a change of the sentence structure.

CS for repetition

1. And I tell them I love you, *A’adati* (‘something I am used to, a habit’), you know, that’s like I am used to. (Excerpt 7).
2. I have so many old patients *Mathalan aialuhum mush mawgodin* (‘their children are not with them’). *Yahutuhum bedar, ya’ani* (‘they put them in a home,’), like a home. (Excerpt 18).
3. I think I would say, *Jadati allah yarhamha* ‘My grandmother may God have mercy on her’ My grandmother *Allah yarhamha* ‘May god have mercy on her’ died when we were really young. (Excerpt 4).
In some participants' utterances, CS occurs for repetition in both languages. In 1, 2, and 3, the participants say the phrases in Arabic and then repeat them in English.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter offered a comprehensive account of the social and linguistic analysis results, with examples and excerpts from participant narratives and interviews to support the discussion. The findings were presented in two sections. First, sociolinguistic findings covered the reasons for CS, types of CS, and how identity is expressed through emotions in two languages and within different cultural contexts. Second, linguistic findings discussed narratives and interview responses at two levels, language and sentence level analysis. The language level analysis used the MLF to determine the ML and EL, while the sentence level analysis examined CS in sentences extracted from the narratives and interviews to determine the types of CS, inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential. Additionally, it highlighted the lexical and syntactic categories of CS within those utterances and explores the placement of CS within the sentence structure. The next chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the discoveries outlined in this chapter.
CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

5.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the social and linguistic analysis of CS in the narratives of emotions of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. The previous chapter introduced the findings obtained from the questionnaire, observation of the narratives, and interviews. This chapter discusses those results, including examples, excerpts from the participants' stories and interviews, and other studies to support the discussion.

The discussion focuses on four areas: contexts of CS, reasons for CS, identity correlation to CS, and forms and structure of CS. The purpose is to probe CS in the emotional narrative of bilingual speakers of Arabic and English and explore where and why CS occurs in expressing these particular emotions.

The findings showed that social and cultural factors play a significant role in language choice and CS in bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Physical location, interlocutors, and topic determine which code should be used in a specific social setting. Being at home, at the mosque, or with bilingual and monolingual friends causes the speakers to code switch. The participants in this group share beliefs, values, ethnicity, and religion. Although they are part of the minority community in the mid-South, they also have their own unique differences. They
originally come from different countries, and their cultures vary somewhat. Their behavior typically reflects broader cultural norms and practices within their community. People from different backgrounds often use religious language and references specific to their respective languages and faiths in mosques, weddings, and funerals, explaining CS and language choices of the bilingual speakers in this study.

There are numerous reasons for CS found in the data and some are related to the contexts of communication: topic, interlocutors, and language proficiency. Different topics can influence language and code choice as topics interact with social and cultural factors to determine the most appropriate code for a specific situation; for instance, death evokes religious expressions from Arabic. Interlocutors are a vital factor in determining CS; their relationship with interlocutors and their language proficiency determine the use of Arabic or English in a particular situation. Furthermore, the language proficiency of the speakers may play a role in CS and language choice. Those who reported higher proficiency levels in English and Arabic switched more than intermediate-level speakers. There are other linguistic reasons for CS, such as word translation and lack of equivalent words in English, the language in which the emotions are learned, and word economy.

Distinguishing between two types of CS, situational and metaphorical, is understanding bilingual speakers' motivations. They tend to use metaphorical code-switching to express emotions that are challenging to convey in a single language. In contrast, situational code-switching is typically employed in specific contexts where factors such as language proficiency and social/cultural norms determine the appropriate code.

Bilingual speakers in this study alternate between language choices to showcase their Muslim Arab identity and adhere to community norms, which integrate religion into the fabric of
Arab culture regardless of the specific religion. Language choice exemplifies using different religious expressions to communicate certain emotions in particular settings. Further, language proficiency, dominance, and preference could explain, to a certain extent, how the identity is presented through narratives. Most participants believe their English proficiency is higher than their Arabic and they feel more comfortable using English, reflecting their identity expression. Likewise, as active American community members, they consistently strive to showcase their sense of belonging to the American culture.

Utilizing the MLF aids in revealing linguistic patterns, identifying motivations for CS, and gaining insights into the influence of language dominance and preference on CS. Even though English and Arabic were not used at the same level in the narrative of the three pairs of participants, it was only sometimes easy to decide on the ML and the EL. Nevertheless, in most cases, English was the ML, and Arabic was the EL. Three types of CS occur in the narratives of bilingual speakers: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS.

5.1. Contexts of CS

5.1.1. Social and Cultural Contexts

The CS phenomenon correlates to a myriad of cultural and social factors. Bilingual speakers may switch to another language for many reasons, including the setting, the interlocutors, the topic, and cultural and social identity. Before discussing these factors, I will start with a discussion of the research question related to the contexts of CS in the bilingual narratives of an emotional experience. The context is the circumstances surrounding the interaction and the setting includes everyone engaged, the topic of discussion, language proficiency, and cultural/social norms.
Based on the SPEAKING Model (1967), the context seems to play a vital role in shaping language choices in a particular communication.

### 5.1.1.1 Social Settings

The social setting encompasses more than just the physical location of the conversation. It also includes the individuals involved, their relationship with each other, and the level of formality. Excerpts 3, 10, 12, and 28 from the narrative and interviews demonstrate that participants, regardless of their language proficiency, may switch to Arabic or use a combination of both languages depending on the social context (the site and the interlocutors) for many reasons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social setting</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Physical setting:</td>
<td>If you're going to an Arabic wedding, you can use English, but they're all Arabic speakers. Why are you not using Arabic? Or if you’re going to aza ‘funeral’ and this person is a member of your community? You will have to use Arabic and, of course religiously, without a doubt Arabic. (Excerpt 3).</td>
<td>• Social norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• wedding formal</td>
<td>You can't say <em>ina lilah wa ina alih rajieun</em> ('we belong to God and to him we shall return') in English, like I have to say it in Arabic. Even here in our community, we have Pakistani people, we have people from all over the place, we speak English with them, but when it comes to some expressions, we have to say them in Arabic. Like <em>absalamualaikum</em> ('peace be upon you'). (Excerpt 3).</td>
<td>• Formality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mosque</td>
<td><em>Ya’ani a’andana be alguma’ah</em> ('for us, on Fridays'), I’m used to, you know, <em>ya’ani basalem ala</em> ('like, greet') my mom and my dad, and I kiss their forehead, and I tell them I love you, <em>A’adati</em> ('something I am used to') You know, that’s, like, what I am used to. (Excerpt 7).</td>
<td>• Group identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Home informal</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Social relations/respect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to CAT, speakers and interlocutors of a specific community recognize that the choice of a particular code is either accommodation or divergence, and they have to associate these
codes with specific scripts and users (Myers-Scotton, 1998; Giles & Coupland, 1991, as cited by Myers-Scotton, 1998). The table below outlines the social contexts and language choices observed in the excerpts.

Table 9 displays the correlation between social setting, language choice, and CS. The shaded and underlined utterances from the participants’ excerpts reveal the dynamic relation between the social settings and CS. Home is an informal social setting that requires CS because of the proficiency level of the parents and topic (as in excerpt 7). On the other hand, weddings, funerals, and mosques are formal social settings where participants reported demand for using Arabic and switching to Arabic religious expressions, depending on the individual involved in the conversation.

The reasons for CS vary: The social norm in those settings is to either use Arabic or switch to Arabic religious expressions because the attendants are Arabic-speaking, non-native Arabic speakers, and bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Some are old and have limited proficiency in English, so to show social relations, respect, and group identity, it is necessary to use Arabic or switch to it. According to CAT, those participants try to accommodate their speech to become more similar to those involved in the communication, foster rapport, enhance social identity, and respect social norms.

Fishman (1965, as cited by Thuy, 2015) discussed three factors related to language choice in a given conversation: interlocutors, the occasion, and the topic, which are all connected. Bilingual speakers of a given community are aware of language use, so CS is not a random behavior (Fishman 1965, as cited by Thuy, 2015). In the narratives, the social setting, which includes the participants involved in the communication (and sometimes their family members), the ends and act of discussion, and the instrument (informal setting Zoom), does not
necessarily require CS, yet language use differs among participants. The differences of CS mostly related topic, interlocutors, and linguistic level. The results from the previous chapter demonstrated that CS occurred in both narratives of sadness and love and in the direction of both languages. Hence, expressing emotions could trigger CS. Nevertheless, it relates to language proficiency, participants, topic, and settings. CS (Table 9) indicates adherence to social norms, cultural identity, and respect for social relations. Rules of speaking differ between groups of participants and may be heavily bound to the setting, participants, or topic (Hymes, 1967). Consistent with Hymes’s view, CS in this study differs in each narrative and within each pair; the setting and interlocutors (as in funeral and weddings) play a role in the communication. Language proficiency, topic, and interlocutors influence communication in other instances, as in the death narrative.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code-Switching</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>religious expressions as extra-sentential, and after fillers and interjections.</td>
<td>(J):<em>Alhamdulelah</em>, I don’t think of anyone that ‘Praised be to God’ I love that died That I know of And grieved upon, <em>Ya’ami alhamdulela</em> you know, ‘like’ ‘praised be to God’ That I remember of. (S): I think I would say <em>jadati allah yarhamha</em> ‘My grandmother may God have mercy on her’ <em>My grandmother allah yarhamha</em> ‘May god have mercy on her’ died when we are really young <em>bas ‘when’ Abi yatakalim anha</em> ‘my father talks about her’ <em>Ayoni tadma’a ‘I get tears in my eyes’</em> I feel something <em>Like, oh jadati allah yarhamha</em> ‘my grandmother may God have mercy on her’ <em>(Excerpt 4).</em> I’ll answer in Arabic <em>Lma gina hina amrika, men ashar snin.</em> <em>(‘When we came here to the U.S. 10 years ago’).</em> <em>Kuna axer marrah shufna fiha ahh, ahh, gedi men nahit baba.</em> <em>(‘It was our last time to see ahh, ahh, my grandfather, from my father’s side’)</em> <em>(Excerpt 13).</em> Same thing, but it was with my grandfather from my mother’s side. But <em>alhamduLeIah</em> <em>(‘praised be to God’)</em> we got to see him one last time before we went, <em>ahh, umn, ruhna maser fi 2018, shufnah</em> <em>(‘We went to Egypt in 2018 and we saw him’)</em> <em>(Excerpt 13).</em> <em>Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al’amalin</em> <em>(‘we don’t object to the rule and judgement of the lord of the worlds’)</em>, <em>bas ya’ani, something</em> <em>(‘but, like,’)</em> you know, I wish I would have spent time with her. <em>(Excerpt 4).</em> But, then in Arabic, like there’re so many things you can say, like, you know, <em>Allah yrhamu, insha Allah mathuah aljanah</em> <em>(‘may Allah have mercy on him’)</em>, ‘may Allah make him abide in paradise’, <em>Like, that kind of thing.</em> <em>(Excerpt 19).</em></td>
<td>Language proficiency/ Comfortable in native language to express emotions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deciding deliberately to switch to Arabic.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emotions learned in native language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious sentence.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjection</td>
<td></td>
<td>Show cultural/religious identity and belief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious expressions</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interjection/ fillers to transition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interjections (like, you know)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings reveal that CS in the narratives and the responses of the interviews reflect a profound understanding and compliance with the social and cultural norms of the communities to which they belong. It was clearly present in the experience of death and other social and cultural settings like home, funerals, and weddings. Death triggers CS to religious expressions regardless of language proficiency (Table 10). The reason for switching to Arabic religious expressions in the narratives of death is that these expressions are better expressed in Arabic as they convey the connotation of the cultural meaning. This finding is compatible with Grosjean's (1982) view that some notions and vocabulary are better expressed in one language than the other. Religious expressions cannot convey their cultural meaning if translated into English, so they are preferred to be used in Arabic. CS, in this case, is used to show religious identity, showing how religion is integrated into their identity. According to Grosjean (1982), “Unlike bilingualism, when two languages can be kept separate, biculturalism doesn't usually involve keeping two cultures separate” (p. 160). That might explain CS in expressing emotions about death since participants at some levels are bicultural; they cannot talk about this topic without CS to cultural Arabic expressions as part of their cultural identity.

5.1.1.2. Cultural Contexts

The cultural context of this group of participants encompasses the shared beliefs, values, ethnicity, and religion. This group is part of the minority community in MS, yet they have their own differences. They come from different countries, and their cultures differ to some extent. Generally, their behavior reflects broader cultural norms and practices in their community. Some are born and raised in the U.S. and have never been to their country of origin. For such participants, their contact with the Arab culture is through their parents, the Arab community in
their town, and family overseas. Others were born in Arab countries but have spent most of their life in the U.S. Those mainly had more contact with their first culture and language. Their culture provides them with the foundations of social interactions, their attitude toward a given topic, and their perceived identity based on cultural norms and values.

Culture plays a significant role in CS in the emotional narratives, particularly when the experience is related to death. Most of the switches were related to religion; those were used for social/cultural and linguistic reasons. They converge their communication, incorporating religious expressions to align with the cultural norms and expectations of the interlocutors, which is driven by their desire to affiliate with the Muslim Arab community. The linguistic reasons are related to language abilities, in what language these expressions were learned, and lack of equivalence. Certain words, expressions, and phrases are likely to occur more often than others, in particular, religious words that are part of the culture. However, as reported by the participants, these expressions are also used in mosques with non-Arabic speakers and people who share the same religion. In part of Alnafisah's (2013) study on the function of Arabic-English CS in religious settings in the U.S. among non-Arabic speakers, he discusses some relevant functions for switching from English to Arabic, which are compatible with the findings of this study; one is using formulaic expressions. In this dissertation, the participants, even with lower proficiency levels in Arabic, would still use religious expressions in different situations (Table 10 illustrates these formulaic expressions). The Arabic language is linked to their religious identity, so using those expressions is essential in constructing their identity. In the experience of death (excerpts 4, 13,19, and Table 10), the participants project their religious identity by using formulaic expressions using complete sentences related to religious beliefs and switching to Arabic formulaic expressions despite their language level and cultural belongings.
Arabic and American cultures are different and for those participants, adjusting to the other culture is a hard task, particularly in expressing emotions. For example, the participant who was born and raised in America, finds it difficult to get along with her family overseas because of the cultural differences (she is Arab, but she has spent her life in MS, and her only contact with the culture are the parents and the Arab community in MS). Belonging to the Arab-American culture, rather than strictly identifying as Arab or American, could be attributed to these cultural differences. According to Grosjean (1983), “When the difference between two cultures is very large, for example, Japanese and American, the adjustment is much harder than when the two cultures are similar or even overlap, for example, British and American” (p. 158).

One way to adjust to different cultures is by using appropriate language. Switching to English, Arabic, or both reflects a deep understanding of the complex social, cultural, and linguistic changes of bilingual speakers (Zentella, 1997, p. 82).

Holmes (2001) provides many reasons for CS: privacy, creating identity, fitting in, and solidarity within the community. Additionally, CS may express affection, anger, happiness, and sadness. For some participants, fitting in in both cultures is also an issue. As discussed in excerpts 35 and 39, they are usually worried about their accents in both languages, not wanting to be identified as different or a foreigner.

Or am I wrong?
I get the cramps.
They are gonna think that I am a complete foreigner.
Like I don’t know English
but when I speak Arabic ‘Arabic’ with my family friends I mess up words
And I can hear my American accent coming out Like, um, like they gonna think am such a xablah ‘idiot’. (Excerpt 39)

This extract highlights the importance of fitting in and identifying with the group with which they are interacting. Based on CAT, bilingual speakers adjust their language to connect with others and not differentiate themselves. For instance, the speakers strive to speak Arabic well
with Arabic-speaking families to avoid being judged. Likewise, in the American context (at work), they do not want to be identified as foreigners who cannot speak English properly. Overall, culture and social contexts played a role in CS events in the narratives of bilingual speakers of Arabic and English in this study. Zentella (1997) explains that bilingual speakers switch between languages because of the community mode, community membership, and their knowledge of using CS for particular purposes.

5.2. Reasons for CS

Chapter IV described several reasons for CS obtained from the participants' responses to the interview questions about their perceived reasons for their CS in the narratives. I will summarize these reasons in this section, followed by a discussion.

In the previous section, I discussed contexts and their correlation to CS, and since some of the CS reasons are part of the context, they are described in this section. Rules for speaking do not always cover all aspects of a speech event, sometimes only two or three. Code choice may depend on code and interlocutor, code and topic, or code, interlocutor, and setting (Hymes, 1967). The previous section explained that CS in different contexts does not always rely on the three factors (topic, interlocutors, and language proficiency and setting) together in the same context. For example, the code choice in the mosque depends on the interlocutors and setting.

5.2.1. Topics

One of the components of the context of communication is the topic, one of the crucial factors in switching between Arabic and English. As seen in the findings, different topics may lead to different language choices and CS. Topic interacts with other factors in communication, such as
language, social, and cultural factors deciding the suitable code to fit a particular situation. For example, death in a particular cultural context with certain people demands using Arabic and/or switching to Arabic religious expressions to fit the situation. Love always depends on the audience and their reactions and perceptions. The level of formality determines language choice: in the mosque (wedding and funeral, excerpts 27 and 28), switching to Arabic and some Arabic expressions is necessary for this situation. If the interlocutors in this setting are old and their English language abilities are not high, switching to Arabic is required (for example, excerpts 1 and 21).

At home, with the family, Arabic is usually used to show the depth of emotions and cultural nuance, especially if one of the parents is not proficient in English (excerpts 22 and 10). On the other hand, with close friends or siblings, English or switching to Arabic is always acceptable (excerpts 23 and 24). To keep their community's ‘ways of speaking,' native speakers have a tacit knowledge of how to use the language appropriately according to different speech situations (Hymes, 1974, as cited by Zentella, 1997). Those speakers know how and where to use their languages as required by a certain situation. Zentella (1997) discusses that bilingual children in a speech community alternate between their two languages repertoire to adjust to certain situations. They know how, when, and where to use each language and how the two languages may be used together in a single utterance. The topic of communication also interacts with other communication components as discussed by Grosjean (1982). Grosjean (1982) discussed several reasons for CS: CS occurs when talking about a particular topic, where there is a lack of facility in one of the bilingual’s languages, which will be discussed in the following section.
5.2.2. Language Proficiency

The differences among the narratives are the speakers' proficiency level, length of exposure to the culture, topic, setting, and interlocutors. As presented in Tables 1 and 2 and Appendix 4, the participants prefer English and believe it is their dominant language. However, their proficiency levels in English and Arabic are different; the first pair is proficient in both languages and switch more than other pairs in the narratives. Due to cultural reasons, religion plays a significant role in the identity of those bilingual speakers. Participants used some religious expressions only in Arabic in their narratives. It showcases their cultural identity and belonging to the community by using these expressions with people from their community and on certain occasions. Another reason is that the participants learned religion and all the vocabulary, terms, and phrases connected to it in Arabic and an Arabic-speaking context (home and community). According to Grosjean (1982), “some notions are better expressed in one language than the other” (p. 150), which explains why the participants switched to Arabic to use religious phrases such as Insha Allah ‘if God wills’, alhamdulelah ‘praise be to God’ because they can convey and express them better in Arabic.

Those who acquired English later use it less than those who acquired it earlier. Also, length of stay plays a role with those who have spent most of their lives in the U.S. tending to switch less than those who came later. For example, the third pair, who reported that English is their first language, but also learned Arabic at home, switched using limited expressions (excerpts 15, 17, and 19). Their Arabic language proficiency level, as reported, is intermediate to advanced, which might restrain their use of Arabic to a few expressions that they used in the narratives and interviews. These expressions were religious (Allah yerhamu ‘May God have mercy on him’, insha Allah mathuah aljaneh ‘May God make him abide in paradise’) and
dialect-specific expressions related to love (tukburni ‘you bury me’, bahebik ‘I love you’), and are usually used with certain people (family, Arabic-speaking people, Muslim non-Arabic speakers). Even though they reported different levels of proficiency, they are fluent in both languages in speaking despite the fact that some of them feel that they have accents in both languages. Similarly, the participant excluded from the narratives arrived in the U.S. at 14-year-old, and has spent 7 years in the U.S. Nevertheless, her alternation between Arabic and English was limited to a couple of utterances. Poplack (1979) showed that speakers who learned English and Spanish in early childhood show the highest percentage of intra-sentential switching. On the other hand, those who learned English after the age of 13 show significantly lower percentages of intra-sentential switches.

The proficiency level of the interlocutors and the dominant language play a role in the switching, as reported by the participants. Grosjean (2010) claims that one factor essential for language choice is the proficiency level of the speaker and the interlocutor, which is also reported by all participants (for example, excerpts 27, 28, 22, 10, and 40).

I do usually answer in English. That’s what I am used to doing.
But if I am speaking to somebody in Arabic. And I feel like they won’t understand English that I speak. I’ll completely speak Arabic. So, we both understand what we are saying. (Excerpt 40).

yes, I guess.
So, like, when we go for a wedding.
Like, Yemeni weddings
Like, I meet up with a friend that I know.
Like, she just recently came back from Yemen.
Or came back from oversees or stuff.
Her English … Or she’s just typically used to speaking Arabic.
I’ll just speak more Arabic to her.
But I’ll still speak English. (Excerpt 28).

The underlined instances reported by the participants in the above excerpts are consistent with Grosjean's (2010) view that many bilingual speakers use a particular language when listeners do not master the other language. As mentioned earlier, for this group, respect is an essential factor
besides the level of formality. The speakers would switch to Arabic because the listeners are old; it is the (as referred to by Grosjean [2010]) “agreed upon” language without even discussing it. The following will discuss some linguistic reasons related to CS.

5.2.2.1. Word Translations and Lack of Equivalents in English

One of the reasons for CS reported by the participants is translation and word equivalence. As discussed in the findings, religious expressions in celebrations and cultural occasions such as funerals and weddings could convey the denotative meaning. However, participants believe there are no culturally adequate translations for these expressions. These expressions are ideal to be used in Arabic because they convey the cultural connotation (for example, excerpt 19).

I don’t know, it is like a lot more…
You know, I feel like, religion kind of might play more into this,
But I feel like, there is a lot more than religious saying about sadness.
That make it more, oh, I am just sorry for what happened.
Like, there is another answer to it in Arabic.
And, it is, you know, like, you know, religion of the afterlife. (Excerpt 19).

The underlined instances from extract 19 showed that this participant feels that using religious expressions in Arabic is more appropriate (she considers herself a native speaker of English) because it pertains to her belief in the “afterlife”. Thus, in her opinion, it is not just the language but rather it is the faith that this language carries. Fishman (1965) identifies different domains of CS and one of these domains is religion. CS to religious expressions as a salient feature of the CS of the bilingual speakers of Arabic and English also depends on the situation and the interlocutors. According to Gumperz (1982), certain code seems to be more appropriate than other; in the case of my study, the choice of Arabic for cultural and religious expressions appears to always depend on the interlocutors. Even in normal conversation when the discussion is not related to a topic like death, those expressions are almost always present (excerpt 8 and 36).
I am currently a pharmacy student. And I hope, Insha Allah (‘if God wills’) to go to school. That’s my plan. (Excerpt 8). I think, um, alhamdulilah (‘praise be to Allah’), I have a very good relation with my family. (Excerpt 36).

It is part of their identity to switch to religious expressions. It is not as intense as it is when the topic is death, but it occurred when they talked about future plans (joining a school) or the blessings they have (good family relations) as it is part of their belief system. The future is in God’s hands and being with your family is a blessing for which you have to thank God.

All in all, CS to religious expressions in Arabic is not really related to translation per se but to culture. As mentioned previously, these expressions are translatable, but the translations will not convey the underlying cultural meaning tied to their faith.

Switching to words that do not exist in English is one of the reasons for CS in this study. Excerpts 1 and 21 showed that participants used these words in Arabic spontaneously because the interlocutor is an Arabic speaker, and words like cousin and aunt would create confusion of which to which side of the family they belong. Grosjean (1982) explains that bilingual speakers often resort to CS when unable to find the appropriate word or expression or when a suitable translation is unavailable. In the case of this study’s participants, they were aware of the words in both languages, but switched to Arabic because they acknowledged the difference and the confusion these words may create for Arabic speakers.

Additionally, during the narrative and interviews, some words and expressions were switched to Arabic due to the lack of proper translation. These words happened in particular emotional experiences, for instance, the term metdaigah 'sad and upset,' which describes sadness or Tokburni ‘You bury me’, which expresses love. These expressions do not have equivalent terms in English because they do have an underlying cultural meaning that is not readily available in the speaker's dominant language (English). It was easy to switch to Arabic because
bilingual speakers switch when they cannot find the proper word or there is a lack of an appropriate translation to the word or expression in the other language (Grosjean, 1982).

5.2.2.2. The Language in which the Emotions are Learned

Kolers (1978, as cited by Grosjean, 1982) reported that bilinguals tend to do mathematics in the language that they learned it in. This finding is consistent with what the participants report in this study that certain emotions were first learned in a specific language and context, making it easier to express them in that language. Excerpts 29 and 30 provide clear examples of this phenomenon.

Excerpt 29 showed that the participant feels it is easier for her to express fear in English because she learned it in the English language and an English-speaking context. Similarly, her brother thinks that because he has received and experienced love in Arabic, he can easily express love in Arabic better. The language and cultural contexts in which emotions are learned correlate to how
they are expressed and perceived (Pavlenko, 2005). Bilingual speakers, in this case, can use their
different languages to express certain emotions or switch between them depending on the
cultural norms and expectations about those emotions.

5.2.2.3. Word Economy

Word economy was one of the intriguing concepts brought up by some participants; using fewer
words and syllables to express a concept precisely is one of the reasons for CS. Arabic is a
fusional language where one word can convey a complete sentence. Participants seem to favor
using a word or fewer phrases to deliver an adequate idea. The findings indicate that switching to
an Arabic word or an expression is utilized for precision. Some expressions and vocabulary are
better expressed in one language than the other (Grosjean, 1982). They are better expressed in a
particular language because they adequately deliver the meaning according to the participants.

Like, in Arabic, it's so easy to say a sentence like half a sentence.
And it makes sense.
In English, sometimes to express emotions, you have to use, like, three sentences to make sense.
Versus Arabic, I can literally tell you what I want in half a sentence.
And it makes sense. (Excerpt 31).

like, zheket (‘I’m tired of it’), there is, like, a direct translation for that in English, like I’m tired of
it and I’m sick of it, but I don’t know... it is just so much. Instead of having three words in
English, it is just nice to say zheket. (Excerpt 38).

It seems that CS, in this instance, involves choosing words that are concise, precise, and carry the
intended meaning without unnecessary elaboration, as underlined in excerpts 31 and 38. Again,
the choice depends on the interlocutors. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies about
this specific topic of CS, but bilingual speakers strategically use a language to achieve specific
communication goals. In this case, their choice of Arabic words is to convey the meaning
succinctly and sufficiently.
5.2.3. Interlocutors

To understand the role of participants, the SPEAKING Model prompts considering who those individuals are, their roles, relationships, and any other relevant characteristics. People involved in the communication, their relationship to the speakers, language proficiency, and language preference is another reason for CS. The fact that most mothers in the participants' cases typically have a beginner to intermediate level of English proficiency necessitates using Arabic or CS at home, creating another situation where language choice is significant. CS takes place with certain people: If the interlocutors are more proficient in one language than the other, the speaker will switch to that language. Language preference of the interlocutors will influence language use. Participants mentioned that when the speakers are proficient in both languages, they will switch between the two. If the interlocutors prefer Arabic, the speakers will adjust to accommodate their preferences. Myers-Scotton (1995) suggests that social factors, including the interlocutors engaged in communication, influence CS. CS creates social meanings and relationships between interlocutors. Using a specific code in a specific situation signals social identity, group membership, and attitude toward members and situations (Myers-Scotton, 1995).

In this study, the participants switch to Arabic in specific situations such as at home, with non-English speaking interlocutors, and in particular cultural contexts such as the mosque (10, 21, and 22).

if all the people present speak Arabic. Like, if we are, in the family, us, five.
Me, my sister, my brother, my parents
We all speak Arabic at home. (Excerpt 22).

if I'm with my Arab American friends, like we all do, like, a mix of English and Arabic, especially if we're like trying to express emotions a lot. Um, yeah, for us like Arabic phrases for that. But then, if I'm in with my like, regular American friends, that's all in English. (Excerpt 10).

yes, especially,
When I talk with older people, and we suppose to speak to them, like, in Arabic.
Whenever I go and talk with my ama (‘aunt from father’s side’)
Or xalti (‘aunt from mother’s side’). (Excerpt 21).
Bilingual speakers switch with people who do not have non-reciprocal conversations (Zentella, 1997). Non-reciprocal conversation tends to force one of the participants to switch to the language of the other if they go beyond a few sentences. The participants (as in excerpts 10, 21, and 22) were aware that the listeners' language skills were limited to Arabic. As a sign of respect towards their elders and those with limited proficiency in English, they either used Arabic or switched between English and Arabic during the conversation. The community norms dictate that speakers should use the language their listeners are most comfortable with (Zentella, 1997).

The norm in this situation (as in 21 and 22) is respect for older family members and those with lower language abilities. It also depends on the relationship with the interlocutors (as in 10 and 22). The speakers aim for social and cultural identity and group membership. On the other hand, in a different context (as in excerpt 10), they use only English and stick with American culture for the same reasons: showing group membership and identity. Interlocutors, as part of the social interaction, affect significantly language use. As discussed in the findings, switching to English or Arabic is always determined by whom they are talking to; the language proficiency of the interlocutors can influence CS. This finding is in line with Grosjean's (2010) view that many bilingual speakers use a particular language when listeners do not master the other language. All participants emphasized that CS occurs naturally as a habit because of where they live and who they interact with. Nevertheless, they confirm whom they are talking to determines the choice of the CS. The participants have this tacit knowledge about the social and cultural rules that govern interaction with specific interlocutors in particular situations.
5.3. Situational and Metaphorical CS

Distinguishing between situational and metaphorical CS helps in understanding its motivations. Bilingual speakers use metaphorical CS to describe emotions and expressions that are not easily conveyed in one of their languages, while situational CS is used in certain situations and contexts where the interlocutors' language proficiency decides the code. Additionally, social and cultural contexts demand CS to a particular code, as seen in attending a funeral or any religious situation. CS in this narrative is situational and used to fit the situation demand in this context. The interlocutor and the topic require a switch for cultural and social considerations as discussed earlier, in excerpt 5. In other narratives, bilingual speakers seem to combine metaphorical and situational CS in their decision to switch to Arabic. One purpose is to explain precisely the emotions (love for a career, and what makes her appreciate it that much). The language choice may be influenced by the interlocutors and the context of the experience, as seen in excerpt 8.

According to Al-Rowais (2012), CS could be related to the religious basis that goes hand-in-hand with the Arabic language. *Alhamdulillah* ‘praise be to God’ is considered one of the components of the Arabic verbal greeting system, which signifies several CS instances that are present in the interaction of Arabic speakers regardless of their country of origin (Woolard (2004), as cited by Al-Rowais, 2012). Al-Rowais' finding is compatible with this study because this group of participants switched to some religious expressions. After all, using those expressions dictates the use of Arabic since it is (in the specific contexts and topics, and with particular people) one component of the language choices agreed upon among Arabic speakers within the Arab culture. Those agreed upon language choices and alternating between them are utilized to reach the goal of a particular communication (Zentella, 1997). To show their Arab
identity and solidarity, they adhere to community norms where religion is woven into Arab culture.

5.4. Identity Correlation to CS

It is important to note that the participants reported some differences in their dominant culture, which is Arabic or Arab-American culture, while their dominant language is English. Haugen (1956), as cited by Grosjean (1982), noted that bilingualism and biculturalism are not necessarily coextensive; there is no influence of language dominance on cultural dominance. Those people are bilingual, and because they come into contact with the host country, they adjust to the new culture to survive a different world (Grosjean, 1982).

Belonging to neither culture arose in the discussion of the bilingual speakers' identity. Participants that were either born and raised in the U.S. or came to it at an early age, 2-4 years old, seem to struggle to fit into both cultures. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous chapter, the participants know the cultural norms as they are part of an Arab Muslim community. They know when and where to use Arabic. In formal settings, such as religious contexts, such as funerals and mosques, and different social contexts, like Arab weddings, speakers are expected to use specific expressions appropriate for those occasions. Furthermore, they meet the cultural expectations regarding formality and politeness in particular cultural and social settings within the Arab community where these speakers reside.

In excerpts 32, 33, and 34, the participants describe the differences in their identities in both cultures. They (in most cases) believe that is linked to their language proficiency level, stating that they feel freer to express their emotions in English (as in 32 and 33) because it is their dominant language, and they feel more confident in English. The change in identity also
depends on the situation and the interlocutors, for instance, being more formal (older people in a formal setting like a mosque).

just because my Arabic is really not the best.
So, I am more free.
I am so used to speaking English.
It is gonna come naturally for me.
Okay, I feel more free.
More comfortable to talk about it.
But in Arabic, I am like, did I say this word right.
Am I saying this right?
Or, like, it’s just, like, my tone starts to shift to like,
Worried, like am I really saying this right.
Did I just make a fool of myself?
For saying this phrase. (Excerpt 32).

Um, yeah, I do. Um, I do think that I have different, like, personalities. I think I am a lot, like, I'm a lot more like levelheaded in English. And I'm a lot more, like, excited, a lot more excitement in Arabic. And I think it's because my Arabic isn't as good as my English. So, I have to rely on like body language to convey how I'm feeling a lot of the time. So, like, I, I am someone who uses my hands and my body a lot to talk. And I tend to do that much more when I'm speaking in Arabic, because I feel like it helps me to compensate for, you know, like, maybe not being able to express something as fluently as I would have in English. (Excerpt 33).

Yes, I think there is a difference.
So, for example,
And I think it has to do with the language.
The language that way we express the language.
Maybe culture
For example, Egyptian are a little bit loud
So, compared to Americans.
Americans are loud, too.
But in Arabic, it’s easier to express the loudness than English. (Excerpt 34).

Switching to Arabic is also a way of showing cultural belonging and identity, for example, it may be used to express religious identity, which was present in the narrative of death. They show membership in a community by connecting with Arabic speakers. For instance, they switch to Arabic because the interviewer is an Arab. They also usually switch to Arabic when listeners are Arabic speakers because culture is a significant factor influencing CS (Grosjean, 1982). According to this statement, culture can influence CS in many ways: it can shape how bilingual speakers view themselves in different social and cultural contexts and how they adjust to them and act accordingly. The topic of conversation influences the change in identity in
expressing emotions in English and Arabic. However, it is always connected to the interlocutors, and social and cultural factors.

Furthermore, cultural norms and values differ and sometimes contradict when cultures are distinct; indeed, Arab and American cultures are significantly different. These participants, particularly those born and raised in the U.S., mentioned that they belong to neither Arab nor American culture but to Arab-American culture. This is understandable since they are exposed to Arabic culture at home, and in the Arab community, they are surrounded by and experience American culture through their friends, school, and work. As they live in both cultures, it is crucial for them to comprehend the norms and values of each culture. That would include switching to either language to suit the situation and interlocutors and what is expected from them as members of those communities. Grosjean (1982) proposes that people act according to the context, and what is seen as a shift in personality is simply a shift in attitude and behavior based on the shift in situation and context.

“Adjusting to the other culture depends on a number of factors: size of the minority community, immigration patterns, geographic concentration, intermarriage, and language use” (Grosjean, 1982, p. 160). In this study, the participants live in a small community where they interact with other Arabs. They also have close relationships with their Arabic-speaking families overseas. The Arab community in their town consists of immigrant families who still use Arabic since most families (typically the mother) are not fluent in English, so the language is still in use. The families live and interact with other Arab families, so their access to the American community is limited for linguistic and cultural reasons. Unlike their families, the children of the immigrants have full access to the American culture because of school, friends, and jobs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the families insist that their children learn the Arabic
language and culture by learning the Quran and engaging in mosque activities. Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) suggest that CS is a strategic choice made by speakers in different social contexts to express identity, emphasize points, show group solidarity, and establish power relationships. Bilingual speakers acknowledge the need to respect cultural norms while asserting their identity in a multicultural community.

Feeling included and being part of the community is also important for bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Those participants are more than both cultures, using both languages and alternating between them to convey a linguistic and social message (Grosjean, 1982).

like, I get patients asking me where are you from?  
I’m like, I’m from (+),  
they like, no, where are you really from?  
I am from Yemen,  
being Arab is part of my identity. (Excerpt 35).

I know I can speak English.  
But sometimes I feel nervous.  
Am I saying a word like with an accent?  
Or am I wrong?  
I get the cramps.  
They are gonna think that I am a complete foreigner.  
Like I don’t know English  
but when I speak Arabi ‘Arabic’ with my family friends I mess up words  
And I can hear my American accent coming out.  
Like, um, like they’re gonna think am such a xablak (‘idiot’). (Excerpt 39).

The participants (in 35 and 39) strive to fit in and belong to both cultures because they identify themselves as Arab, Muslim, and American. Yet it is not always possible for them to show all aspects of their identity for they will feel not completely Arab or American; It is a common issue faced by Arabs who belong to two cultures. For them, it is difficult to be fully accepted in either culture, so they seek to use their respective languages appropriately to be perceived as a member of both communities and show their multifaceted identity.
Zentella (1997) notes that switches occur for various reasons, such as a need for a word, to repair a syntactic break, or for a taboo. Switching for reasons such as taboo also exists in the narratives of the bilingual speakers.

Ya’ani aqul leshbati be alshugul (‘I tell me friends at work’)
I love you, drive safe. Bas be alarabi hathi alkalemah ahes laha ma’ana (‘but in Arabic, this word, I feel has a different meaning’). (Excerpt 7).

Ya’ani hathi alkalemah leumak w el abuk (‘this word is for your mother and your father’)
and your significant other. (Excerpt 7).

Some switches are involuntary (Zentella, 1997); they serve the need for a word or expression in the other language for many reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph. One of these reasons is taboo. She describes this kind of switch as a short departure from the language spoken at the moment. This is the case in the above instances; the speaker switched to the phrase “I love you and drive safe” to explain how she can express love to her friends at work. Further, in the second instance, she switched to English to use the phrase “significant other” because she was talking about love, and since this topic is considered taboo, she switched to English. Switching to English is to express a topic that is taboo in the Arabic language and culture, showcasing cultural identity since the interlocutors in that situation were Arabic speakers (the interviewer is not a close friend). Another reason for her language switch could be to express her identification with her Arabic culture. Additionally, social identity is clearly stated when the participant explained the reason for not talking about love (excerpt 5); social identity dictates avoiding those topics (their family taught them not to talk about it), so they tended to use English to express love directly in English even with their family.

It's just not really comfortable to speak about love.
It’s just a weird topic to speak to them in Arabic.
Ashan ihna alarab almona ma nethkash a’an alhub (‘because we, the Arabs, were taught not to talk about love’).
So, it’s like, no, what!
What are you talking about? That’s a taboo! (Excerpt 5).
Gal (1988, p. 247), as cited by Zentella (1997), stated that “code switching is not only a conversational tool that maintains or changes ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships, but also symbolic creations concerned with the construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ within a broader political economy and historical context.” CS plays a role in bridging the linguistic and cultural gap. Bilingual speakers use English to overcome the uncertainty in expressing love in the Arabic culture and between speakers and interlocutors as CS reflects a shared cultural understanding. It also creates a sense of belonging to a particular group and individuals (family and friends). Applying CS in those cultural contexts indicates identity affiliation to the Arabic culture because the participants engaged in that narrative were Arabs.

5.5. Structure of CS

5.5.1. ML and EL in the Narratives

English and Arabic were not used at the same level in the narrative of the three pairs of participants. The participants reported that English is the dominant language even though Arabic is used with family and at home, and English is used at work, school, with friends, and at home.

The ML frame was employed to uncover linguistic patterns and motivation of CS, as well as gain insights into language dominance and preference influencing CS. It was not always easy to decide the ML and the EL in the narratives because of the differences in intensity of CS. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), “If a sentence is analyzed in isolation, for example, its main clause is in one language and a dependent clause is in another language, there is no way to identify the ML. The ML can only be identified in sentences containing CS material if such sentences are considered as part of a larger corpus. How large is ‘large enough’ is an unresolved issue; but certainly, a discourse sample must mean more than one sentence” (p. 68). Typically, the language chosen as the base language imposes its grammatical structure in the speech flow.
and is selected autonomously (Jake & Scotton, 2009, as cited by Myer-Scotton, 1993). English is the ML in all narratives, and Arabic was the EL providing the content (as in excerpt 4). However, in narrating the experience itself in both experiences of the first pair (excerpts 8 and 13), Arabic was the ML, and English was the EL supplying content.

When there is limited CS, as in the case of the third pair, it is not possible to judge because, as suggested by Myer-Scotton (1993), EL can be identified when a sentence in a large corpus contains CS, but we cannot judge based solely on one sentence (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Since I have a larger corpus, the narrative, there is not enough switching to decide. However, English was the base, and the switching was for specific words and expressions from Arabic.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), the matrix language is the language that has more morphemes. She states that “the ML can change over time and even within a conversation. The embedded language can become the matrix language” (p. 69), as what happened in the narratives of the first pair (excerpts 8 and 13). They had started in English and then decided to use Arabic to tell the story, then changed back to English. The reason for this kind of switch is unclear. The participants believe it is unintentional and comes naturally but making a deliberate switch at a specific point (excerpt 8) can give the impression of intentionality. Some possible reasons could be related to proficiency level, psycho-social/cultural factors, or the context, including the interlocutors. Language proficiency is often discussed in the context of the MLF model, particularly among developing multilingual speakers, as a factor in language selection and switching. Jake and Scotton (2009), as cited by Alhamdan (2019), suggested that multilingual speakers may choose an ML based on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of discourse, as well as the linguistic competence of the interlocutors. The ML does not always have to be the multilinguals’ dominant language because codeswitching requires adequate knowledge of the
EL, as well. (Alhamdan, 2019). The selection of both the ML and EL is influenced by the speaker's socio-psychological connection with the language that dominates their language production (Myers-Scotton, 1995; Jake & Scotton, 2009, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019).

(H): me too.
I think what I think important to me
Let’s just say career wise.
Why I chose pharmacy school.
Maybe I can say that part in Arabic.
oh, wana sugaiarah (‘when I was little’)
Baba hua (‘dad is’) pharmacist
A’andu saidalitu (‘he owns a pharmacy’) 
Men wahna sugaiarin kuna daiman ma’ah fe alsaidaliah (‘when we were kids, we were always with him in the pharmacy’)
Mama shagalah doctorah fe aljama’ah (‘my mom works as a professor in a university’)
Fu daiman betafer le alja’amah eli betdares feha (‘she always travels to the university campus, where she teach’es’)
Yumin talatah masalan fe alosbu’a (‘two or three days a week’)
Fu ehna bneba’a ba’a fe elumin alja’amah dol (‘so, during those two, three days’)
Once en ehna xalasna madrasah (‘we finished school’) 
Nu’ad ma’ah fe alsaidaliah lahad (‘we would stay with him in the pharmacy until’)
You know, whenever he closed. (Excerpt 8).

(J): yeah
(S): Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al’alamin
(‘we don’t object to the rule and judgement of the lord of the worlds’) 
bas ya’ani, something
(’but, like’)
You know, I wish I would have spent time with her.
(J): yeah, I …. met her, remember her story. 
Because I don’t remember a thing with her
(S) allah varhamha
(‘God have mercy on her’)
(J): we just hear when people talk about her, and that’s it. (Excerpt 4).

5.5.2. Types of sentence structure

Three types of CS occur in the participants’ narratives: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential. CS, for example, can involve one word, a phrase, a sentence, or several sentences from the other language (Grosjean, 1982). According to Grosjean (2010), CS follows strict constraints, and bilinguals are competent in both languages to be able to code-switch.

Based on my data, this might be the case because participants who switched more than the others
reported higher proficiency levels in English and Arabic. Poplack (1980, as cited by Grosjean, 2010) states: “code switching is a verbal skill requiring a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of on or the other … [R]ather than representing deviant behavior, [it] is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence.” (p. 615). Data from the third pair and one of the participants excluded from the narrative (who has spent 7 years in the U.S. and learned English at 14) could support this statement. They switch to limited utterances, even though the one excluded believes she is proficient in English and Arabic. However, one participant who was also excluded from the narrative (born in Canada, raised in Oxford, and her native language is Arabic) believes that she is proficient in both English and Arabic (all skills and with no accent), but English is her dominant and preferred language; her CS was limited too.

Table 11: Types of CS in the structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CS</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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| **Inter-sentential**| - *Mush mutardin alahukum rab ala’alamin, bas, ya’ani* (‘we don’t object Allah’s will, but, like’), something..., you know, I wish I have spent time with her.  
- *Lama taulisha* (‘when you say it’), it comes out of your heart.  
- I’ll answer in Arabic. *Lama gina hina amrika.*  
- *men ashar snin.* (‘When we came here to America 10 years ago.’)  
- I know that *ani vameniah* (‘I am Yemeni’)  
- If I’m fired up, *axlet elethnin* (‘I mix the two’) |
| Occurs at the sentence boundary. |                                                                     |
| **Intra-sentential**| - I think, um, *alhamdulelah* (‘praise be to Allah’), I have a very good relation with my family.  
- I think I would say *jadati Allah yarhanha* (‘my grandmother may Allah have mercy on her’).  
- I am such a *hablab* (‘idiot’).  
- They are *Muslimin* (‘Muslims’)  
- *Be el* (‘with the’) emotions of the person.  
- I was raised *be amrica*  
- With my *ama* (‘aunt from father’s side’) or *xala*, (‘aunt from mother side’).  
- *Bagul ani* (‘I say I am’) *from Yemen.* |
| Occurs within a phrase or a sentence. |                                                                 |
| **Extra-sentential**| - *I feel like even you don’t have to say it, va’ani* (‘like’), there are ways you can show it.  
- *Ya’ani alhamdulelah* you know, ‘like ’ praised be to God.’  
- And I hope, *Insaha Allah* (‘if God wills’) to go to (-) school. That’s my plan. |
| Interjections and fillers |                                                                 |
In the narratives, where the participants switch more between Arabic and English, all three types of CS occurred (as in Table 11). Extra-sentential CS could occur anywhere in the utterances without much consideration of the structure. Those expressions are fillers, interjections, formulaic, and fixed religious expressions. This aligns with Alhamdan's research (2019), which found that extra-sentential codeswitching occurred when transitioning between English and Arabic without changing their meaning. Poplack (1980) states that tags can be inserted freely into an utterance without affecting its syntax. It is common because it requires less knowledge of the two-language grammar (Poplack, 1980). This type of switching is commonly observed in Arabic/English codeswitching studies (Alenazi, 2010, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019). In this current study, extra-sentential CS appears to be recurrent among bilingual speakers of Arabic and English. For example, fillers and interjections are frequent in the narratives and the interviews of bilingual speakers, which is consistent with Al-Rowais’ (2012) findings: “the largest number of code switches was observed in interjections, nouns, and discourse markers" (p. 37). Religious expressions, fixed or formulaic, are frequently used as extra-sentential CS (Table 11). The first and second pairs used this type of CS, but not the third pair. Those with reported lower Arabic proficiency did not use extra-sentential CS despite its syntactic flexibility.

According to Poplack (1980), intera-sentential CS is more complex than intra-sentential CS because it requires a speaker to have control over two language systems. Intra-sentential switching refers to within-a-sentence switching (Table 11). Based on that, the speaker in the intra-sentential CS usually switches to one word, which is considered more simplistic. Intersentential CS happens at the sentence boundary; most occur after an interjection, between clauses, and complete sentences (as in Table 11 and section 5.5.2.2.). Unlike extra-sentential CS,
the third pair used both inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS in their narrative and interview, but it was limited. The first and second pairs commonly use inter-sentential CS in their narratives.

Bilingual speakers of English and Arabic commonly used intra-sentential codeswitching in both narratives and interviews (Table 11). Alhamdan (2019) finds that intra-sentential CS is the most common type of CS. All participants, despite their proficiency level differences, used this type. However, the first and second pairs used intra-sentential CS very often, while the third pair used it in a few instances because their CS, in general, was limited to a few expressions.

It seems that all three types of CS were present in the narratives, but there were noticeable differences between participants in terms of their usage. The use of inter-sentential CS was observed in all three groups, despite their reported proficiency levels, though the third group used it less frequently. Intra-sentential CS indicates the speakers' proficiency in both languages (Poplack, 1980; Lipski, 1985, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019). It may be the case in this study, as participants who switched to limited Arabic utterances reported having an intermediate-advanced level in Arabic, which could explain their less frequent switching compared to others. All three pairs employed this type of CS, but the third group used it only a few times, as previously mentioned.

5.5.2.1. CS for Repetition
Repetition was present in a significant number of the participants' utterances. The participants practiced this strategy to ensure that the message was understood correctly. It is used for explanation, clarification, or elaboration (Zentella, 1997). Repetition of what has been said in one language is translated into the other for clarification, emphasis, or explanation (Zentella,
In this dissertation, repetition is a significant function of CS. This finding is also consistent with Zentella's (1997) reflection that CS for clarification was the most favored strategy of the bilingual children in her study. In my participants' case, they used this strategy without being asked for clarification or explanation. As shown in the examples below 1, 2, and 3, they repeat these utterances in the other language, usually from Arabic to English.

1. And I tell them I love you, *A'adati* (*I am used to, a habit*), you know, *that’s like* I am used to. (Excerpt 7)
2. I have so many old patients *Mathalan aialuhum mush mawgodin* (*for example, their children are not with them*) *Yahutuhum bedar*, *ya’ani* (*they put them in a home, like*), like a home. (Excerpt 18)
3. I think I would say, *Jadati allah yarhamha* ‘My grandmother may God have mercy on her.’ My grandmother *Allah yarhamha* ‘May God have mercy on her’ died when we were really young. (Excerpt 4)

In the above instances, the participants used CS for clarification, as discussed earlier. Based on these utterances, the reason for this practice is unclear. It happens only with this pair of participants. The first pair did not show this kind of repetition of the same utterance in the two languages. One reason could be that the question was asked in both Arabic and English, so they felt the need to say some utterances in Arabic and then switch back to repeat them in English. There are differences in the types of CS in the three instances (1, 2, and 3). In 1, the switch in the word *habit* is inter-sentential; it happened in the boundary. In 2, CS is inter-sentential, but after the interjection *ya’ani* ‘like’. In 3, it is intra-sentential CS because the switch happened within the sentence, then it was inter-sentential CS because of the repetition of the same phrase in English with another switch within the sentence using the religious expression *Allah yarhamha* ‘May God have mercy on her’.

Poplack (1980, as cited by Hughes, Shaunessy, Brice, Ratliff, & McHatton, 2006) suggested that speakers with higher abilities would switch more. It could be the case for this group of participants, but there is still no clear evidence that those who switch more are of a
higher level of proficiency in both languages. However, the data reported by the participants about their proficiency level showed that those who switched more reported that they were proficient in both Arabic and English. They are native speakers of Arabic and learned English at 10 and 11 years old. Those who switch less than the first pair are also native speakers of Arabic and learned English at the ages of 3 and 4; these reported that their proficiency level in Arabic is “semi proficient and intermediate-advanced level”. They also stated that they could have some accent. The third group, who reported that they were native speakers of English, switched to limited expressions used in specific contexts and with particular people. Similar to the two other participants excluded from the narratives, their CS was limited to a couple of expressions. One of participants excluded learned English when she was 14 years old and has spent 7 years in the United States. This participant reported that she is proficient in both languages, but Arabic is her dominant language, unlike all the other participants. It is likely that she does not code-switch because of language proficiency.

It is worth noting that the first pair of participants who switched the most between English and Arabic tended to use limited Arabic expressions when speaking English but switched to English frequently when narrating stories in Arabic. It could indicate that their Arabic language skills may be higher than their English or that they are proficient in both languages. They switched between inter-sentential and intra-sentential structures, which, according to Poplack (1980), imply higher abilities since the placement of a constituent in the sentence tends to respect the word order requirements of both languages.
5.5.2.2. CS after Fillers and Interjections

CS occurs after fillers and interjections most of the time. Those short fillers and interjections signal a transition to the other language.

1. But *alhamduLelah* ‘praised be to God’, we got to see him one last time before we went, ahh, umm ruhna maser fi 2018 shufrnah (*we went to Egypt in 2018*). (Excerpt 13).
2. *Like*, you know, *Allah yrhamu, insha Allah mathuah aljanah* (*may Allah have mercy on him*, ‘may Allah make him abide in paradise’) (Excerpt 19).
3. *Alhamdulelah*, I don’t think of anyone that (*Praised be to God*) (Excerpt 4).
4. And grieved upon, *Ya’ani alhamdulela you know, (’like’ ’praised be to God’) (Excerpt 4).
5. My grandmother *Allah yarhamha* (*May god have mercy on her*) died when we were really young. (Excerpt 4).
6. Like, very vaguely, *bas ‘but’ Abi yatakalm anha* (*my father talks about her*), *Ayoni tadma’a* (*’I get tears in my eyes’*). I feel something. (Excerpt 4).
7. And everyone talks about her *Like, oh, jadati allah yarhamha* (*my grandmother may God have mercy on her*). (Excerpt 4).
8. *Mush mutaridin ala hukum rab al’alamin* (*we don’t object to the rule and judgement of the lord of the worlds*), *bas ya’ani*, something (*’but’, like*), you know, I wish I would have spent time with her (Excerpt 4).
9. That’s why I was saying I love you in Arabic is harder, *va’ani* ‘like’ because we love, actually love… (Excerpt 18).
10. That question makes me think of that, *Ya’ani alarab alhamdulelah* (*’like, Arab, praised be to God.’*) I feel like they… (Excerpt 18).
11. Or if you do, it… it’s something super rare,Ya’ani ‘like’, I think that I don’t… (Excerpt 18).
12. I feel like Americans, *ya’ani sah yehebu ahlahum* (*’like, they do love their families’) and stuff like that, *bas* (*’but’,*) for example (Excerpt 18).
13. *Ya’ani a’andana be alguna’ah* ‘for us, on Fridays’, I used to, you know, *ya’ani basalem ala* ‘like, greet’ my mom and my dad (Excerpt 7).
14. I have so many old patients *Mathalan aialuhum mush mawgodin* (*’for example, their children are not with them’*). *Yahutuhum bedar, ya’ani* (*’they put them in a home, like,’*) like a home. (Excerpt 18).
15. *Nu’d ma’ah fe alsaidaliah lahad* (*’we would stay with him in the pharmacy until’*), You know, whenever he closed. (Excerpt 8).

In almost all the instances above, switching occurred after a filler and an interjection in both languages. Inter-sentential CS, as in the above utterances, showed language abilities to switch between languages often after the underlined fillers and interjections (oh, umm, you know, like, but). Utterances 3 and 4, which are part of the same narrative, contain two types of CS (inter and extra-sentential). Some switches occur as repetition or translation (1, 13 and 14), while others introduce an opposite statement (as in 8 and 12). This kind of switching introduces an oppositional phrase (Zentella, 1997). There is a decent amount of CS to complete sentences in
the narratives of the first and the second pairs (as in 1, 6, 7, 8, 14, and 15). According to Poplack (1980), complete sentences are the most switched constituent, which is observed in my data.

5.5.2.3. Structure of CS

There are different structures of CS in the narratives of bilingual speakers of Arabic and English. Switching, as in excerpts 13 and 8, started at the boundary and extended to sentences, with consistency to Arabic. In a, b, c, d, e, and f, CS occurs in the NP, subordinate clauses, PP, VP, AP, and DP, as in the following examples.

(a) CS in the noun phrase NP

1. I’m such a xablā (‘idiot’)
2. They are Muslimīn (‘Muslims’)
3. Your a’aqd (‘religious marriage contract’)
4. With my ama (‘aunt from father’s side’) or xalati, (‘my aunt from mother side’).
5. Be el (‘with the’) emotions of the person.

(b) CS subordinate conjunction

1. Lama tqualiḥā (‘when you say it’), it comes out of your heart.
2. I know that ani yamenīāh (‘I am Yemeni’)
3. If I’m fired up, xalel etlethin (‘I mix the two’)

(c) CS in the prepositional phrase PP

1. I was raised be amrīca (‘in America’)
2. ʿalā (‘upon’) my mom and my dad.
3. Maʿā (‘with’) my friends

(d) CS in verb phrase VP

1. shuft (‘I saw’) a different experience through pharmacy.
2. Ytaʾalgu (‘they are treated’) on his expense.
3. Yaxdu (‘they schedule’) appointment.

(e) CS in adjective phrase AP

1. I am metaḏaigah ‘sad and upset.’
2. Texalih (‘makes him’) strong.

(f) CS in determiners

1. El (‘the’ effect)
2. outside el ‘the’ field’
Arab multilingual speakers commonly switch between using the Arabic article ‘al’ and the English definite article ‘the’ and may replace the English plural marker ‘s’ with its Arabic equivalent (Alenezi, 2010; Elenazi, 2002, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019), as in a5, f1, and f2. There are many switches to nouns in both languages, which is consistent with the findings of Poplack (1980) and Al-Rowais (2012). Poplack (1980) found that single nouns are the most often switched category (the sentences in a). In my data, switching to determiners, VP, was more common when Arabic is the ML. Independent clauses, subordinate clauses, and preposition phrases (as in C utterances) were observed when both Arabic and English were the ML.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the social and linguistic analysis of CS in the emotional narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. I delved into the findings, providing examples and excerpts from the participants' stories and interviews. Furthermore, I discussed other studies that support my analysis.

This chapter presented the discussion of the research questions focusing on the four goals of this dissertation: contexts of CS, reasons for CS, types of CS, identity correlation to CS, and forms and structure of CS. The purpose of the study is to explore the occurrence of CS in expressing specific emotions and the reasons behind it.

Social and cultural factors play a significant role in language choice and CS in bilingual speakers of English and Arabic; physical location, interlocutors, and topic determine code choice in a specific social setting. For example, some social contexts (home and mosque) and interlocutors force the speakers to CS. Their behavior typically reflects broader cultural norms and practices within their community. For example, in mosques, weddings, and funerals, people
from different backgrounds often use religious language specific to their respective languages and faiths. It explains the CS and language choices of the bilingual speakers in this study as those participants share beliefs, values, ethnicity, and religion. They also have their unique differences since they come from different countries, and their cultures vary to a certain extent.

The reasons for CS vary depending on the context of communication, the topic, interlocutors, and their language proficiency. The topic can influence the choice of language. For example, discussions about death may lead to the use of religious expressions in Arabic. The relationship between the speakers and their language proficiency is also a key factor in determining when CS occurs, as this can influence the use of Arabic or English in a particular situation. Additionally, the proficiency levels of the speakers in both English and Arabic can impact the frequency of CS. Other linguistic reasons were discussed in this chapter, such as word translation and the lack of equivalent in English, word economy, and where the emotions are learned.

This chapter discussed the different types of CS used in narratives. Differentiating between situational and metaphorical can better help comprehend the reasons behind their use. Bilingual speakers utilize metaphorical CS to express nuanced emotions that are difficult to convey in one language. Situational CS, on the other hand, is used in specific situations where language proficiency and social/cultural norms determine the appropriate code. Both types were present in some narratives for the reasons mentioned earlier.

In this study, bilingual speakers alternate between English and Arabic to showcase their Muslim Arab identity, adhere to cultural norms, and community membership, and fit in and show belonging to their respective communities. Language choice of using different religious expressions to communicate certain emotions in particular settings exemplifies the multifaceted
identity of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Additionally, language proficiency, dominance, and preference may explain, to some extent, how the participants present their identity through narratives.

The ML framework revealed linguistic patterns and the types of sentences and structures used in the narratives. It was not always easy to decide on the ML and the EL. Nevertheless, for some participants, English is the ML, while for others Arabic is the ML. In some cases, both are used in the same narrative. Three types of CS occur in the narratives of bilingual speakers: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS, appearing in different structures, NP, subordinate clauses, PP, VP, AP, and DP. All appear to pertain to the language proficiency levels in both English and Arabic.
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

6.0. Introduction

Although expressing emotions such as sadness and love can certainly trigger CS, it depends on other factors such as social and cultural context, topic, interlocutors, identity, and proficiency level. Cultures express emotion differently (Dewaele, 2020). It is evident among bilingual speakers of English and Arabic in their narratives of emotions that their cultural and social backgrounds shape their emotional experiences. Hence, CS can be a deliberate communication strategy to achieve specific social goals (Myers-Scotton, 1998). These social goals are to achieve group membership and belonging, adherence to community norms, and display their cultural identity. Bilingual speakers, in any given communication setting, take into consideration social and cultural norms, social and cultural identity, relationship with interlocutors, and language abilities of the interlocutors.

This exploratory sociolinguistic study investigates CS in expressing emotions from linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. From a social perspective, it examines the social and cultural contexts of CS, the reasons behind CS, and the correlation between CS and identity. From a linguistic perspective, it explores the types of CS in the bilinguals’ utterances and the structure of the CS after deciding which language is the ML in the bilingual narratives.

To accomplish these goals a qualitative research method was used. Three different techniques were employed: an open-ended questionnaire, observing narratives, and interviews.
Data analysis was divided into two parts: the first part was the preliminary analysis which includes the transcription and translation. The second part was the in-depth analysis, which consists of using the Hymes SPEAKING Model for both narrative and interview tasks and the thematic analysis to decide the social reasons for CS. The preliminary analysis helped to compare personal and linguistic background information. Furthermore, it helped to focus on central themes, based on both the narrative and the interview. After setting the scene using the SPEAKING Model, I used thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017) to decide the social reasons and types of CS from a sociolinguistic perspective. From a linguistic perspective, I used the ML model (Myer-Scotton, 1993) to analyze language use as a whole and scrutinize CS at the sentence level to determine the linguistic structures and types of CS. The purpose of this stage was to provide an in-depth analysis of the participants, the setting, the interaction between everyone engaged, and the language used to narrate emotions, which is the purpose of using the SPEAKING Model. The purpose of thematic analysis was to extract the participants' opinions and repeated themes from the interviews to get a sense of the common ideas and views related to CS.

The findings are divided into two sections: sociolinguistic and linguistic. The former describes reasons for CS and how bilingual participants present their identity through expressing emotions. The latter discusses narratives and interview responses at both the language and sentence levels.

The following table revisits the research questions followed by a summary of the findings of this dissertation.
Table 12: Revisiting research questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research questions</th>
<th>Validated by data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do English-Arabic bilinguals code switch when expressing their feelings of love and sadness?</td>
<td>Yes, but! it depends on several factors:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Context (social &amp; cultural).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Topic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Interlocutors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proficiency level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do they believe influences their choice of language when expressing love or sadness?</td>
<td>Reasons for CS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Interlocutors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proficiency level (both speaker and listener).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Linguistic reasons (translation, word equivalence, word economy).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do Arabic-English bilinguals believe that their CS in these situations correlates to their identity?</td>
<td>• Community membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fit in/ belonging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cultural identity/ religious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the structure and types of sentences of CS?</td>
<td>Types of CS in the sentences:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inter-sentential CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Intra-sentential CS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Extra-sentential CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structure of CS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• NP (both English &amp; Arabic).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• subordinate conjunction (both English &amp; Arabic).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• PP (both English &amp; Arabic).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• VP (In Arabic ML).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• DP (In Arabic ML).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1. Findings Summary

CS in expressing emotions depends on (1) social and cultural factors, including the setting, the interlocutors, and the topic, and (2) linguistic factors, including the proficiency levels of speakers and interlocutors in both languages and the length of exposure to the language.

The participants of this study switch to Arabic in narrating their stories and experiences of sadness and love. However, there are differences between these participants in the level of intensity of CS. It differs depending on the social/cultural and linguistic factors. These factors
were determined based on analyzing the narratives using the SPEAKING Model and thematic analysis and interviewing the participants afterward. The language level analysis showed that English was the ML and Arabic was the EL for some participants, while Arabic was the ML for others in the narratives of the bilingual speakers. The sentence-level analysis showed different types and structure of CS used in bilingual speakers’ utterances.

Emotions allow people to interact and share their experiences with others (Wierzbicka, 1992). Sharing emotions may require a mutual understanding of how people express them in each language as well as the cultural conventions in a particular setting. It was evident in this study that bilingual speakers are familiar with the cultural norms of expressing emotions in certain social and cultural contexts, and with particular people. For example, in excerpts 10, 12, 21, 22, and 28, bilingual speakers are aware of the cultural and social norms and acceptability of expressing particular emotions in particular settings.

In the same way, excerpts 25, 27, and 28 show that the participants are aware of the cultural differences and consider these differences when interacting with others in their community. Love is a taboo topic for some participants (usually those exposed more to the Arab culture than others). Nevertheless, they comprehend the unacceptability of expressing love in its romantic sense as it is inappropriate in the Arab culture. Also, Arab culture tends to value indirect expression of love to family and friends, so bilingual speakers use CS to English as an outlet to express it (as in excerpts 7 and 5). Unlike love, expressing sadness, since it is tied to religion, bilingual speakers switch to Arabic religious expressions despite cultural and linguistic differences. Bilingual speakers show appreciation and respect for their religious identity and the cultural norms of this context, especially because of the people involved.
This dissertation found that CS occurs for many reasons: context, interlocutors, topic, and language proficiency. Bilingual speakers switch between English and Arabic and rely mainly on the interlocutors. They would use Arabic in particular social and cultural settings because the interlocutors are old and have low proficiency in English. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that speakers use certain politeness strategies because they are expected to be recognized and interpreted as being polite in this specific speech community (Myers-Scotton, 1998). Respect is highly valued in the Arab culture, not just for people, particularly for the elderly and family members, but for the culture itself. Another factor that Arab speakers acknowledge is how others perceived the speakers, so that they show politeness by respecting those social and cultural norms. CS is necessary when the listeners are older, family members (parents, aunts), non-English speakers, and those with lower-level language proficiency. Switching with particular interlocutors indicates knowledge of social and cultural norms, solidarity and respect, adherence to cultural identity, and belonging and fitting in in both cultures. CS displays bilingual speakers’ awareness and respect of cultural norms because culture is a significant factor influencing CS (Grosjean, 1982).

Moreover, different topics may lead to different language choices and CS. Topics interact with other factors in a conversation, such as language, social, and cultural factors, in making a decision on the appropriate code to suit a particular situation. For example, the topic of death demands using Arabic or switching to Arabic religious expressions to fit the situation. On the other hand, love always depends on the audience and their reactions and perceptions. Further, the level of formality determines language choice: in the mosque (weddings and funerals, excerpts 27 and 28), switching to Arabic and some Arabic expressions is necessary for these situations.
One of the reasons for CS is language proficiency. Bilingual speakers show differences in CS in the narratives, which could be related to their language abilities in English and Arabic because multilingualism involves different degrees of command of the abilities of all languages (Wardhaugh, 2010). CS in the narratives varies across the bilingual speakers. The first pair switched the most among others, while the third pair switched to limited expressions in Arabic. When comparing linguistic data reported by these two pairs, it seems that language proficiency may have a role in CS. The first pair reported a high proficiency level in English and Arabic, whereas the third pair reported that their Arabic is intermediate to advanced. According to Grosjean (2015), bilinguals cannot have equal knowledge of their languages, which may also explain the intensity of CS in the first pair. Even though they reported high proficiency levels in both, their English language abilities may not equal their abilities in Arabic since it is their native language.

Additionally, translation, word equivalence, and word economy, and the language of emotions were learned are other linguistic reasons for CS. Translation of some religious expressions in celebrations and cultural occasions such as funerals and weddings could convey the denotative meaning. However, participants believed there were no culturally adequate translations for these expressions. Certain codes seem more appropriate than others (Gumperz, 1982), and the choice of Arabic for cultural and religious expressions appears more appropriate to convey the cultural connotation. Similarly, bilingual speakers switch to words that do not exist in English, for instance, the word ‘aunt (from both sides of the family).’

Emotional concepts vary across languages, which may also be related to cultural factors (Pavlenko, 2008). Those concepts connected to culture cannot fully convey their cultural significance even with explanations in another language. Tokburni ‘you bury me’ to express deep
love, meaning ‘you outlive me’, was one of the words brought up by one of the participants, who speaks the Palestinian dialect, as in excerpt 20.

Based on the data, the language in which one first learns emotions better expresses them, for example, fear and love (excerpts 29 and 30). Using fewer words and syllables to express a concept precisely is one of the reasons for CS. Because Arabic is fusional, bilingual speakers prefer to convey a complete sentence with fewer words. They prefer using a word to deliver an adequate idea.

One goal of this dissertation is to explore using CS to show bilingual speakers’ identity. CS is an effective tool for showing the different aspects of a bilingual speaker’s identity: their cultural and social belonging and language proficiency. CS is used to navigate the complexities of emotional expression, allowing bilinguals to choose the language that best captures the nuanced emotion, aligns with the cultural expectations, and shows their cultural identity/religion (for example, using religious expressions). Some participants reported that they belong to neither culture; in this case, CS allows them to navigate the intersection of both cultures and express their unique bicultural identity (for example, expressing love directly to their family using English).

The ML framework helped identify the linguistic patterns, sentence types, and structures used in the narratives. The participants used three types of CS in their narratives: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential CS. These types of CS seemed to reflect their proficiency levels in both English and Arabic.

Exploring the structure and the types of CS in the narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic showed that all three types of CS were present in the narratives, but there were noticeable differences between participants in terms of usage. The use of inter-sentential
CS was observed in all three groups, despite their reported proficiency levels, though the third group used it less frequently. Intra-sentential CS indicates the speakers' proficiency in both languages (Poplack, 1980; Lipski, 1985, as cited by Alhamdan, 2019), which may be the case in this study, as participants who switched to limited Arabic utterances reported having an intermediate-advanced level in Arabic. All three pairs employed this type of CS, but the third group used it only a few times, as previously mentioned. Additionally, extra-sentential CS was used by the first and the second pairs in utterances, such as fillers, interjections, and some religious expressions. Those with reported lower proficiency did not use it despite its syntactic flexibility.

The study found participants codeswitched to nouns frequently, which is consistent with the findings of Poplack (1979) and Al-Rowais (2012) that single nouns are the most often switched category. In this study, using determiners and VP was more common when Arabic is the ML. Independent clauses, subordinate clauses, and preposition phrases (as in C sentences) were observed when both Arabic and English were the ML.

In summary, CS and expressing emotions are closely correlated in bilingual speakers. CS allows them to handle their emotions in a way that respects cultural and social norms. They can accurately articulate and communicate them effectively in both languages and within their cultural and social contexts. With their understanding of what is suitable for different people in different settings, they can make informed decisions about when and how to use their languages or switch between them. In essence, CS helps bilingual speakers navigate their emotions and express them with sensitivity, precision, and cultural awareness.
6.2. Significance of this Study

The significance of this dissertation lies in examining CS through the narratives of emotional experiences of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. Exploring the correlation between CS and bilingual identities in different emotional, social, and cultural contexts informs the field of sociolinguistics. Furthermore, it contributes to the research on bilingual emotional CS and identity by examining bilingual speakers of languages belonging to distinct language families and cultures, considering the correlation between the cultural and social contexts.

This topic is important because it touches upon different aspects of language use in a particular communication among Arab immigrant bilingual speakers. It contributes to the body of research on language use in Arab-American communities in the U.S. since few studies have explored this minority group's language use in the U.S.

Additionally, it holds practical implications in various fields, including education. It can provide valuable insights for bilingual educators and instructors to enhance language teaching strategies. Developing language learning programs that effectively incorporate the emotional aspect of language use can aid English language learners in comprehending the subtle distinctions in conveying emotions and personal experiences between English and Arabic, especially in culturally sensitive situations. Also, it informs further research on emotions and CS from psychological and cognitive perspectives, offering insights into the correlations between language choices and expressing emotions by studying CS in emotional experiences.

My study shows how bilingual speakers integrate their cultural identities into expressing certain emotions in different contexts and with particular people. Because culture and language are intertwined, analyzing CS in the emotional experiences can reveal cultural nuances woven into the bilingual speakers' personal stories. Social factors such as setting, people participating in
the conversation, relationship to them, and context usually influence CS. By studying CS in emotional narratives, we can understand the social dynamic in bilingual speakers’ communications.

To conclude, studying CS in the emotional narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic could offer a window into the rich interplay between language, culture, emotions, and communication. It has the potential to enhance our understanding of human interaction in a diverse culture in the same community by encouraging a collaborative social, cultural, psychological, and anthropological approach to understanding the complexity of bilingualism and expressing emotions.

6.3. Limitations

Findings from this study cannot necessarily be generalized to bilingual speakers of English and Arabic in other Arab-American communities in the U.S. because CS practices may vary across bilingual groups and communities. The six-participant sample does not represent all the bilingual speakers who grew up in similar circumstances and experiences. There are differences within this group, which include culture and language proficiency. The language proficiency is self-reported, which is subject to bias and may not fully capture the nuance of CS in real-life communications.

Since the participants are close in age, it would provide more insights into this Arab community if this study had participants from different generations, for example, the parents and their children of different ages, to examine how their CS and language choices evolve as bilingual speakers become more proficient in their respective languages. Additionally, only one
of the participants is male, and he was a late English language learner compared to the others. It would be intriguing to explore potential gender-related differences in CS practices.

It's worth noting that CS is highly context-dependent, and the observation task while providing valuable informal conversation and storytelling data, may not fully capture spontaneous naturalistic speech. This limitation is particularly relevant since the interviews were conducted via Zoom, which may not fully reflect participants' natural communication contexts, such as in a mosque or at home.

6.4. Directions for Future Research

Since this study is exploratory, future research may use different research methodologies, such as the quantitative method with a large number of participants to examine the frequency of CS and the content patterns associated with each switch.

Future research may also investigate CS practices of American bilingual speakers of English and Arabic who live in Arab-speaking countries. This kind of study would help examine cultural differences in which researchers may describe CS patterns in emotional experiences across different bilingual communities, which helps understand how emotions are expressed and understood in various contexts.

As mentioned in the limitation section, the self-reported language proficiency might not be accurate; it is essential to consider that Arab-Americans' self-reported language proficiency may be closely tied to their ability to engage in successful conversations, as opposed to their performance in formal skills tests. Their perception of proficiency often centers on their capacity to hold a conversation, regardless of the language fluency level, as long as they can effectively convey their intended message.
Because CS is often tied to bilingual identity, this study could offer insights to the field of psychology. Researchers in psychology could investigate the influence of bilingual identity, belonging, and self-esteem on CS and vice versa. Additionally, it could be used during therapy and consulting to examine the emotional impact of CS in individuals with multiple languages and cultures for more culturally sensitive and effective intervention and evaluation.

Finally, one area of the research that could emerge from this study is exploring the concept of identity among Arab-American participants. Some individuals in the study expressed a sense of not fully belonging to either the Arab or American culture, raising the question of whether they have forged a unique 'third culture'—an 'Arab-American culture'—through a process of syncretism. Investigating the development and characteristics of this potential third culture would be a noteworthy area of exploration.

In conclusion, this study has been rewarding, providing valuable insights into the phenomenon of CS in the emotional narratives of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic. By utilizing a combination of SPEAKING Model, thematic analysis, and MLF, this study has uncovered the intricate interplay between linguistic choices and sociocultural contexts within emotional narratives. Not only does this research contribute to the fields of sociolinguistics and bilingualism, but it also deepens our understanding of how language, culture, and emotions intersect in bilingual communication. The findings provide significant practical implications for education, psychology, and cross-cultural communication, highlighting the importance of considering the emotional dimensions of language use in diverse linguistic communities. Ultimately, this research encourages further investigation into the multifaceted nature of CS and the dynamic relationship between language, culture, and emotions.
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Appendix 1

Questionnaire:

Some of the questions in this questionnaire are adopted from (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003 web questionnaire *Bilingualism and Emotions*. University of London), but modified to suit this study.

A. Background information:
   1. Year of birth.
   2. Place of birth.
   3. Gender.
   4. Highest educational level attained.
   5. Years spent in the USA.
   6. Relationship with native speakers of English (neighbors, friends, colleagues, etc.)
   7. Relationship with Arabic speakers (neighbors, friends, colleagues, etc.)
   8. Current city or area / length of stay.

B. Linguistics information:
   1. How many languages do you speak?
   2. In what order did you learn your languages?
   3. How did you learn your languages (school, outside school, in the family)?
   4. Perceived proficiency level in English.
   5. Perceived proficiency level in Arabic.
   6. Are you fluent in all language skills (Reading, writing, speaking, listening) in Arabic?
   7. Which Arabic dialect do you speak?
   8. Which language is your dominant language?
   9. What do you think is your parents’ level of proficiency in English and Arabic?
  10. What language/s do you your parents use to communicate with you?
  11. Where do you feel you belong more, in Arabic or American culture?
Appendix 2


**Narrative:**

1. Is it easy or hard for you to show people that you care about them and express it verbally? What do you do and say to your loved ones? Can you think of any related story or experience? What happened?

2. Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to tell someone close to you (family, friends, people you like) that you care about them, but couldn’t? What did you do? Did you try to say something?

3. Did you ever lose someone or something you really loved? Can you tell me what happened?

4. Do you think Arabic and American cultures express these emotions similarly/differently? Can you think of any event or experience where these emotions are expressed in similar or different ways in these two cultures? What happened?

**The Arabic version of the "Observing narrative task":**

I will ask the questions below in English and/or Arabic and let the participants speak for as long as they wish in either or both languages. The participants may choose to participate in person or via Zoom.

1. هل من السهل أو الصعب عليكم أن تظهروا لأي شخص انكم تهتمون لأمره وأن تعبروا عن ذلك بسهولة؟ ماذا تفعلون أو تقولون للأشخاص الذين تحبونهم؟ هل يمكنكم أخبراي قصة أو تجربة؟ ماذا حدث؟

2. هل سبق لكم أن كنتم في موقف أردتم أن تخبروا فيه شخصاً قريباً منكم (العائلة، الأصدقاء، الأشخاص الذين تحبونهم) أنكم تهتمون لأمرهم، لكنكم لم تستطيعوا؟ ما الذي فعلتموه؟ هل حاولتم أن تقولوا شيئاً؟

3. هل قلتم شخصاً ما أو شيئاً ما أحببتموه حقاً؟ هل يمكنكم أخبراي بما حدث?

4. هل تعتقدون أن الثقافتين العربية والأمريكية تعبران عن هذه المشاعر بشكل مشابه/مختلف؟ هل يمكنكم التفكير في أي حدث أو تجربة يتم فيها التعبير عن هذه المشاعر أو غيرها بطرق مشابهة أو مختلفة في هاتين الثقافتين؟ ماذا حدث؟
Appendix 3

Interview Questions
Some questions adopted from (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) web questionnaire Bilingualism and Emotions. University of London), modified to suit this study.

1. When you tell a story, do you think about using both languages?
2. When do you think you would tell a story only in Arabic? Only in English?
3. Did you find any difficulty talking about happy or sad experiences? If yes, what do you think are the difficulties?
4. Are there any expressions, terms, and vocabulary that you feel should be used in one language or another when you’re telling a story about love or sadness? Why?
5. Do you feel different when talking about a happy or a sad experience in one language or another?
6. In which language do you feel you can express your love better? Why?
7. In which language do you feel you can express your sadness better? Why?
8. Which emotion/s do you feel you can only be expressed in Arabic or in English? Why?
9. Do you feel that you switch languages a lot when happy? How about when sad?
10. Do you feel like you are different when using either language (Arabic or English)?

What do you feel is different?
11. When you mix English and Arabic in communication, do you do this unintentionally without noticing or do you express yourself better using both consciously?
12. Do you switch between Arabic and English in conversations with certain people?
13. Do you switch between Arabic and English in a particular social context (for example, if you are in a restaurant, with Arab or American friends)?
14. Do you switch between Arabic and English in a particular cultural context (for example, in a religious ceremony, weddings, funeral)?
15. When you are sad, what language do you typically use to express your sadness when talking to a friend? Your family?
16. When you want to talk about love, what language do you use when talking to a friend, or family?
17. Do you switch to either language to express sadness?
18. Do you switch to either language to express love?
19. Do you feel anxious when expressing emotions in a conversation with different people and different situations?
20. Do you feel that you switch between your languages when expressing other emotions? Can you give examples?

The Arabic version of the "Interview task":

Some questions adopted from (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) web questionnaire Bilingualism and Emotions. University of London), modified to suit this study.
I will ask the questions in English or Arabic, whichever the participants prefer. The interviews may be conducted in person or via Zoom, as the participants choose.

1. What are the challenges, if any, when you use the language?
2. If you were to choose one language, which one would you choose and why?
3. How does using English or Arabic affect your emotional expression?
4. Can you ask the questions in English or Arabic, whichever the participants prefer. The interviews may be conducted in person or via Zoom, as the participants choose.

1. هل تفكر في استخدام اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية؟
2. هل تشعر أنك تستطيع أن تتحدث عن قصة أو تجربة عاطفية باللغة العربية فقط؟ حسب اللغة الإنجليزية فقط؟
3. هل لديك أي صعوبة عندما تتحدث عن تجارب حزينة وتجارب تخص التعبير عن الحب؟ إذا كانت الإجابة نعم، فما هي الصعوبات الرائحة؟
4. هل هناك أي تعبيرات أو مصطلحات أو مفردات تشعر أن لها استخدامهما الأفضل عند تحكي قصة عن الحب أو الحزن؟
5. هل تشعر بالخليفة عند الحديث عن تجربة سعيدة أو حزينة بلغة أخرى؟
6. هل تشعر أنك تستطيع التعبير عن الحب بشكل أفضل؟ ماذا؟
7. هل تشعر أنك تستطيع التعبير عن حزنك بشكل أفضل؟ ماذا؟
8. هل تشعر أنك تستطيع التعبير عن الحب بشكل أفضل؟ ماذا؟
9. ما هو الشعور الذي تشعر أنه لا يمكن التعبير عنها إلا باللغة العربية أو الإنجليزية؟ ماذا؟
10. هل تشعر بالخليفة عند استخدام أي من اللغتين (العربية أو الإنجليزية)؟ ما هو الخليفة؟
11. عندما تخلط بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في النوازل، هل تقوم بذلك عن غير قصد دون أن تلاحظ أوهل الخلط متعدد؟
12. هل تقوم بالتبادل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية عند التحدث مع أشخاص معينين؟
13. هل تقوم بالتبادل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في سياق اجتماعي معين؟
14. هل تقوم بالتبادل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في سياق ثقافي معين؟
15. عندما تكون حزيناً، ما اللغة التي تستخدمها عادةً للتعبير عن حزنك عند التحدث إلى صديق؟ عائلتك؟
16. عندما تريد التحدث عن الحب، ما هي اللغة التي تستخدمها عند التحدث إلى صديق أو عائلة؟
17. هل تقوم بالتبادل إلى أي من اللغتين للتعبير عن الحزن؟
18. هل تنظر إلى أي من اللغتين للتعبير عن الحزن؟
19. هل تشعر بالخليفة عند التعبير عن الشعور في محادثة مع أشخاص مختلفين ومواقف مختلفة؟
20. هل تشعر أنك تستطيع التعبير عن مشاعر أخرى؟ هل يمكنك إعطاء أمثلة عن هذه المشاعر؟
Appendix 4

Oral Consent

Study Title: Code-Switching in the Emotional Narratives of Bilingual Speakers of Arabic and English

Researcher: Yasmeen Alruwaili

Date: November 2022

PURPOSE

You are invited to take part in a research study. The purpose of this study is to investigate changing languages throughout a single conversation (called “code-switching”) and borrowing in expressing emotions of sadness and love from linguistic and cultural perspectives. The goals are:

1. To describe the code-switching and borrowing in the emotional narrative of bilingual speakers of English and Arabic.
2. To examine to what extent cultural and social contexts correlate to code-switching and borrowing.
3. To examine how code-switching and borrowing in these situations correlate to bilingual identity.

The reasons you are invited to participate in this study are: 1) you are a bilingual speaker of Arabic/English. 2) You experienced both cultures and languages.

PROCEDURES

1) You give me your verbal consent to participate in my study.
2) We arrange a time to answer a questionnaire. You may choose either in person or via Zoom or via e-mail to answer the questionnaire. You may send the questionnaire back to me when you are finished.
3) We schedule a convenient time to talk about when you felt the emotions of love or sadness. You may choose either in person or via Zoom.
4) We have an interview to talk about what you said in your narrative, which may last about an hour.

RISKS/DISCOMFORTS

1. You might feel tired or bored during one-hour narrative session and interview time, but you can stop at any time.
2. Since the narrative and the interview are about expressing emotions, culture, and identity, you might feel emotional or experience discomfort; you can stop at any point of the interview.
3. The interview is audio-recorded, but I assure you that your information and identity is protected.
4. The questionnaire will be saved in a file. For the audio-recorded interview, the recordings will be saved on a flash drive. Both written documents and audio-recordings will be locked in a file in a safe place in my dwelling. Both will be destroyed at the end of the study, which is expected to be by December 2023.
BENEFITS
There is no direct benefit to you from being in this study. However, participating in this study will benefit many areas such as bilingual education, language learning, teaching, and psycholinguistic studies. Also, you will help other families understand the challenges bilinguals and multilingual speakers face in expressing their emotions and identities in two different languages and within different cultural contexts.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Your confidentiality will be protected. Your name will not be used in any part of the data collection. The audio recording and your written questionnaire will be safe in a file locked in a safe place in my dwelling. The audio recording and written questionnaire will be destroyed by December 2023.

Members of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) – the committee responsible for reviewing the ethics of, approving, and monitoring all research with humans – have authority to access all records. However, the IRB will request identifiers only when necessary.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION
You do not have to agree to be in this study, and you may change your mind at any time.

☑ Call me, the researcher, Yasmeen Alruwaili, at 662-801-3554 if you have questions or complaints about being in this study.

☑ If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, or if you think you have not been treated unfairly, you may contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of Mississippi Telephone: (662) 915-7482 Fax: (662) 915-7577 Email: irb@olemiss.edu

IRB APPROVAL
This study has been reviewed by The University of Mississippi’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a participant of research, please contact the IRB at (662) 915-7482 or irb@olemiss.edu.

Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT
I have read and understand the above information. By completing the survey/interview I consent to participate in the study, and I certify that I am 18 years of age or older.

PERMISSION TO PROCEED
Is it okay to proceed with the questionnaire?
Is it okay to proceed with the narratives?
Is it okay to proceed with the interview?
VITA

EDUCATION

2013     M.A. Linguistics, Arizona State University
2005     B.A. English Literature and Education, Northern Borders University, SA.

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

2018     Quality Management Committee Member
          Department of Foreign Languages and Translation, Northern Borders University, SA
2007-2018 TA, Department of Foreign Languages and Translation
           Northern Borders University, SA
2014-2018 Academic Advisor, Department of Foreign Languages and Translation,
           Northern Borders University, SA
2006     English Teacher, The 7th High School, SA
2006     English Teacher, The 21st and the 12th Elementary Schools, SA

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2007-2018 Department of Foreign Languages and Translation
           Northern Borders University, SA

           English Skills
           Sociolinguistics
           Applied Linguistics
           Introduction to Linguistics
           Syntax
           Language Acquisition