

ÇUKUROVA UNIVERSITY

The Institute of Social Sciences

**The Role of Participant and Content of Discourse in
Bilingualism**

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Institute of Social Sciences

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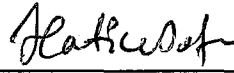
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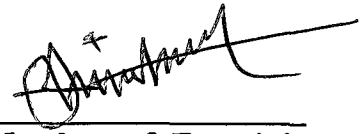
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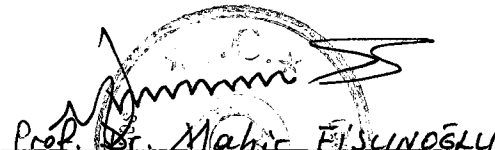


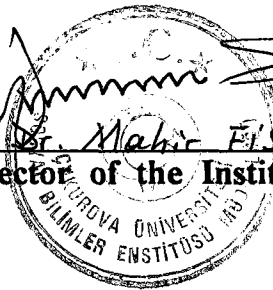
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I dedicate this work to my family members.



ABSTRACT

The Role of Participant and Content of Discourse in Bilingualism

Seyhan GÜNEŞER

MA Thesis, English Language Teaching Department

Supervisor : Asst. Prof. Hatice SOFU

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This study is about people who interact with two or more languages in their everyday life. It deals with how they use their two languages in specific situations and the factors which determine their choice of languages.

The samples of the study are six Australian-born bilingual students at the English Language Teaching Department of the Faculty of Education at Çukurova University in Adana, Turkey. They are the children of Turkish-born Australian immigrants who have made a permanent return from Australia to their homeland during the past few years.

The aim of the study is to present an introduction to bilingualism - the state of passing by with two or more languages - and to deepen the understanding of areas such as language choice and code-switching in bilingualism.

Chapter I provides information on the background of the issue and Chapter II gives a review of the relevant literature. Chapter III contains the nature of the research, the subjects and how the data are collected and analyzed. In Chapter IV, the data is analyzed and categorized and examples are given. In the Fifth Chapter, conclusions are drawn, and limitations and suggestions for further research are stated.

Key words: Bilingualism, language choice, code-switching, participant and content of discourse

ÖZET

Konuşmacıların ve Konuların İkidillikteki Rollerini

Seyhan GÜNEŞER

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı

Danışman : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hatice SOFU

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Bu çalışma, günlük hayatlarında iki veya ikiden fazla dil kullanan insanlar ile ilgili olup, bu insanların iki dili farklı durumlarda nasıl kullandıkları ve dil seçimlerini etkileyen faktörlerin neler olabileceği çalışmada incelenmiştir.

Araştırmadaki altı denek, Avustralya'da doğmuş ve bir süre kalmış olup, çalışmanın yapıldığı sırada Çukurova Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Anabilim Dalında eğitim görmekteydiler. Deneklerin anne ve babaları Türkiye'de yetişmiş, daha sonra Avustralya'ya göç etmiş, bundan bir kaç yıl önce de Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmışlardır.

Çalışmanın amacı, *bilingualism*'e, yani iki veya daha fazla dil kullanma durumuna giriş yapmak ve *bilingualism*'de önemli yer tutan dil seçimi (language choice) ve dil değişimi (code-switching) gibi konulara açıklık getirmektir.

Birinci bölüm, konu hakkında ön bilgi sunmakta, ikinci bölüm ise literatür özeti vermektir. Üçüncü bölümde, araştırma yöntemi, denekler ve datanın toplama hakkında bilgi yer almaktadır. Dördüncü bölümde ise datanın analizi ele alınmış ve örnekler verilmiştir. Beşinci bölümde sonuç çıkartılmış, limitasyonlar tespit edilmiş ve ileride yapılacak çalışmalar için öneriler sunulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: İkidillilik, dil seçimi, dil değişimi, konuşmacı ve konu.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers an introduction in the following sections: Background to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Aim and Scope of the Study, Hypotheses, Operational Definitions and Limitations.

1.1. Background to the Study

" Language is just not an instrument of communication it is also a symbol of social and group identity, and an emblem of group membership and solidarity..."

(Grosjean, 1982:117)

In the light of Grosjean's definition of language, one is likely to infer that language, being both an instrument of communication and a symbol of group identity, is accompanied by attitudes and values held by its users and by those who do not even speak the language. One may not speak a certain language but still have an attitude towards it.

A monolingual Turkish speaker may not at all speak a word of English, yet have preconceptions about the English language and its users. If one considers this to be true - the fact that a monolingual has attitudes and values towards the language he speaks (or doesn't even speak), what would be the situation of a person speaking two languages? Would his attitudes and values change according to the language he chooses to speak? Considering the fact that languages cannot be dealt without the culture it belongs to, would the bilingual possess only one cultural identity, referring to only one of the two languages, or two separate cultural identities, referring to both languages? Perhaps both, depending on whether the bilingual has spent some time in two different societies (society of LX and LY) or only one (society of LX or LY). In the former situation, the bilingual is likely to have picked up two different cultural identities, whereas in the latter, she possesses only one.

Studies on cultural identity in bilingualism have shown that a bilingual - one who passes by with two languages, not only uses her two languages communicatively but may have at least two cultural identities and have completely different attitudes and values depending on which language she prefers to communicate with. This may be due to living for some time in two different societies and adapting the value and attitudes of both societies. On the other hand, a person who has lived in only one society and has learnt a foreign language may speak two languages but mainly possesses the values and attitudes of the society she has lived in. Moreover, there is the

situation in which a bilingual lives in one society for sometime, later moves to another leaving the previous society's values and attitudes, and adapts the new society's values and attitudes.

No matter what the case, bilinguals, having access to two or more languages, have the chance to select between two languages to express themselves-*language choice*- as they have the opportunity to alternate between them. The alternation between languages is called *code-switching* and is defined briefly defined by Grosjean (in Hamers and Blanc, 1989) as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation." Moreover, code-switching is like a trademark of bilingual communities. It is a natural outcome of bilingual interaction (Legenhausen, 1991; in Marti, 1996). As Legenhausen explains, language choice and code-switching are phenomenons which are widely observed among bilinguals throughout the world.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The present study aims to describe whether and if so, how a group of Turkish-English bilinguals' choice of language may change according to the topic being discussed (the Content of Discourse Factor) and to whom they are speaking to (the Participant Factor). The subjects had been living for some time in the Australian society and are now living in the Turkish society. In this case, they are

expected to have two cultural identities - if they have not forgotten or lost one.

The study aims to investigate how these bilinguals decide which language to use, in relation to the variety of topics presented to them and how they react to the language in which these topics are presented. The study also focuses on the effect of the interlocutors (the participants) on how the bilinguals choose between their two languages and on "code-switching" which is a natural outcome in situations where two languages are involved.

The investigation of the Content of Discourse Factor was through observations where various topics were discussed individually with the subjects to determine whether the content of discourse had any effect on their choice of language. As for the analysis of the Participant Factor, the subjects were interviewed individually in order to collect information on their ideas about their own bilinguality. Other aspects of bilingualism, such as the psycholinguistic aspect or the acquisition of the two languages, were not within the scope of the study. The focus was only directly on language choice and code-switching in bilingualism.

1.3. Aim and Scope of the Study

The present study aims to analyze and describe how the Participant and Content of Discourse Factors affect the bilingual's language choice. The purpose is to investigate the presence of these factors in the bilingual's speech and attempt to supply explanations and examples while doing so. The study also focuses on code-switching (see 2.2.2.) which is a natural outcome while choosing between two or more languages.

The present study aims to find answers to the following questions:

1. When interacting with other bilinguals, is the Childhood Bilingual's language choice affected by the type of bilingualism (childhood, adolescent or adulthood bilingualism) which other bilinguals belong to?
2. In what contextual situations (content of discourse) do Childhood Bilinguals tend to code-switch more frequently?
3. Does the content affect the Childhood Bilingual's language choice?
4. Does the language being spoken at the time of interaction determine the Childhood Bilinguals' language choice?
5. Does the length of stay in Turkey after arrival from Australia affect the Childhood Bilinguals' language choice?

1.4. Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 : Language choice depends on whom the Childhood Bilinguals are interacting with. The subjects believe that they tend to use English more with other childhood bilinguals, whereas with other bilinguals (adolescent/adult bilinguals), they tend to use Turkish. The subjects believe that code-switching is more commonly done when speaking to other childhood bilinguals than when speaking to other bilinguals.

(The Participant Factor).

Hypothesis 2 : The bilinguals tend to code-switch from LA to LB (or from LB to LA) if a word is not known or remembered in LA (or LB).

(The Content of Discourse Factor).

Hypothesis 3 : Language choice depends on the choice of topic. The Childhood Bilinguals prefer to discuss some topics in English while others in Turkish.

(The Content of Discourse Factor).

Hypothesis 4 : The language in which a topic is presented or question asked, determines the language in which the subjects will respond. If the subject is asked a question in English, he is likely to respond in English.

(The Content of Discourse Factor).

Hypothesis 5: The longer the subjects stay in Turkey, the more likely they are to interact in Turkish.

1.5. Operational Definitions

Symbols:

- "L" : an abstract language competence without reference to any specific language.
- "L1" : denotes the mother tongue or first language.
- "L2" : denotes a second language learned after the first.
- "LA / LB": denotes the co-occurrence of two mother tongues learned simultaneously.
- "LX,LY,LZ": denotes any natural language.

Definitions:

- Bicultural** : Individual/group identifying with and being identified with two cultures.
- Bilingual (noun)** : Individual who has access to two or more distinct linguistic codes.
- (adjective) : Refers to a bilingual individual or to a community who use two or more languages.
- Bilingualism** : The state of an individual or community characterized by the simultaneous presence of two languages.
- Bilinguality** : The psychological state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code

as a means of social communication; this access varies along a number of dimension.

Adult bilinguality : State of bilinguality reached after adolescence.

Childhood bilinguality : State of bilinguality reached before 10-12 years.

Infancy bilinguality : State of bilinguality reached during early childhood.

Simultaneous bilinguality : Infancy bilinguality in which the child develops two mother tongues from the onset of language (LA, LB).

Code-switching : A bilingual communication strategy consisting of the alternate use of two languages in the same utterance, even within the same sentence.

Identity (cultural/ethnic) : At the individual level: a psychological mechanism by which a child develops the dimension of his personality pertaining to his membership of a cultural or ethnic characteristics of the members of a group perceived as a social entity.

Monocultural/unicultural : Individual/group identifying with and being identified by only one culture.

Monolingual/unilingual : Individual /group having access to only one linguistic code.

Multilingual/ Multilingualism: see Bilingual / Bilingualism.

Preferred Language: The language chosen by a bilingual speaker in a given situation from among his repertoire.

Second Language: a) The language learned by an individual after acquiring his first or native language or mother tongue;

b) Non-native language which is the mother tongue of the speech community.

Switch: Psychological mechanism by which the bilingual is enabled to shut out one of his linguistic systems while using another.

Trilingual: Individual who has access to three distinct linguistic codes.

1.6. Limitations

Considering the focus of this study being on the situational factors influencing language choice and code-switching among bilinguals, other aspects of bilingualism, such as the neurolinguistic aspect and/or language acquisition, are not dealt with. The study only deals with matters directly relevant to language choice and code-switching.

The subjects of the study are the Australian-born children of Turkish-born Australian immigrants who are attending the English

Language Teaching Department of the Faculty of Education at Çukurova University in Adana, Turkey. As there were not many of these students available, the subjects are opportunity samples. Nevertheless, there is balance in gender (three female and three male students).



CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1. Bilingualism in the World

Basically, a person who has access to two languages, is known to be bilingual. It is an interesting fact that no really precise statistics exist concerning the number and distribution of speakers of two (or more) languages in the nations of the world. Although almost all current encyclopedias and survey books list the main languages of the world, the number of people who speak them, and where they are spoken, there are no comparable figures on the use of two (or more) languages. This can be accounted for partly by the fact that there is no widely accepted definition of the concept of bilingualism. As Grosjean (1982) explains, the term has often been paired with such modifiers as "early and late", "receptive and productive", "fluent and nonfluent", "balanced", "functional" and so on (the mentioned terms are not relevant to the present study).

Various definitions of bilingualism have been made by researchers: Weinrich (1967) briefly defines bilingualism as "the practice of alternatively using two languages." Another definition given by Macnamara (1967, in Grosjean, 1982) is that one should consider each of the basic skills. For him, a bilingual is a person who

processes at least one language skill, even to a minimal degree in a second language. For example, immigrant children may not be able to read and write in their parents' native language, but only be able to speak it. In this case, they, too, are considered bilingual.

Collision (1974, in Hamers, 1992) defines bilingualism as the parallel usage of the two languages, ranging from the ability to use few functional words of a foreign language to being equally fluent in two languages.

Taescher (1983, in Hamers, 1992), furthermore, states that bilingualism is a simultaneous acquisition of two linguistic systems under conditions of complex interaction which are both based and depend on the same process of cognitive, linguistic and social and emotional maturation.

Distinctive from the three previous definitions, Teascher, in his definition, focuses not only on the simultaneous acquisition of two languages in bilingualism but also the sociolinguistic aspect which is highly relevant to the focus of this study. Nevertheless, in all four definitions of bilingualism, the bilingual is basically someone who possesses two languages; one of her languages being dominant over the other or the two languages in balance.

In the case of the participants in the present study, the latter is common. Therefore, for the particular purpose of this study, a

bilingual can be defined as "someone who has acquired two languages simultaneously and is equally fluent and accurate in both languages and may possess two different cultural identities."

The *age of acquisition* in bilingualism is also regarded as an important factor in defining bilingualism. Normally, one would consider a bilingual person to have acquired the two languages simultaneously at a very early age. Although it the case for the subjects in the present study, it is not necessarily required. A person may become bilingual after childhood and quite often the first language is dominant over the second.

Hamers (1992) states that bilinguality may fall into three groups, based on the age of acquisition of the languages:

1. Childhood Bilinguality:

the state of bilinguality reached before 10-12 years,

2. Adolescent Bilinguality:

the state of bilinguality reached after childhood but before adulthood bilinguality (between 12-18 years),

3. Adult Bilinguality:

the state of bilinguality reached after adolescence (after 18 years).

(Hamers,1992:97)

Note the difference between *bilingualism* and *bilinguality* (see 1.5).

2.1.1. The Origins of Bilingualism

Groups of people may become bilingual for a number of different reasons; among these are the movement of the group for political, social, or economic reasons; political federalism and nationalism; and cultural and educational factors (Grosjean, 1982). Although the reasons for group migration are numerous (military, economic, educational, political, religious, natural catastrophic), one usual outcome is that bilingualism develops when the group (for example; Turkish immigrants) contacts the people who already live in the area of immigration (for example; the Australian society). Several patterns of bilingualism may develop- each group may learn the language of the other group. The immigrant group may learn the language of the area (in this case, English); or the original population may learn the language of the Turkish settlers. The former is the case for the great majority of Turkish immigrants who live (or have lived for some time) in Australia. Whatever the pattern, immigration is one of the important factors in the establishment of the bilingual community.

A few bilingual reports in Grosjean (1982) explain how they or their parents became bilingual:

Movements of peoples

A Chinese-Thai-English trilingual: The origin of my family is Chinese. My parents moved down from the South of China to Bangkok about thirty years ago. My father is a businessman and I grew up in a large Chinese

community. Our house is located in the large business section of Bangkok. Most of the business firms in Thailand are owned by Chinese and both Chinese and Thai are spoken in the business community.

Intermarriage

An English-Spanish bilingual: I was born and grew up in Colombia, South America. In the type of family environment I was brought up in, hearing and speaking two languages (Spanish and English) was a normal thing. My mother is Canadian and my father is Colombian, and each would speak to us in their respective native languages.

Education

An Arabic-French-English trilingual: I learned English and Arabic at home but French at school, starting in the earliest grades. It took several years before I felt comfortable speaking French.

For the great majority of Turkish immigrants in Australia (and for the subjects in the present study), *movement of peoples* is probably the most common reason for their bilingualism.

2.1.2. The Outcome of Bilingualism

Just as the factors that lead a group to become bilingual are numerous and complex, so are the many and not easily classified possible consequences of bilingualism. There are two possible consequences: bilingualism maintained within the group for a lengthy period of time (Turkish immigrants maintaining their native language

and also adapting English while living in the Australian society) or the group returning to a state of monolingualism, considering the fact that immigrants spend a lengthy period of time adapting to the language of which the new society speaks. For the case of Turkish immigrants, the former is more common.

Mackey (1968) argues that there must be good reasons for a group to remain bilingual. He writes: "A self-sufficient bilingual community has no reason to remain bilingual, since a closed community in which everyone is fluent in two languages could get along just as well with one language. As long as there are different monolingual communities, however, there is likelihood of contact between them; this contact results in bilingualism." Indeed, a country like Australia where most immigrants, especially the Turks, preserve their first languages in monolingual communities, it seems that moving towards monolingualism will take time.

2.1.3. The Extent of Bilingualism in Australia

Australia and the U.S.A. are similar in that both countries hold a large number of immigrants from all around the world. Haugen (1969) has described the extent of bilingualism in the U.S.A. which is known to be the largest home for immigrants:

The United States has probably been the home of more bilingual speakers than any other country in the world. Ever since the beginning of the great Atlantic migration, wave upon wave of non-English speakers has inundated the American shore. A vivid appreciation of the need for survival caused most of the immigrants to learn as much English as was necessary to make their way in the new environment. But at the same time most of them continued to use their old language whenever occasion offered. More than that: many of them passed their language onto their descendants, thereby making them also bilingual. So it has come about that millions of Americans have been predestined by birth to a more or less pronounced bilingualism.

(Haugen, 1969:121)

Considering that Australia is also a large home for immigrants, his statements may also be used to describe the extent of bilingualism in Australia. Almost all Turkish immigrants in Australia live in a close-knit ethnic environment where they use their old language and pass it down to their descendants. Naturally, the children of the Turkish immigrants become bilingual and try to assimilate themselves into the general

Australian society while their parents usually prefer to maintain their native language (and culture) as their daily language.

2.1.4. Aspects of Life of the Turkish Minority in Australia

Bilingualism in Australia, as in Haugen's description of the U.S.A, is extremely diverse in that many different languages are paired off with English (for example, Turkish-English, Greek-English, Arabic-English, etc.). Australian bilingualism on the whole is transitional in nature; it stretches across one or several generations, linking monolingualism in the original minority language to English monolingualism. More than half of foreign-born immigrants shift over to English as their usual language within a short period of time, retaining their mother tongue essentially as a second language. Of course there are exceptions, for example, Turkish Australians who prefer to maintain their native language and culture.

A Turkish immigrant, for example, usually stays with friends or relatives upon arrival in Australia and from that base looks for work in areas recommended by Turkish relations, maybe where other Turks already work. Turkish children and teenagers take active part in mosques which give them a chance to meet other Turkish young people and maintain their heritage at the same time. They live in an ethnic community whose stove burns on Turkish literature, Turkish classical music, the old traditions of Islam, folk dancing and folk music, Turkish cooking, and their new "immigration history." Turkish cultural organizations also help maintain the Turkish

language. An average evening for a Turkish teenager may include going to Mc Donalds and then to someone's house to eat Turkish kebab or Turkish delight. This natural regrouping has led to whole geographical areas becoming dominated by particular linguistic minorities.

Of course, not all members of linguistic minorities live in ethnic areas: many have assimilated themselves into the general Australian society, and others, such as foreign students or persons belonging to small, dispersed minority groups, are not surrounded by a community sharing their language and culture. It remains true, however, that most larger minority groups have organized themselves at one time or another into ethnic communities. To summarize, bilingualism in this country is extremely diverse and is usually a transitional stage between monolingualism in the minority language and monolingualism in English.

2.1.5. Bilingual Education for Turks in Australia

A very important aspect of the life of a community is the education it gives to its children. In Australia, English has generally been the language of instruction. Infact, school has played an important role in the Australianization of the varied population; for many a minority child it has been the first step towards integration and assimilation into the Anglo-Australian society.

Members of the minority group, such as the Turks, have from the first resisted this approach to assimilation by insisting on having their children educated in their minority language (Turkish), either instead of or along with English, and on having access to their culture in the school. This situation has led to “*biculturalism*” (See 1.5.).

The type of education that has been devised in answer to this need has been termed “*bilingual education*” by Pifer (1979). It involves two languages; in Australia, these are LA (English) and LB (the minority language; for example, Turkish). Pifer introduces the bilingual education in the following way (1979):

While the particular approaches used vary widely, the term usually refers to programmes that employ a child's native tongue as a medium of instruction while he or she is being helped to learn English. The theory is that, by enabling students to master cognitive skills in the language they know best before making transition to English, bilingual classes will prevent academic retardation. Often, a secondary aim is to enhance and maintain a child's proficiency in the home language. Classes also frequently draw on a child's heritage and culture as a means of building self-esteem and increasing comprehension and motivation to learn.

(Pifer, 1979:3)

As Pifer explains, immigrant children are helped to master cognitive skills in the language they know best (for the subjects in this study, Turkish) before making transition to English. Although this is the case, most of the children of Turkish immigrants (including the subjects in the present study) had not been introduced to Turkish lessons, whatsoever, until the end of primary school. In weekend classes, they learnt to read and write in Turkish. No other lessons were conducted in Turkish. The only practice of Turkish was at home with parents, who aimed to maintain their language and culture.

2.1.6. Language Maintenance and Language Shift

As stated previously in 2.1.5., Turkish Australians are extremely attached to their language and culture and have no problems in retaining them. They often return to Turkey to visit relatives, newcomers to Australia arrive almost daily, TV and radio stations broadcast in Turkish, and they live in Turkish-speaking areas, where life is imbued with Turkish customs and traditions. Unlike the Turkish-Australians who manage to maintain their native language either as monolingual speakers or usually as bilinguals, others shift little by little into English monolingualism, losing their first languages.

Why do some minority groups lose their language while others retain theirs? This question has been the object of much study by researchers,

including Fishman (1965, 1966, 1972), Glazer (1966), Gaarder (1977), Kloss (1966), and Haugen (1969, 1973).

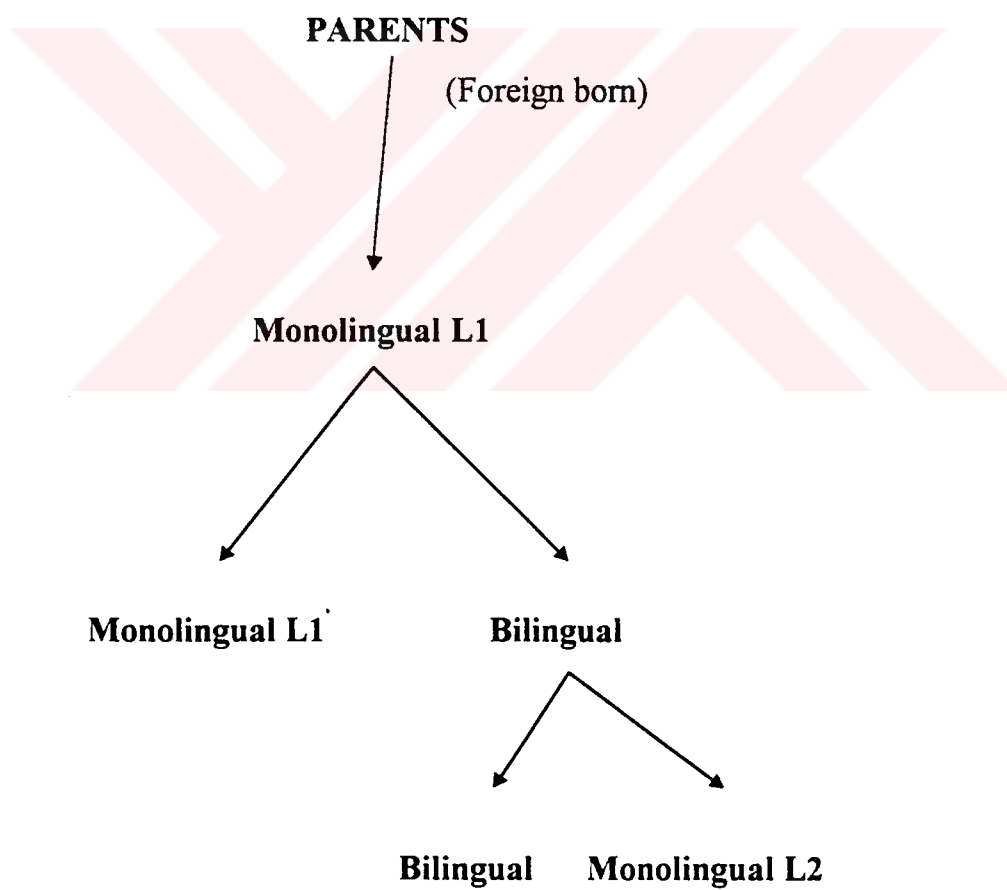
The phenomenon of “language shift” has existed for as long as languages have come into contact - but especially it is striking in immigration countries like the United States and Australia, where the shift from one language to another is usually very rapid. Glazer (1966) posed a question on immigrant families living in the United States:

How can we explain why, in the country which was most open to immigration, and most undisturbed when it came to the maintenance of immigrant cultures, there was also the most rapid flight from and abandonment of key aspects of immigrant cultures on the part of the children and grandchildren of immigrants as well as on the part of immigrants themselves?...

(Glazer, 1966:359)

In order to be able to answer this question, one must examine first, language maintenance and language shift in the immigrant family, then the social factors that explain this phenomenon.

Figure 1: Language Evolution in an Immigrant Family



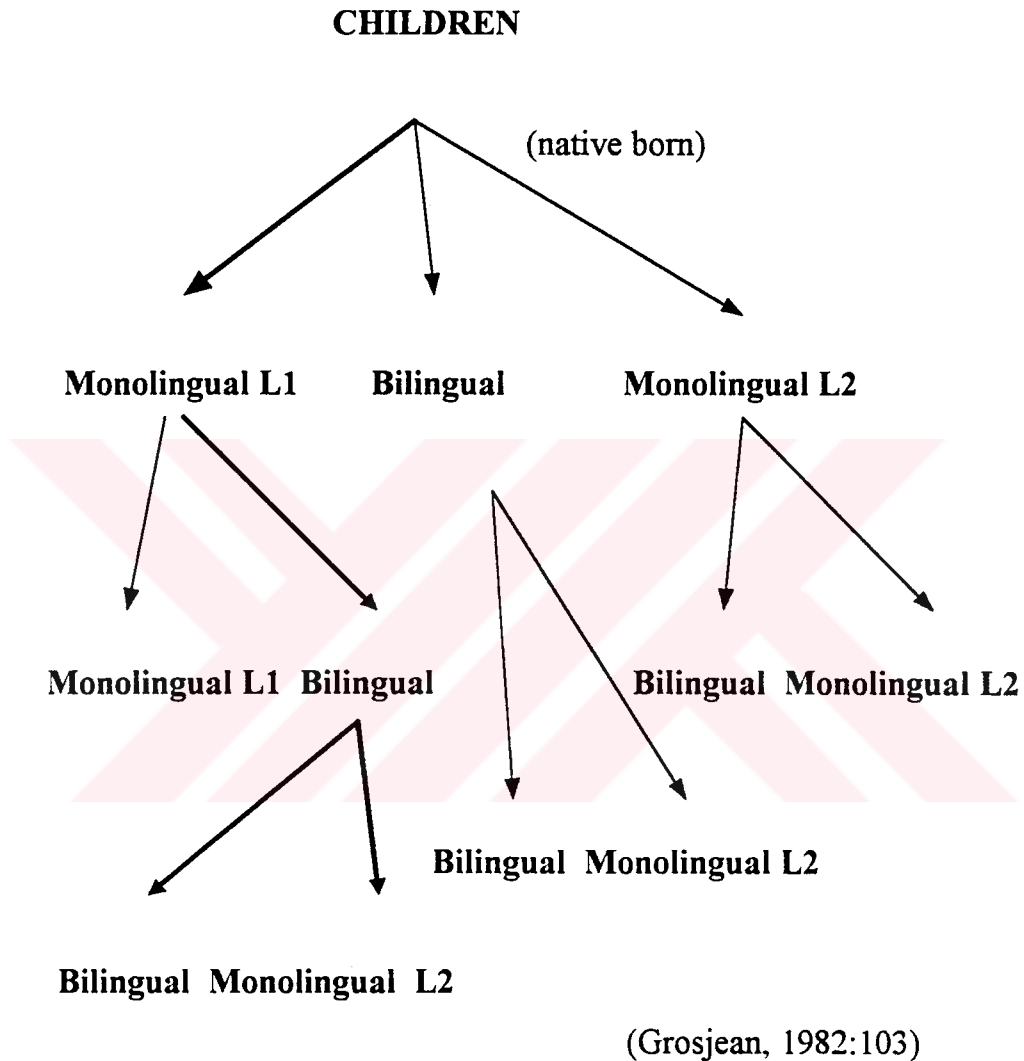


Figure 1 is a very of simplified flow chart of the *general language evolution immigrant families* throughout the world, in which, to simplify the picture, the have immigrated and the children have been born in the new country (Grosjean, 1982).

As an example for the language evolution in immigrant families, on arrival in Australia, the parents are generally monolingual in their native language (L1), and they may either remain monolingual or become bilingual in their native language and English (L2). To remain monolingual, that is, to use no English, the parents must live in a close-knit ethnic community where they can work, shop, converse with friends and relatives in their own language. However, most first-generation Australians, especially if they are young, come into contact with the English-speaking majority and become bilingual. Most remain bilingual for the rest of their lives, but a few who have no way of maintaining their first language, who desire to assimilate quickly, or who actually reject their native language will become monolingual speakers of English.

The language patterns of children born to first-generation Australians may be more complex. Some are bilingual from the beginning, and some are monolingual in English if, for instance, the parents want them to assimilate as soon as possible. Most, however, follow the rather straightforward route marked in **Figure 1** in thick black. Their early language input will be the native language of their parents provided that they are the first born and that their parents speak the native language at home. Thus, a Turkish couple who have a child a few years after their arrival will speak to him or her in Turkish, and the child's first words will be in that language, as it is the case for the subjects in the present study. In this sense, the child will be monolingual in the minority language (L1). However, quite quickly, English will enter the child's life, through the playground, television, English-speaking friends of the family, or in day

care. Some minority children living in close-knit non-English-speaking communities will hear less English and may retain their monolingualism for some years, but this usually ends when the child goes to school. Although some bilingual education programmes may postpone the learning of English for some time, by the age of eight or nine the child is usually bilingual in the home language and in English.

The question now becomes whether the child will remain bilingual or will shift entirely to English. If the parents are themselves bilingual and the social pressure to use English is very strong (peer pressure or negative attitudes of the English majority toward the minority) then the child will slowly shift over to English.

However, if communication in the home, with the family, and with friends can take place only in the minority language and there are enough psychosocial factors encouraging this language, such as the concentration and size of the group, its religion, and its cultural activism, then the child will remain bilingual (the latter is the case for the subjects in the present study).

The following section will deal with how bilinguals interact with the two languages they have acquired, in contrast to monolinguals who interact with only one.

2.2. Bilingualism in Society

In daily interactions with others, the variety of language used constantly changes. Ervin-Tripp (1968) writes: “A speaker in any language community who enters diverse social situations normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift with situation.”

Ervin- Tripp presents four main factors that account for the *monolingual* change of variety in language:

1. **The setting** (time and place) and the situation: such as family breakfast, a party, a lecture, or a date,
2. **The participants in the interaction:** their age, sex, occupation, socioeconomic status, origin, ethnicity, and their roles in relation to one another, such as employer-employee, husband-wife,
3. **The topic** (work, sports, national events, etc.),
4. **The function of the interaction:** request; offering information or interpretation; routines such as greetings, thanks, apologies, and so on.

What would be the situation of a person speaking two languages? Unlike the monolingual, the bilingual has the opportunity not only to speak

two languages but also to change variety while doing so. This is indeed a rather complex situation which is explained in the next section.

2.2.1. Language Choice

In a bilingual setting involving two or more languages, a similar but more complex situation is found when comparing with that of a monolingual. Not only can bilingual speakers, like their monolingual counterparts, choose among different varieties of language but, when speaking to other bilinguals, they can also choose between two languages. Whereas a monolingual can only switch from one variety to another (colloquial to formal, for instance) in one language, change languages, or do both.

Unlike the monolingual, the bilingual has the opportunity to choose between the first language (L1) and second language (L2) according to whom she is interacting with:

Figure 2: Language Choice & Code-switching

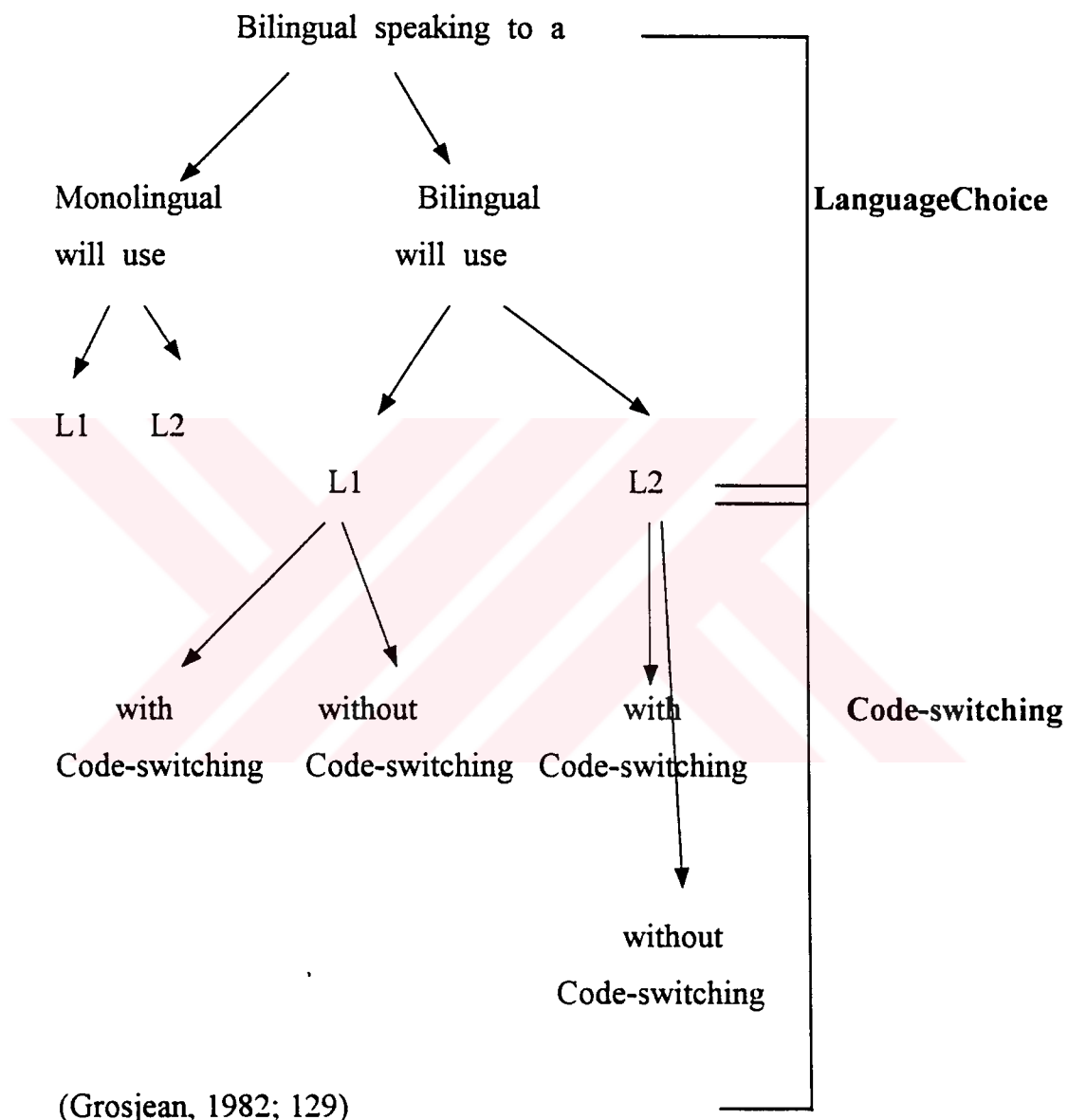


Figure 2 presents a two-stage approach in which the bilingual first decides on the base language to use and then, if the interlocutor is also bilingual, whether or not to code-switch. The bilingual may also borrow

words from the other language and integrate them phonologically and morphologically into the base language (Grosjean, 1982). Because of this complex situation, most sociolinguists have concentrated on language choice in bilingual interactions, and few studies have examined both the switch in variety and the switch in language.

Grosjean (1982) carried out a research on a French woman, Nicole, who was born in France and lived in the Paris region until she was twenty-five. She then moved to the United States with her husband, Roger, and their one-year-old child, Marc. They had lived in this country for eight years. Nicole worked as a registered nurse in the cardiovascular unit of a large urban hospital. Both Nicole and Roger were bilingual in French and English, but Marc, then nine, spoke only English. Grosjean investigated Nicole through her daily interactions, the choice of language and the switches from one to another. The findings revealed that she spoke mostly French with her husband but included many English lexical items; she spoke English, with no switches, to her neighbours, and French, again with no switches to her in-laws. She spoke both English and French with her French friends at work, using one or the other language (with a lot of code-switching) depending on the topic and situation. The present study is similar to Grosjean's study in that one of its aims is to investigate the effect of the *participants* on language choice and code-switching.

Kegl (1975) also investigated the effect of the participants on language choice. He studied the Slovene- English bilingual community in Chicago and described some of its prominent language patterns. At meetings of the Slovene National Club, only Slovene was used. In the

ethnic neighbourhood among first generation Americans, Slovene was used with some English lexical terms (supermarket, bingo game). Between two English- Slovene bilinguals who were intimately related, both languages were used with a lot of switching from one to the other. Between an English- Slovene bilingual and an intimate acquaintance who was a monolingual in English, English was normally used with some Slovene word order and inflections. And finally, between a bilingual and a nonintimate monolingual, English was the dominant language, but with some word-order deviations.

When studying language choice in bilinguals, a differentiation should be made between a bilingual speaking to a *monolingual* and to another *bilingual*. In the former case, the bilingual quite naturally chooses the language of her interlocutor, and the interaction is like that of two monolinguals. Some bilinguals find themselves in monolingual settings more than others. Thus, if Nicole (in Grosjean's study) did not have a French friend at the hospital, she would have spoken only English at work (Grosjean, 1982). Others live and work with bilinguals, and hence are less often in a totally monolingual situation. There is little to say about bilinguals in a monolingual environment except to note that their language behaviour is rarely different from that of other monolinguals. They rarely switch to their other language, which would be of no help and might even set them apart. What is interesting for a monolingual is to discover that a person he or she has known for months or even years is in fact bilingual, and in the appropriate circumstances will switch back and forth between the

two languages. The appropriate language is usually chosen unconsciously with no extra time or effort.

When studying language choice and code-switching among bilinguals, "*Who speaks what language to whom and when?*" (Fishman, 1965) must also be considered (in Grosjean, 1982). Factors underlying the bilingual's choice may differ between a bilingual speaking to a monolingual and to another bilingual, and it is difficult to determine, at first, how bilinguals choose the appropriate language with a particular person in a specific situation.

2.2.1.1 Factors Influencing Language Choice

According to Grosjean (1982), there are four possible factors influencing language choice among bilinguals: *Participants, Situation, Content of Discourse* and *Function of Interaction*.

1. Participants

Language Proficiency

Language Preference

Socioeconomic Status

Age

Sex

Occupation

Education

Ethnic Background
History of Speakers
Linguistic Interaction
Intimacy
Power Relation
Attitude towards Languages
Outside Pressure

2. Situation

Location / Setting
Presence of Monolinguals
Degree of Formality
Degree of Intimacy

3. Content of Discourse

Topic
Type of Vocabulary

4. Function of Interaction

To raise status
To create social distance
To exclude someone
To request or command

(Grosjean, 1982:136)

Participants: The language proficiency of the speaker and of the interlocutor is very important. Rubin (1968, in Grosjean, 1982) reports that in Luque, Paraguay, the head doctor speaks Guarani or Spanish with his patients, depending on which language they know better and feel more comfortable in. And in general, Rubin states that people often consider the ability of the addressee in choosing between languages. Thus, when asked which language they would use with a “barefoot woman”, almost all respondents answered Guarani, whereas with an “unfamiliar well-dressed person”, most said Spanish. In northern Maine, Schweda (1980 in Grosjean, 1982)) reports that a fair number of the English-French bilinguals she interviewed greeted everyone in English and used cues such as the interlocutor’s French accent, broken English, or a confused look to decide whether they should continue in English or switch to French. To the question, “Why did you speak language X to this person instead of language Y ?” most subjects answered of the type: “I speak language X better”, “He is more proficient in X”, “I believe she is more proficient in X.”

The history of linguistic interaction between the two participants also play a role. In many instances two people speak a particular language to one another simply because they always have, even if one or both have become more proficient in the other language. This is especially true of the children of immigrant families, who as youngsters spoke the minority language to their grandparents or parents and continue to do so as adults, even though they now know the majority language much better than their other language. An English-French bilingual writes: “I never speak English

to French friends, even if they are fluent in English. I find it unnatural, and I hate it when close friends suggest I speak to them in English to help them.” (Grosjean, 1982). Of course, if a third person enters the room, or if the location of the interaction changes, or if the participants want to exclude someone, speaking the other language is considered perfectly natural. But as the situation permits it, the participants will revert to their customary language of interaction.

Age plays a role in language choice. Gal (1979, in Grosjean, 1982), for example, reports that in the German-Hungarian community of Oberwart, the younger people speak mainly German (except in church-related activities or with their grandparents), whereas older people mostly speak Hungarian. She writes: “Among the various attributes of speakers it is neither their status as peasants nor the nature of their social networks that correlates most closely with language use. It is their ages” (p. 136). Schweda (1980, in Grosjean, 1982) found a similar situation in northern Maine. The respondents in her study report that older people prefer to speak French, whereas those under thirty, approximately, prefer to speak English. Wald (1974, in Grosjean, 1982) reports that in coastal Kenya, the young use both Swahili and the local language when speaking to one another, but never use Swahili when talking to the elders, who would consider it an affront, even though they, too, are bilingual.

The socioeconomic status of the participants—real or apparent—is also an important factor. Muthiani (1979, in Grosjean, 1982) reports that in Kenya, an African of high socioeconomic status will speak Swahili to an

African of lower status (unless they both share the same vernacular), but in English to an African of his own socioeconomic status. This is also true for an African speaking to an Indian. Scotton (1979, in Grosjean, 1982) reports that in Uganda a well-dressed African stranger will be addressed in English. If a European in Kenya uses Swahili with an African who knows English, then the African will answer in English right away to show that he does not belong to a lower class (Muthiani, 1979, in Grosjean 1982).

The degree of intimacy between the speakers is also important. Rubin (1968) reports that Guarani-Spanish bilinguals use Spanish with strangers or mere acquaintances, whereas with friends (drinking tea, being angry, saying something intimate, joking) they switch to Guarani. It is interesting to note that when young Paraguayans start courting and the relationship is still formal, Spanish is the language of interaction, but as they become more intimate, Guarani is used more and more.

Rubin also clearly illustrates how outside pressure can lead to the use of one language over another. At the time of her study, parents in Paraguay were urged to use the Spanish with their children at home to give them more practice in the language. Thus, in Luque, the parents spoke Guarani or both Guarani and Spanish to one another when they were by themselves, but mainly Spanish when the children were present, and almost always Spanish with the children by themselves.

As can be seen, the participant's attitude toward a language (and therefore toward the group that speaks it) plays a role in language choice.

The many factors that have been examined so far interact in such a way that if such other factors as situation, topic, and intent are put aside, bilinguals will choose a particular language easily and almost automatically.

Content of Discourse: The content of discourse has often been invoked as a factor in language choice. Fishman (1965a, in Grosjean, 1982) writes that some topics are better handled in one language than another, either because the bilingual has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, the other language lacks specialized terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a topic in that language. In Grosjean's study (1982) three bilinguals discussed the effect of topic on language choice-the first had problems talking about her work in her first language; the second talked in her sleep about her work in the language spoken at work; and the third either changed languages when explaining his professional activities or code switches extensively. Other studies, apart from the ones stated above, also show how participants and content of discourse affect language choice.

2.2.1.2. Studies on Language Choice

In Paraguay, Rubin (1968) found that school, legal, and business affairs were usually discussed in Spanish; in Jersey City, Hoffman (1971) reports that for in-depth discussions concerning school, English was found more appropriate than Spanish by students and parents alike. Barber (1973)

reports that Yaqui Indians prefer to swear and insult in Spanish, although they probably could also do so in Yaqui and English (in Grosjean, 1982).

Kegl (1975), Pease-Alvarez (1993) and Fortier (1991) studied language choice among immigrants of various ethnic backgrounds residing in the U.S.A.:

Kegl (1975), differing from others in his choice of the subjects' ethnic background, studied the Slovene-English bilingual community in Chicago and described some of their language patterns. Between two English-Slovene bilinguals who were intimately related, both languages were used with a lot of switching from one to the other.

Between an English-Slovene bilingual and an intimate monolingual in English, English was normally used with some Slovene word order and inflections. On the other hand, English was the dominant language between a bilingual and a non-intimate monolingual, but with some word-order deviations.

Similar to Kegl's investigation on language patterns, Pease-Alvarez (1993) investigated patterns influencing Mexican-American children's Spanish language maintenance. In addition, he focused on the shift towards the English dominance or monolingualism. Subjects were 64 Mexican-descent children aged 8-9 of varying immigration backgrounds (Mexican-born, U.S.-born parents) and their families in one California community. Interviews and activities were conducted to

investigate language proficiency, attitudes and choices, and the children were observed and tape-recorded in everyday activities at home and at school.

The findings revealed that there was a shift from Spanish to English occurring across generations in language choice for home and school use. A similar shift towards English appeared in language proficiency across background groups, and interlingual dependency appeared to occur only for foreign-born children with access to Spanish across a wide range of domains. Nevertheless, it was seen that adults wanted their children to be proficient in both languages. Overall, there was a strong commitment to bilingualism, despite the shift towards English.

When a bilingual chooses a language, the underlying choice is made rapidly and automatically. If someone initiates a conversation in a particular language, others usually answer in that language. However, there are cases of nonreciprocity, that is, speaker A starts with language X and speaker B answers in language Y. Usually, a rapid adjustment follows, with one of the two languages predominating, but at times the conversation may continue in both languages. Another aim of the present study is to be able to predict whether this is the case for the subjects- English/Turkish bilinguals- in the present study. Barber (1973) cites a Yaqui Indian who speaks Spanish to his wife and receives replies in Yaqui, with neither ever changing to the other's language. This is quite rare, as nonreciprocity

usually leads to embarrassment and even anger, because choosing a particular language can signal status raising or lack of group solidarity.

From Grosjean's categorization of the factors influencing language choice, it can be inferred that the bilingual has not only the ability to speak two languages but also to differentiate among the varieties of each language. Which variety she decides to use depends upon who she is interacting with, the setting, topic and function of interaction, etc. The "*participant*" and "*content of discourse*" factors in Grosjean's categorization of the factors underlying the choice of language in bilingualism form the base of this study. The relevant literature on *Function of Interaction* and *Situation* need not be given, considering they are not within the scope of the present study. Similar to the studies mentioned previously, in the present study *the content of discourse factor* was investigated through observations. Differing from others, in this study *the participant factor* was investigated through interviews *only*. Questions about the effect of participants were asked directly to the subjects during the interviews.

Rarely does a single factor account for a bilingual's choice of one language over another. Usually some factors are more important- have more weight-than others and thus play a greater role when combined with other factors. The following section will deal with *code-switching* which is a natural outcome where two languages are involved.

2.2.2. Code-Switching

Figure 2 presented a two-stage decision process underlying language choice. In the first stage the bilingual decides which base language to use, and in the second stage he or she determines whether to code-switch. This second stage occurs only when the bilingual is addressing another bilingual, and even then the decision may be delayed for some time. What is sure is that this stage does exist, because a bilingual will code-switch in certain situations but not in others (Grosjean, 1982).

Code-switching is a very important aspect of bilingualism, and only of late has it received the unbiased attention of researchers. Di Pietro (1977) defines it as “the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act.” Valdes Fallis (1976) refers to it simply as “the alternation of two languages,” and Scotton and Ury (1977, in Grosjean, 1982) propose that “code-switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction.” For the purpose of the present study, code-switching is defined basically as “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation.”

The analysis of code-switching is mainly under two terms: *intersentential (code-)switching* and *intrasentential (code-)switching*. The first (*intersentential* switching) refers to an alternation from one language to the other at clause or sentence boundaries; in other words, between clauses and sentences, as can be seen in the example below:

Valdes Fallis (1976) presents another analysis of code-switching is under three terms: *one-word switching*, *phrasal switching* and *sentence switching*, as in the following examples:

1) A French-English bilingual speaking French and switching (words in italics) to English:

Va chercher Marc (go fetch March) *and bribe him* avec un chocolat chaud (with a hot chocolate) *with cream on top*.

2) A Tanzanian speaking Swahili and switching to English (from Mkilifi, 1978):

Ile (the) accident Iitokea alipolose (occurred when he lost) *control* Na (and) Akaoverturn *and landed in a ditch*.

3) A Mexican American speaking Spanish and switching to English (Valdes Fallis, 1976):

No me fijé hasta que ya no I me dijo (I didn't notice until he told me): *Oh didn't think he'd be there*.

(Valdes Fallis, 1976:94)

From these three examples, it can be seen that code-switching can involve a word (*accident* in example 2), a phrase (*and bribe him* in example 1), or a sentence (*Oh, I didn't think he'd be there*, in example 3). It can also involve several sentences. Valdes Fallis (1976) states that what is important is that switching is different from borrowing a word from the other language and integrating it phonologically and morphologically into the base language. In code-switching the switched language is not integrated; instead there is a total shift to the other language. For the

purpose of the present study, the latter (the analysis of code-switching under three terms) has been taken into consideration. In the following sections, attitudes toward code-switching and the reasons for it will be studied.

2.2.2.1. Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

Grosjean (1982) points out that monolinguals have long had a very negative attitude toward code-switching, which they see as a grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual's own rule-governed language. Code-switching is given pejorative names such as *Franglais*, the "mixture" of French and English or the use of too many English loan words in French. Those who code-switch extensively are often said to know neither language well enough to converse in either one alone and they are termed "semilingual" or "nonlingual"... It is important to note that despite the strong negative attitudes toward code-switching, little if any evidence has been found that it leads to "semilingualism."

Box 1: Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

A Swiss German-French-English trilingual: In principle I reject switching because I feel it destroys the ethnicity of a language. In practise, however, I often code-switch without knowing it.

A French-English bilingual: This whole process of code-switching is done mostly out of laziness, for if I search long enough for the correct word, I would eventually find it ... I try to avoid code-switching one would quickly end up speaking a language of its own.

A Kurdish-Arabic bilingual: When I switch (inadvertently), I usually realize soon afterward and correct myself, but it is still embarrassing.

A Russian-English bilingual: I have a very positive attitude toward code-switching because it helps me to express myself more precisely. However, I feel it might be dangerous if it becomes too common-where you have to code-switch in order to speak.

A Portuguese-English bilingual: Although I try not to code-switch, it inevitably happens, especially when I try to explain to other Portuguese what my research is about.

A Hebrew-Arabic-English trilingual: Code-switching is not very pure.

A French-English bilingual: My attitude toward code-switching is a very relaxed one.

(Grosjean, 1982:148)

As can be seen in **Box 1**, a negative attitude toward code-switching has been adopted, at least overtly, by many bilinguals. Most of the bilinguals Grosjean (1982) has questioned, made remarks such as: "Switching is done mostly out of laziness," "It is embarrassing," "It might be dangerous if it becomes too common," "I try not to code-switch,"

“Code-switching is not very pure.” One consequence of this attitude is that some bilinguals never switch, while most others restrict it to situations in which they will not be stigmatized for doing so.

Box 2: With Whom Do You Code-Switch?

A Greek-English bilingual: I find myself code-switching with my friends who are all Greek ... They know English so well and nobody gets offended with code-switching ... I don't switch with my parents as I do with my friends.

A Russian-English bilingual: When I'm with my Russian-American friends our conversation is usually basically in English with many, many instances of code-switching. In fact, sometimes all the nouns and adjectives are in Russian ... I don't know why we don't just speak Russian, perhaps just to infuriate our parents who hate this “verbal salad.”

A Persian-English bilingual: When I am speaking with my Persian friends, sometimes I have difficulties saying a word in Persian and so I say it in English.

A Hebrew-Arabic-English trilingual: I find that I switch only with friends and people close to me. I think familiarity and intimacy are the motivations of code-switching.

A French-English bilingual: I tend to use both English and French within the same conversation, within the same sentence, when I'm with Francos who are obviously bilingual, but also with Francos with whom I am at ease.

(Grosjean, 1982:149)

The examples in **Box 2** reveal that bilinguals avoid code-switching with those who have very strict norms concerning language use, such as parents and teachers, reserving it for close acquaintances and those who also code-switch.

Code-switching not only fills a momentary linguistic need, it is also a very useful communication resource, as can be seen in **Box 2**. It takes place quite unconsciously; speakers are quite often unaware that they are switching from one language to another. Their main concern is with communicating a message or intent, and they know that the other person will understand them whether they use one or two languages.

2.2.2.2. Reasons For Code-Switching

Bilinguals usually explain that the reason they code-switch is that they lack facility in one language when talking about a particular topic. In one of his studies, Grosjean (1982) reports that they switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed. Some notions are just better expressed in one language than another. At other times, however, the bilingual simply has not learned or is not equally familiar with the terms in both languages. Very often a bilingual knows a word in both language X and language Y, but the language Y word is more available at that moment when speaking language X. He or she may switch to language Y to say the word but later on in the conversation will use the equivalent word in language X. This phenomenon

of “the most available word” is extremely frequent in bilingual speech and occurs, according to many bilinguals, when they are tired, lazy, or angry. They know that with more effort and time they could find the appropriate word or expression in the base language .

In some instances, members of a community are reported to code-switch regularly when a particular topic is discussed. Both Valdes Fallis (1976) and Lance (1979, in Grosjean, 1982) have noticed that Mexican Americans in the Southwest often switch from Spanish to English when talking about money. For instance:

La consulta era (the visit cost) *eight dollars*.

(Valdes Fallis, 1976)

This is probably because most buying and selling is done in English.

Barber (in Grosjean, 1982) reports that Yaqui Indians prefer to swear and insult in Spanish, although they probably could also do so in Yaqui and English.

Although many instances of code-switching can be explained by the lack of appropriate terminology in one language, the “most available word” phenomenon, habit, or triggering, many others involve particular verbal or communicative strategies. Gumperz (1970, and Hernandez-Chavez, 1978, in Grosjean, 1982) have stressed that switching at a particular moment conveys semantically significant information. According to him, code-switching is a communicative resource that builds on the participants’

perception of two contrasting languages. He writes that code-switching is meaningful: it is a verbal strategy, used in much the same way that a skillful writer might switch styles in a short story.

Thus code-switching in bilingual speech is far from being a “grammarless language mixture or gibberish” by “semilingual” speakers. It can be seen that code-switching is often used as a communicative strategy to convey linguistic and social information. The following section will explain how bilinguals acquire two different cultural identities (how they become *bicultural*).

2.2.3. Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Anthropologists commonly agree that culture consists of a number of components: the human's way of maintaining life and perpetuating the species, along with habits, customs, ideas, sentiments, social arrangements, and objects. Culture is the way of life of a people or society, including its rules of behavior; its economic, social, and political systems; its language; its religious beliefs; its laws; and so on. Culture is acquired, socially transmitted, and communicated in large part by language. Biculturalism—the coexistence and/or combination of two distinct cultures—is a highly complex subject (Grosjean, 1982). Although it has been studied by relatively few researchers, especially when linked to bilingualism, many bilinguals are aware that in some sense or other they are also bicultural and that biculturalism has affected their lives.

2.2.3.1 Attitudes Towards Bilingualism and Biculturalism

When the difference between two cultures is very large (as between the Turkish and Australian cultures), the adjustment is much harder than when two cultures are similar or even overlap (such as the British and Australian cultures). But some degree of “culture shock” is inevitable, created by the combination of differences, large and small: eating habits, courting behaviour, child rearing, family organization, religious beliefs, the level and nature of education, the urban or rural nature of the community, and so on.

Immigrants adjust in different ways to the new culture. Some never adjust, either because they choose not to or because the surrounding society does not allow them to do so. Elderly immigrants living in minority communities often attempt to continue, as best they can, the lives they led in the home country. They make little attempt to learn the majority language, interact only with members of their own group, follow the customs and traditions of their people. To this group we should add the people who have come to a country for a short time and who intend to return to their home country, many of whom, especially if they have children, adjusting as little as possible so as to make the return less difficult (similar to the subjects in the present study). Such is the case of Turkish people who live in Australia for years but make every effort to retain their way of life and educational principles and not let themselves be Australianized.

Also in this category are the members of a culture that have been invaded by other people or cultures. For them, adjusting to the culture of the invader -becoming bicultural- is the first stage of acculturation and should therefore be avoided (Similarly, a group's bilingualism can be the first stage of language shift, ultimately leading to monolingualism in the majority language).

At the other extreme there are persons who overadjust to the host culture and do everything they can to assimilate themselves into that culture. Such overadjustment, which can be due to a total rejection of the native culture or to a strong wish to be accepted as a member of the new culture, often goes hand in hand with rapid abandonment of many traits of the original culture, so that once again one cannot really talk of biculturalism.

Between these two extremes, however, there are also people adjusting to certain level of biculturalism. The level attained by each person depends on a number of factors, many of which are similar to those affecting language maintenance and language shift, such as the size of the minority group, its immigration pattern, geographic concentration, intermarriage, language use, and so on. Unlike bilingualism, where the two languages can be kept separate, biculturalism does not usually involve keeping two cultures and two individual behaviours separate. A true bicultural person, for instance, someone who is fully French in France and fully American in the United States, is probably not very common. Little is known about such people in whom two cultures coexist but do not blend,

and yet behaviour shifts and behaviour interferences would be fascinating subjects to study. Many people in contact with two cultures may at seek to belong solely to one or the other, but with time they realize that they are most at ease with people who share their bicultural experience.

Finally, **Box 3** presents an extract by Grosjean (1982) about a Franco-American who reports being perfectly comfortable and at ease in both French and English settings:

Box 3: A Franco-American's View of His Biculturalism

To me, being bilingual in the U.S. and, more specifically, being Franco-American in our pluralistic society, means that I have two languages, two heritages, two ways of thinking and viewing the world. At times these two elements may be separate and distinct within me, whereas at other times they are fused together. When I'm with Anglophone (English-speaking) Americans, I can speak English with them and identify with their American values just as easily as I can speak French with Franco-Americans and identify with their values. In certain instances, such as with family and close friends who are Franco Americans, I feel both Franco and American, yet neither of these...more like a mixture of the two. In any case, I feel comfortable in either setting.

(Grosjean, 1982:166)

The bilingual's attitude towards language choice and code-switching in the extract above, is similar to the findings in the studies mentioned

previously. The bilinguals who have learnt two languages simultaneously at an early age tend to identify themselves as belonging to two different cultures and therefore they possess the values of two different cultures. The following section provides further studies on language choice and code-switching.

2.2.3.2 Other Studies on Language Choice and Code-Switching

Other studies on language choice in bilingualism have shown that bilinguals *do* choose their language according to the situation they are involved in:

Similar to Grosjean's study, Whitcher (1994) investigated the ways in which the background of six Spanish-English bilinguals had affected their attitudes toward the two languages and the transfer of skills between first and second languages. The study involved taped guided interviews and translation exercises with six women, aged mid-teens to mid-forties. The analysis focused on the subjects' expressed cultural identity conflicts, attitudes toward language-mixing and experiences with formal education in the two languages.

Whitcher made a conclusion that (1) while subjects seemed to use one language to help make meaning in another (this was not always through genuine code-switching), and (2) attitudes toward code-switching were based largely in upbringing.

Although having selected his subjects from a similar ethnic background, Heitzman (1994) differed from Grosjean and Whitcher in that his subjects were from a lower age group and the setting was a totally different one: the classroom. He focused on the first and second languages among students of a Spanish Immersion Program. Eight fifth -and sixth- graders with varying levels of Spanish proficiency participated in the study. Data were collected through student verbal reports, questionnaire-based interviews, classroom observations, and background information such as school grades and achievement test scores.

The study found that although students used Spanish when talking to the teacher in teacher-fronted classroom situations, they were unlikely to use Spanish when talking to fellow students. Learners were able to understand written and verbal instructions in Spanish; however, they had more difficulty in understanding instructions in Spanish if the material was new or difficult for any reason.

Fantini (1985) examined three aspects of bilingual code-switching among children raised bilingually in Spanish and English, which are similar in terms of ethnic background and age group of which Heitzman had selected his subjects.

The results of this study revealed that:

(1) code-switching was an integral part of bilingual behaviour, especially in early stages of language acquisition,

(2) social factors influenced the child's ability to differentiate language and make an appropriate language choice, and

(3) hierarchical organization of these social factors based on their order of emergence and relative significance in affecting language choice.

Data were obtained from ten-year-longitudinal studies of two children raised bilingually in Spanish and English. The findings suggested that although the social factors in each case varied greatly, children were able to guide the choice of language. They alternated and even code-switched and they also knew in which instance to make separate linguistic choice.

Fortier (1991) investigated the choice of language (French, English, or Italian) for different activities and with different individuals among second-generation Italians in Quebec through interviews with 12 adults. The analysis focused on the relationship between social factors and language choice in various situations. Results indicated that Italian predominated over English in domestic activities, where a stable bilingualism existed. In occupational

activities, English and French dominated. In the domestic realm, women tended to use Italian more than men. Language use in public activities seemed to be determined more by social/ethnic relationships. It appeared that for socio-political reasons, Italian remained the common language among different generations of Italians in Montreal.

Fantini (1987), in another report, stated that all speakers alter social circumstances at the moment of speech. Additionally, bilingual speakers switch code. In fact, language differentiation and code-switching are fundamental to behaving bilingually. He examined how language differentiation and code-switching developed in a young child exposed to two languages and concluded that linguistic separation was triggered by various factors in the social environment that cued the speaker in the young child, awareness of the factors that call for one language or developed gradually over time as the child's social world expanded.

According to Fantini (1987), the development of bilingual behaviour was clearly a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which the child learned not only two linguistic systems but also the circumstances in which to use each.

Similar to Fantini's report, Romero (in Fantini, 1987) explored the relationship between Spanish language use and ethnic identity through analysis of discourse among a Chicano family whose members had differing proficiencies in Spanish and/or English. The

results showed that factors such as interaction in Anglo-dominated settings, conversational techniques, linguistic competence and language, attitude appeared to influence language shifts and code-switching.

Deuchar and Quay (1995) studied bilingual children's speech in relation to data from a case study of a child in Wales acquiring English and Spanish between the ages of 1 and 3 years to establish how language choice and code-switching can be recognized in young children. The data was reviewed from the one word-stage, the early two-word combinations, and the multi-word combination stages. It was suggested that contextually appropriate language choice is possible at the one-word stage, that choices between content and function involve more content than function in the two-word stage, and that mixed language utterances in the multi-word stage may represent adult-like examples of code-switching. Overall, it was strongly recommended that a child's linguistic repertoire must be considered at all three stages to determine final language choice.

It was concluded that both language choice and code-switching are dependent on the developing bilingual's linguistic resources: language choice cannot take place until there is equivalence between lexical items and alternative grammars in the languages for the child to be better able to choose between them.

Halmari (1995) studied code-switching among 21 Finnish-English bilinguals, focusing on the characteristics of code-switching.

Data were drawn from naturally occurring conversations. The analysis highlighted patterns in the use of Finnish case morphology in 550 instances of switched nouns. It was found that the majority of English nouns within Finnish matrix sentences were in accordance with Finnish case morphology, reflecting the government constraint stimulated as a principle of universal grammar and that most of those were cases of fluent code-switching of those nouns that were missing Finnish case morphology.

Martı (1994) carried out a descriptive study aiming to find out whether living in a monolingual Turkish environment had an effect on the code-switching behaviour of Turkish-German bilingual returnees in Adana, Turkey.

Martı selected her subjects among Turkish-German bilingual university students in the German Language Department in Çukurova University according to their language background and their arrival dates in Turkey and formed two separate groups with different arrival dates: the early returnees and recent returnees.

The speeches of the two groups in conversation were recorded in sessions held with the researcher as a participant observer in a relaxed atmosphere. Martı initiated the conversation in either Turkish or German and introduced topics associated with one of the languages or cultures and guided the participant to talk about these topics. From this point of view, her study is similar to type of data

collection in the present study. Moreover, in both studies, code-switching instances were analyzed during the sessions, and transcribed later.

The data in Marti's study revealed that the recent returnees showed a higher rate than the early returnee. Moreover, the recent returnees showed a higher switching rate in the conversation where a bilingual participated. The only case in which the early returnees switched more was in the conversation in German with a German monolingual speaker.

Marti furthermore states that there was a tendency to shift to Turkish among her subjects. She concludes that the personalities of the subjects may have influenced their code-switching behaviour and suggests that this situation may be a topic for further investigation.

The present study aims to investigate the situational factors influencing language choice among bilinguals of a similar ethnic and educational background. While doing so, the effect of the participant and content of discourse will be dealt with.

All researchers stated above were carried out among bilinguals of various ages and ethnic backgrounds; nevertheless, all have focused on factors underlying the choice of language and reasons for code-switching.

In terms of ethnic background and age group, the subjects in the present study are similar to those of Marti's, but the present study differs from all other researches in that the subjects will be interviewed individually before the observation in order to obtain direct information on their attitudes toward language choice and code-switching in their bilingual life. Moreover, the focus of the present study is on factors that affect code-switching (and language choice) rather than on how code-switching takes place. The interview will be of great help in the explanation of reasons for particular speech behaviours during the observations. Differing from others, the *participant factor* was investigated through interviews only. On the other hand, the *content of discourse factor* was investigated through observations (see 3.2.).

This chapter aimed to present a review of literature of previous researches on language choice and code-switching in bilingualism. The next section will describe in detail how the present research was conducted.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Overview

This chapter presents information about the nature of the research, the subjects, and how the data were collected and analyzed. The main concern of this study is to find out the effect of the *content of discourse* (topic) and *participants* on the language choice and code-switching behaviour of Turkish-English bilinguals who have made a permanent return from Australia to their homeland, Turkey. For the purpose of this study, the subjects were not chosen randomly as there are not many Australian returnees in the English Language Teaching Department of Çukurova University, in Adana. The subjects' speeches have been recorded and analyzed, and implications have been stated.

3.2. Research Design

This study is designed as a descriptive study. As there were only six subjects available in the study, it would not have been appropriate to apply statistics on such a small number. Therefore, the study is designed as a case study where descriptions of the bilinguals' language choice and code-

switching behaviour, in relation to the effect of content of discourse and participants, is presented .

First, a questionnaire (Appendix A) was administered to elicit information on the subjects' ethnic and language background. Secondly, the subjects were interviewed individually and the comments about their own bilinguality and their ideas about other participants in the bilingual setting were recorded in order to obtain data on the effect of the participants on their language choice and code-switching.

Finally, an observation was carried out in which the subjects were given a range of topics to discuss. The aim was to collect data on the effect of the topic (content of discourse factor) and the observer's language on the subjects' language choice. The conversations were lead by the researcher (interviewer *and* observer) and finally, the recordings were transcribed and analyzed.

3.3. Subjects

The subjects in this study are six Turkish-English bilingual students who are attending the English Language Teaching Department of the Faculty of Education at Çukurova University in Adana, Turkey. They are the Australian-born children of Turkish-born immigrants who have lived for some time in Australia in the past and have made a permanent return to their homeland during the past few years.

They were not chosen randomly as there were not many Australian-born children of Turkish-born immigrants attending the same department. They had been placed in their department at school, according to their success in the University Entrance Exam held every year in Turkey.

The six subjects -three males and three females- are close in: age (ranging from 20 to 27), ethnic and educational background (as explained previously). They have all been educated in English state primary and/or high schools in Australia, followed by Turkish state or Anatolian high schools in Turkey. Currently, they are students at a Turkish university in Turkey.

All subjects are native speakers of both Turkish and English and have been speaking the two languages since infancy in Australia and now live in the Turkish society where Turkish is widely spoken.

Table 3.1. gives the following information: the subjects' age, sex, length of residence in Australia, the number of years of their education in Australia, the arrival year in Turkey, the length of residence in Turkey, and the number of years of their education in Turkey since their arrival.

Table 3.1. Background information about subjects

	Subjects	Sex	Age	Length of residence in Australia (in years)	Length of education in Australia (in years)	Arrival year in Turkey	Length of residence in Turkey	Length of education in Turkey
1	A	F	20	13	9	1990	8	8
2	B	F	27	20	13	1990	8	4
3	C	M	23	12	6	1986	11	9
4	D	F	23	13	7	1988	10	8
5	E	M	25	12	7	1991	13	8
6	F	M	22	14	6	1986	8	9

As can be seen in Table 3.1., *Subject A*, is a 20 year old female who was born in Australia and stayed there for 13 years. Having completed primary school in Australia, she came to Turkey in 1990.

Subject B is also female. She was born in Australia and she is the 27 year -old elder sister of Subject B. She stayed there for 20 years and completed primary and high school in Australia. She, too, came to Turkey in 1990.

Subject C is male. He is the 23 year-old younger brother of the researcher. He was born in Australia, completed primary school there and came to Turkey in late 1986. After his arrival, he completed high school in Turkey.

Subject D is a 23 year -old female. She was born in Australia, but moved to Turkey for a short while and attended primary school in Turkey. Later, she moved to an Australian primary school in Australia. Finally, in 1988, she returned to Turkey and completed high school.

Subject E is a 25 year -old male. Having completed primary school in Australia, he returned to Turkey in 1991 but later moved back to Australia and started high school. After two years, he made a permanent return to Turkey .

Last of all, *Subject F* is the youngest among all subjects, at the age of 22. He was born in Australia in 1976, and after Grade 5 of primary school

in Australia, he came to Turkey in 1986 and completed Grade 6 (of primary school) and high school. Currently, all subjects are students at the English Language Teaching Department of Çukurova University in Adana, Turkey.

When asked whether it had been their first experience in Turkey, all subjects, except D and E, answered “Yes”. Subject D had been to Turkey twice before, while subject E had been only once.

All subjects had attended state schools, either primary and/or high school in Australia. Upon arrival in Turkey, Subjects A and D continued schooling in Anatolian high schools whereas Subjects C, E and F preferred state primary / high schools. Subject B had completed primary and high school before moving to Turkey.

Table 3.2. provides information on the subjects’ parents’ residence in Turkey before immigrating to Australia, their residence in Australia and now in Turkey, other family information and reasons for permanent return.

Table 3.2. Background information about subjects

Subjects	Part of Turkey parents lived before immigration	Part of Australia family lived after immigration	Part of Turkey family lives in Turkey now	Number of children in family	Reason for permanent return
A	M	M	M	3	Parents' desire
B	M	M	M	3	Parents' desire
C	M	M	M	3	Parents' desire
D	M	M	M	6	Parents' desire
E	M	M	M	3	Parents' desire
F	V	M	M	3	Parents' desire

M : Metropolitan

T : Town

C : City

V : Village

As can be seen in Table 3.2., all subjects' parents except Subject F's, lived in the metropolitan area in Turkey before moving to Australian metropolitan areas. Subject F's parents had lived in a village in Turkey but after their return to Turkey from Australia, they now live in a metropolitan area. After their return to Turkey, all subjects' families now live in metropolitan areas.

As for the number of children in the family, all subjects, except Subject C, come from a family of five (two parents and three children). Subject C comes from a family of eight (two parents and six children). All subjects, except Subject C, have stated that all brother(s) and/or sister(s) are bilingual like themselves. Subject C's younger brother and sister are monolingual Turkish speakers while his other two sisters and one brother are bilingual.

All subjects stated that the only reason for their permanent return was their parents' desire, none of them was willing to leave the Australian society. Subjects A, B, C, D, and E explained that they had adapted to the new country whilst Subject F wanted a return to Australia. Subjects A, B, C and D live with their families, while E and F temporarily live alone for schooling reasons.

An interesting finding was that all subjects' parents were monolingual speakers of Turkish although they had spent a long time in Australia. Perhaps this was due to living in a close-knit ethnic Turkish environment or the unwillingness to learn a foreign language (see 2.1.6).

3.4. Instruments: Various instruments were used throughout the study:

1. *Questionnaire:* A questionnaire was given beforehand to obtain ethnic and educational background information (see Appendix I). It is important that all subjects are similar in ethnic and educational background, in order to compare differences in language choice without the interference of other factors.

2. *Interview:* The interview aimed to obtain information on the subjects' personal ideas, values and beliefs toward the two languages and its users (the participants). The subjects were asked questions on their language preferences when speaking to other bilinguals (and monolinguals). Each subject was interviewed individually and his/her speech was recorded and transcribed (see Appendix II). The interview is important in that it is the direct source for the investigation of the *participant factor* on the subjects' language choice and code-switching behaviour.

3. *Observation:* Following the interview, the subjects were guided to talk about 12 specific topics: marriage, funerals, politics, generation gap, fashion, women's rights, TV, language learning, school, books, politics, food&drinks. The topics were chosen by the researcher and were expected to interest the subjects because the topics were associated with their experiences in either the English or Turkish culture (or both), depending on whether the subjects were involved with these topics in Australia or in Turkey. The conversations were initiated in either English or Turkish randomly- the observer asked questions relevant to a specific topic in *both* languages for all topics in order to investigate the effect of the *language* in

which the question is asked on the language in which the question is answered. The aim of asking questions in both languages was also to be able to determine the effect of the *topic* on the subjects' language choice (if the subject continuously answered in one language and not the other for a specific topic and/or answered in L1 when it was asked in L2, it is suggested that it was due to the *topic* itself). The observation was important in that it collected information on *the content of discourse factor*.

All data were collected from the subjects *individually* and each session lasted for approximately twenty-five minutes. The sessions were recorded, switches from one language to the other and instances of code-switching were noted, and transcribed and analyzed.

3.5. Data Collection

The materials on which this study is based, consist of natural tape-recorded conversations of six Australian-born Turkish second generation immigrant speakers of both Turkish and English in a bilingual setting (the observer herself being a childhood bilingual). The natural setting provided the source of data.

The data consisted of two parts: *the interview* for the analysis of *the participant factor* and *the observation* for the analysis of *the content of discourse factor*.

In the interview, the subjects were asked general questions about their bilinguality and the effect of other participants on their language choice and code-switching behaviour. They were asked to whom they preferred to speak what language and whether their code-switching depended on the presence of other childhood, adolescent or adult bilinguals. The answers to the questions above supplied explanations for the participant factor. Their answers were compared and a generalization was made on their ideas about the effect of the participants on the language choice and code-switching behaviour.

As for the observation, all subjects were given 12 topics to comment on individually: *marriage, funerals, pollution, generation gap, fashion, TV, school, politics, and food&drinks*. The observer carried out the observations at the homes of the subjects in order to create a relaxed atmosphere. The topics were initiated one by one in either English or Turkish randomly but it was made sure by the observer that the questions were exactly the same- in terms of *language* (some questions in English and some in Turkish) and in order (presented as listed above). The aim in changing languages throughout the observation was to be able to predict whether it was the change in *topic* or *language* (or both) that affected the language choice of the subject. Before the observations took place, it was aimed that the total number of questions for all subjects and the frequency of English and Turkish questions would be kept constant. Unfortunately, it was impossible in *all* six observations to keep the numbers constant. The total number of questions for each topic varied according to the subject's interest in the topic, and the frequency of the two languages varied

according to the subject's eager to speak one language rather than the other. The observer tended to continue to ask questions in the language which the subject preferred to speak or switch to the other language to see if any changes would occur. As a result, the frequency of English questions and Turkish questions varied from topic to topic.

For the investigation of the effect of the topic, it is suggested that the equality of the number of English and Turkish is not of vital importance. If it were the topic that affected the subject's language, then the frequency of the languages (for the questions) should not matter so much. As for the investigation of the effect of the observer's language on the subject's answer, the *ratio* of the number of English or Turkish answers is important, rather than the number of sentences.

The observer initiated questions in both English *and* Turkish. From time to time, she switched to the other language in order to see whether there would be any change in his/her language. If s/he continued to speak in L1(or L2), it would be inferred that the language did not effect her language choice, that only the *topic* determined his/her language choice. On the other hand, if s/he switched to the other language, then it would be inferred that the *language* determined his/her language choice.

The subjects' choice of language in relation to their stay in Turkey was analyzed by counting the total number of English and Turkish answers for each subject, and comparing the subject's preferred language (the higher

number) with the number of years s/he has been living in Turkey. Finally, all subjects answers and length of of stay in Turkey were compared. The next section will present the Data Analysis and Findings.



CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Results

The present study focuses on five questions:

1. When interacting with other bilinguals, is the Childhood Bilingual's language choice affected by the type of bilingualism (childhood, adolescent or adulthood bilingualism) which other bilinguals belong to?
2. In what contextual situations (The Content of Discourse) do bilinguals tend to code-switch more frequently?
3. Does the content affect the bilingual's language choice?
4. Does the language being spoken at the time of interaction determine the bilinguals' language choice?
5. Does the length of stay in Turkey after arrival affect the subjects' language choice?

In order to answer the questions above, data were collected at different times during the 1997-98 academic year at Çukurova University.

The general aim was to analyze the effect of the topic and the participants on the language choice and code-switching behaviour of six English-Turkish bilingual students. The collected data consisted of transcribed material recorded in six sessions (one session for each subject). Each session consisted of an interview followed by an observation. The answers to the five questions above were supplied as follows:

Question 1: Interview

Question 2: Interview

Question 3: Observation

Question 4: Observation

Question 5: Observation (and Interview)

During the interviews, the subjects were told that the language in which they preferred to answer, was of no importance because the aim was to collect information on their bilinguality, rather than analyzing their speech. The interview was thought to be helpful in supplying direct answers for Questions 1 and 2.

4.1.1. The Effect of Participants on Language Choice

Do the participants whom the bilinguals interact with affect their choice of language? To answer this question, information was obtained through the interviews. Questions were asked about their language choice at home, in school and in public in Australia, in contrast with language choice at home, in school and in public now in Turkey. The results were as follows:

Table 4.1. Language Choice in Society

Subjects	AUSTRALIA			TURKEY		
	at home	at school	in public	at home	at school	in public
A	E	E	E	T	T	T
	with brother and sister T	with Turkish friends T	with everyone T	with parents E	with everyone	with everyone
B	with parents	with Turkish friends	with Turkish friends	with sister		
	E	E	E	T	T	T
C	with brother and sister T	with Turkish friends T	with everyone T	with parents E	with everyone	with everyone
	with parents	with Turkish friends	with Turkish friends	with sister		
D	E	E	E	T	T	T
	with brother and sister T	with everyone	with everyone	with family	with everyone	with everyone
E	with parents					
	E	E	E	T	T	T
F	with brothers T	with everyone	with everyone	with parents E	with everyone	with everyone
	with parents			with brother and sister		
F	E	E	E	T	T	T
	with brother and sister T	with everyone	with everyone	with family	with everyone	with everyone
	with parents					

E : English
T : Turkish

As can be observed in Table 4.1., the subjects were asked to compare language choice at home, at school and in public. All subjects stated that *at home*, both *Turkish* and *English* were spoken while living in Australia. When speaking to their Turkish monolingual parents, they quite naturally chose the language of their interlocutors (Turkish) and the interaction was like that of two monolinguals. With their brother(s) and sister(s), however, they started to speak *English* after coming into contact with English through the playground, television, English speaking friends of the family, or in day care (see 2.1.6.). Since there was a bilingual-to-bilingual contact between brothers and sisters, two languages (with or without code-switching) were spoken.

At school, all subjects spoke the majority language, *English*, with friends and teachers. As for Subjects A and B, who were sisters and lived in a close-knit ethnic Turkish environment, *Turkish* was also spoken with Turkish friends in the neighbourhood. *In public*, all subjects spoke the language of the community. Again, for subjects A and B, *Turkish* was also spoken to Turkish family friends.

Upon arrival in Turkey, surprisingly, the situation at home has hardly shown any change. *At home*, all subjects still speak *Turkish* with parents. It may be inferred that the subjects' parents were strict on maintaining the Turkish language and culture especially while living in Australia and continue to do so in Turkey. The only change which has been noted is that Subjects C, E and F having shifted to *Turkish* when speaking to brother(s) and sister(s), which is different from how they used to interact while living

in Australia. This may be due to pressure in the family or rapid adaptation to the Turkish community. Even though they study in the English Language Teaching Department, *at school*, all subjects speak *Turkish* widely, with friends and teachers. The subjects stated that *in public*, they speak only *Turkish*, perhaps with few code-switchings, that is, if they are interacting with bilinguals.

The language shift from *English* at school and in public in Australia, to *Turkish* at school and in public indicates that the subjects have adapted to their new language and society.

It can be inferred from the responses that in all public places, the subjects have a tendency to speak the language of the society they live in (English in Australia and Turkish in Turkey). At home, the subjects have always had to speak Turkish with parents who are Turkish speaking monolinguals. The subjects continue to speak English with brothers and sisters and other Australian-born friends, although they have moved out of the Australian society.

The subjects were asked to *whom* they used English *mostly*: childhood bilinguals, adolescent or adult bilinguals? The results were as follows:

Table 4.2. To Whom English is Spoken Mostly

PARTICIPANTS	SUBJECTS						Percentage
	A	B	C	D	E	F	%
Childhood Bilinguals	X	X	X	X	X	X	100
Adolescent Bilinguals							0
Adult Bilinguals							0
TOTAL							100

As shown in Table 4.2., all subjects stated they were likely to speak English more with other childhood bilinguals: their brothers and sisters, and friends who had learnt English and Turkish simultaneously at an early age like the subjects themselves. As for the reasons, the subjects' answers were as follows:

Subjects A and B explained they felt more comfortable speaking English with other childhood bilinguals, especially with those who had come from Australia. Subject C preferred to speak English with Australian friends and brothers and sisters, if he felt like it. Subject D explained that she prefers to speak English especially with childhood bilinguals because she believes others would think she was trying to “show off”. Subject E stated he tried not to but if he did code-switch, he would definitely prefer

childhood bilinguals. He believes they would understand his English better. Similar to Subject E, Subject F would speak English with childhood bilinguals because if he were to do so with others, he would be sure some of them would not understand him completely, or basically feel uncomfortable.

As a result, the subjects in the present study tend to speak English more with childhood bilinguals, especially with those who have spent some time in Australia. However, with others (adolescent and adult bilinguals), they are more likely to speak Turkish.

4.1.2. Reasons for Code-Switching

The subjects were asked *how often* they did code-switching and *to whom* they did more commonly: childhood bilinguals, adolescent bilinguals or adult bilinguals? The results are as follows:

Table 4.3. To Whom Childhood Bilinguals Code-Switch Most Frequently

Participants:	Subjects					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Other Childhood Bilinguals	always	always	seldom	always	always	always
Adolescent Bilinguals	never	never	seldom	always	often	often
Adult Bilinguals	never	never	seldom	always	sometimes	sometimes

As can be seen in **Table 4.3.**, Subjects A and B stated they felt more comfortable code-switching with other childhood bilinguals. Similarly, both added that they tried to avoid code-switching with others and felt they should be speaking Turkish to them.

Differing from Subjects A and B, Subject C stated that he tried to avoid code-switching, even if the participants were childhood bilinguals. On the contrary, Subject D stated that code-switching was a part of her bilinguality and that she code-switched with every bilingual she knew:

“I think I code-switch with everybody! I always mix the languages. I have an American friend who has lived in Turkey for many years, infact she’s been here since high school (she’s an adolescent bilingual). She does the same things I do: out of every two words, one of them is definitely English!”

Subjects E and F are similar to Subject D in that both tend to code-switch with all bilinguals. However, they believe they do codeswitching more with childhood bilinguals because the childhood bilingual participants understand their code-switching better (understand why they feel the need to code-switch), and do as much code-switching in return. Subject F adds: *“It’s more fun with other childhood bilinguals because you know they do it as naturally as you do !”*

Does code-switching from L1 to L2 (or from L2 to L1) take place mostly if a word is not known or remembered? As Grosjean (1982) states in 2.2.3.2., bilinguals switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed. Some notions are better expressed in one language than another. At other times, however, the bilingual simply has not learned or is not equally familiar with terms in both languages (see 2.2.1.2.).

For the investigation in the present study, the subjects were asked what kind of code-switching they tended to do mostly. The subjects stated they did the *one-word switch* more frequently for the following reasons

Table 4.4. Reasons For Code-Switching

Reasons For Code-Switching	Subjects
Cannot remember a word	A,E
Not knowing a word	B,C
Matter of concentration on the language	D
No definite reason	F

As can be seen in Table 4.4, according to the subjects, code-switching was mostly due to not being able to remember a word (Subjects A and E), not knowing a word (Subjects B and C), matter of concentration on the language (Subject D) and no definite reason (Subject F):

Subject A : I tend to code-switch when I can't find the word I'm looking for ... If I remember it in the other language, I use it, then switch back to the language I started with .

Subject B : If, I'm speaking in English and there is a word that I don't know ... that I've learnt as a Turkish word... I use the Turkish word ... if I don't know it in Turkish, if I've learnt it as an English word, then I use the English word ... It depends on the situation. Sometimes I know both the

Turkish *and* the English word ... If I'm speaking English, I use the English one .

Subject C : Even when I'm talking in Turkish, if I know the English word, I may use the English word .

Subject D : It depends on my concentration ... If I'm concentrated on English , if for some reason, I have to switch to Turkish, it gets mixed. This is how my code-switching happens.

Subject E : . When I can't find the word (or phrase) I'm looking for .

Subject F : I use all of them (types of code-switching) especially the one-word switch, I just say it in Turkish or English and continue with the language I had started with.

Throughout the observations, the subjects' one-word code-switchings were analyzed, in order to see whether they matched with the reasons for code-switching they had previously stated during the interviews.

The data in the observations revealed that there *were* matchings, as well as the presence of other reasons than the ones they had stated in Table 4.6. Other reasons that caused their code-switchings were, for example, *some notions being better expressed in one language than another*, and *lack of terminology* (as Grosjean states in 2.2.2.2). The speeches below show

how these factors have affected the subjects' code-switching throughout the observations:

Answering what he feels about Turkish traditions about marriage, Subject E related the following:

Ex. 1. E: Obs: What do you think about the Turkish traditions of marriage?

E : .. Umm ... *söz kesimi*, well söz kesimi nişan it is the same thing, isn't it?

"*Söz kesimi*" is the first step before engagement in the Turkish traditions of marriage. Obviously, there would not be an equivalent word in English. Therefore the subject feels the need to switch to Turkish to use this word, then switches back to the language he started with (Reason:Lack of Terminology).

Ex. 2. D: Explaining why she prefers not to speak English in public, Subject D explains:

Anlamadıkları için değil, *show off* yapıyormuşum gibi düşünecekler. (Not because they don't understand but because they're going to think I'm showing off.)

"*To show off*" is used instead of "hava atmak" (to show off in Turkish) because the subject feels the notion in English expresses her ideas

better and also because she had learnt the notion in English first (Reason: Notion Better Expressed).

Ex. 3. A: Talking about *pollution*:

Pollution ... it's everywhere ... well because of this weather ...
we all have to go to another place, like *yayla*.

"Yayla" is a cool place where many people go on holiday in summer in Turkey. The geographical term for yayla is "plateau" which would not refer to "holiday" whereas the Turkish word "yayla" refers to both "holiday" and "plateau". Similar to the previous example, the notion is better expressed in Turkish (Reason: Lack of Terminology).

Explaining how she feels about traditional weddings, she related the following:

Ex. 4. B: All your relatives from the village, sitting around with their *şalvar* and they clap ... How stupid!

"Şalvar" is a kind of baggy trousers referring to the Turkish traditional clothes. It would not be appropriate to refer to "baggy trousers" in English as they are not equivalent in meaning. "Baggy trousers" may refer to any kind of loose fitted trousers whereas *şalvar* is a proper name

which refers to the trousers only in the Turkish traditions (Reason: Lack of Terminology).

The examples supplied above indicate that one-word switching is not basically *not knowing* or *remembering* a word, as the subjects had stated previously in the interviews, but that some notions, as Grosjean (1986) explains, are better expressed in one language or one language lacks terminology compared to another language (does not have an appropriate translation in the other). Therefore, the bilingual feels the need to switch to the other language for the word which better expresses the notion. As a result, the subjects' code-switching throughout the observations were due to lack of terminology and some words being better expressed in one language and not another.

4.1.3. The Effect of Content of Discourse on Language Choice

Does the content affect the bilingual's language choice? Previously in 2.2.1.1., Grosjean has been cited to have explained the factors influencing language choice. The investigation of *the participant* and *the content of discourse factors* were of importance in this study. For the investigation of the content of discourse factor (topic and/or type of vocabulary), various topics were introduced to the subjects. These topics were those of which the subjects were expected to be personally involved in. The aim was to predict whether the topic being discussed, for example *marriage*, had any effect on the subjects' language choice. Perhaps the subjects were not interested in marriage while living in Australia and did

not participate in any discussion about marriage in those years. Considering that they are now in their twenties and live in Turkey, the topic may have become more stimulating for them to talk about and so they have been introduced to the topic in *Turkish*. Therefore, they are more likely to prefer to speak about marriage in *Turkish*.

For the prediction of the effect of the topic on the subjects' language choice, twelve topics were initiated: *marriage, funerals, pollution, generation gap, fashion, women's rights, TV, language learning, school, books, politics, and food & drinks*. For each topic, questions in both English and Turkish were asked. The number rose when the subjects were interested in a particular topic and fell when they were not. When the subjects were not interested in a particular topic, a second question was not asked (in this case, only one question (in English or Turkish) was asked). The subjects' answers to the questions throughout the sessions were analyzed under four categories: *English* answers to *English* questions, *Turkish* answers to *English* questions, *Turkish* answers to *Turkish* questions and *English* answers to *Turkish* questions.

It is suggested that the majority of *English* answers for both English and Turkish questions answers would reveal the tendency to speak English for *Topic X* (especially if the question is asked in Turkish yet answered in English). Similarly, the majority of *Turkish* answers for both Turkish and English questions would reveal the tendency to speak Turkish for *Topic Y* (especially if the question is asked in English yet answered in Turkish). In other words, in order to be able to state that the *topic* determines language

choice, the subject must frequently use L1 , even when a question is asked in L2 (for the investigation of the topic effect, it is the topic that should count, not the language in which the question is asked). On the other hand, if the subject only answers in English to English questions and in Turkish to Turkish questions (perhaps with seldom switches), then it is suggested that the *language* in which the question is asked is more likely to determine the subjects' language choice.

As mentioned previously, the number of questions varied from one topic to another, especially due to the subjects' interest in the topic or eager to speak. The distribution of the total number of questions asked about the topics throughout the six sessions were as follows:

Table 4.5. Distribution of The Number of Questions

TOPIC	TOTAL NO. OF QUESTIONS (E AND T)	QUESTIONS E	RATIO %	QUESTIONS T	RATIO %
MARRIAGE	55	25	45.5	30	54.5
FUNERALS	13	5	38.5	8	61.5
POLLUTION	9	5	56	4	44
GENERATION GAP	29	12	41.3	17	58.7
FASHION	25	13	52	12	48
WOMEN'S RIGHTS	12	3	25	9	75
TV	43	20	46.5	23	53.5
LANGUAGE LEARNING	19	12	63.2	7	36.8
SCHOOL	32	15	46.9	17	53.1
BOOKS	28	9	32.1	19	67.9
POLITICS	7	7	100	0	0
FOOD & DRINKS	21	19	90.5	2	9.5
TOTAL	293	145	49.5	148	50.5

E : English

T : Turkish

A total number of 293 questions (English and Turkish) were asked to the six subjects about various topics. One-hundred and forty-five questions were in *English* (49.50%) while 148 were in *Turkish* (50.50%). The topics that were commented on mostly (regardless of which language was spoken) were: *Marriage* (55 questions), *TV* (43 questions) and *Generation Gap* (29 questions). These topics were appealing to the subjects because the subjects were dealing with them in their everyday experiences. On the other hand, the topics that were commented on least were *Pollution* (9 questions) and *Politics* (8 questions). No further questions were asked to the subjects if they were not interested in the topic (The first question may have been in English, therefore, no Turkish questions were asked, or vice versa). Other topics were commented on as follows: *Books* (28 questions), *Fashion* (25 questions), *Food&Drinks* (21 questions), *Language Learning* (19 questions), *Funerals* (13 questions) and *Women's Rights* (12 questions).

As mentioned previously, at first, the number of English and Turkish questions for each topic was aimed to be kept constant. Due to the subjects' interests or language choices, this was not possible. For some topics, the number of English questions was slightly, if not significantly, higher than Turkish questions: *Politics* (7 questions: 100%), *Food&Drinks* (19 questions: 90.5%), *Language Learning* (12 questions: 63.2%), *Fashion* (13 questions: 52%) and *Pollution* (5 questions: 56%). For the remaining topics, the number of Turkish questions was higher than English questions: *Women's Rights* (9 questions: 75%), *Books* (19 questions: 67%),

Funerals (8 questions: 61.5%), *Generation Gap* (17 questions: 58.7%) *Marriage* (30 questions: 54.5%), *TV* (23 questions: 53.5%) and *School* (17 questions: 53.1%). Nevertheless, the number of English and Turkish questions in total were in balance: questions in English (49.50%) and questions in Turkish (50.50%).

The subjects responded to the questions in various ways: (1) *English* answers to *English* questions, (2) *Turkish* answers to *English* questions, (3) *Turkish* answers to *Turkish* questions and/or (4) *English* answers to *Turkish* questions. While commenting on a topic, if the subjects responded mostly in *English* for both English and Turkish questions, then it is likely that the preferred language for that particular topic is *English* (particularly if the question is in Turkish yet the answer in English). On the other hand, if the subjects responded mostly in English for English questions but not for Turkish questions, it is likely that the subjects prefer to answer only (or mostly) in the language the questions are asked in (in this case, *English*). The results of the subjects' *language choice* observation were as follows:

Table : 4.6 The Effect of The Topic and Participant's Language on the Bilinguals' Language Choice

TOPIC	QUESTIONS		ANSWERS		RATIO %		QUESTIONS T	ANSWERS		RATIO %	
	E	T	E	T	E/E	E/T		T	E	T/T	T/E
MARRIAGE	25	5	20	5	80.00	20.00	30	16	14	53.33	46.67
FUNERALS	5	5	4	1	80.00	20.00	8	3	5	37.50	62.50
POLLUTION	5	5	4	1	80.00	20.00	4	3	1	75.00	25.00
GENERATION GAP	12	13	12	0	100.00	0.00	17	13	4	76.47	23.53
FASHION	13	3	12	1	92.31	7.69	12	9	3	75.00	25.00
WOMEN'S RIGHTS	3	20	2	1	66.67	33.33	9	7	2	77.78	22.22
TV	20	12	16	4	80.00	20.00	23	21	2	91.30	8.70
LANGUAGE LEARNING	12	15	11	1	91.67	8.33	7	3	4	42.86	57.14
SCHOOL	15	9	14	1	93.33	6.67	17	10	7	58.82	41.18
BOOKS	9	7	8	1	88.89	11.11	19	12	7	63.16	36.84
POLITICS	7	19	5	2	71.43	28.57	0	0	0	0.00	0.00
FOOD & DRINKS	19	145	16	3	84.21	15.79	2	2	0	100.00	0.00
TOTAL			124	21	85.52	14.48	148	99	49	66.89	33.11

E : English

T : Turkish

E/E : English Questions/English Answers

E/T : English Questions/Turkish Answers

T/T : Turkish Questions/Turkish Answers

T/E : Turkish Questions/English Answers

As can be seen in Table 4.6., twelve topics were discussed with the six subjects in six sessions, in the following order: *marriage, funerals, pollution, generation gap, fashion, women's rights, TV, language learning, school, books, politics, and food&drinks*. The total number of questions asked throughout the six sessions was 293. One-hundred and forty-five questions were in *English*: Marriage (25), TV (20), Food&Drinks (19), School (15), Fashion (13), Generation Gap (12), Language Learning (12), Books (9), Politics (7), Funerals (5), Pollution (5) and Women's Rights (3). One-hundred and forty-eight questions were in *Turkish*: Marriage (30), TV (23), Books (19), School (17), Generation Gap (17), Fashion (16), Women's Rights (9), Funerals (8), Language Learning (7), Pollution (4) Food&Drinks (1) and Politics (7). Each topic was analyzed under two categories: (1) the subjects' answers to *English* questions and (2) the subjects' answers to *Turkish* questions (the distribution of all English and Turkish questions has been listed above). For both categories, the number of English and Turkish answers were counted and the ratio between English and Turkish answers were analyzed. The aim was to predict the relationship between the *topic* and the *subjects' language choice*, and also the *effect of language of the questions on the subjects' language choice*. For instance, if there were more "E/E" (English questions, **English** answers) and "T/E" (Turkish questions, **English** answers) than "T/T" (Turkish questions, Turkish answers) and "E/T" (English questions, Turkish answers) for **TOPIC X**, then it would be possible to infer that **English** is the preferred language for that topic and that the topic *does* affect the subjects' language choice.

On the other hand, if there are more "E/E" and "T/T" than "E/T" and/or "T/E" for a topic, then it would be possible to infer that the preferred language is due to *the language of the questions* rather than the *topic* itself (considering the question and answer being in the same language) and that it is the *participant's (observer's) language choice* that affects the *subjects' language choice*.

In the present study, it was discovered that among the twelve topics that were expected to affect the subjects' language choice, only two topics (*Funerals* and *Language Learning*) seemed to have effected the subjects' language choice while all others did not show any proof to support their effect on the subjects' language choice:

The first topic presented to the subjects was **MARRIAGE**, which turned out to be the topic commented on mostly. A total number of 55 questions were asked, of which 25 were in English and 30 were in Turkish. The 25 English questions were answered by 20 English answers (80.00 %) which is significantly higher than 5 Turkish answers (20.00 %). At first, it was assumed that the subjects' language choice for this topic was *English*, but the analysis of the Turkish questions revealed that the subjects were also likely to answer in *Turkish*: 30 Turkish questions answered by 16 Turkish (53.33 %) and 14 English answers (46.67 %). E/E is significantly higher than E/T, and T/T is slightly higher than T/E, which shows that the subjects are more likely to answer in the language in which the questions are asked. No evidence of the effect of the topic *Marriage* itself has been found.

The second topic presented to the subjects was **FUNERALS**. A total number of 13 questions were asked, of which 5 were in English and 8 in Turkish. The 5 English questions were answered by 4 English answers (80.00 %) which is significantly high when compared to only one Turkish answer (20.00 %). On the other hand, the 8 Turkish questions were answered by 3 Turkish answers (37.50 %) and 5 English answers (62.50%). In both cases, the ratio of English answers are higher than the Turkish answers. As a result, it can be inferred that for the topic *Funerals*, **English** was the preferred language, although it is not very significant.

The third topic presented to the subjects was **POLLUTION**, which was one of the least favoured to comment on. A total number of only 9 questions was asked, of which 5 were in English and 4 in Turkish. The 5 English questions were responded by 4 English answers (80.00 %) which is significantly higher when compared to only 1 Turkish answer (20.00 %). On the other hand, the 4 Turkish questions were responded by 3 Turkish answers (75.00 %) and only 1 English answer (25.00 %). Similar to the outcome in the topic *Marriage*, the answers for the topic *Pollution* were mostly E/E and T/T, which reveals that the language in which questions were asked has affected the subjects' language choice, rather than the topic *Pollution* itself.

The fourth topic presented to the subjects was **GENERATION GAP** which was one of the topics commented on mostly. A total number of 29 questions was asked, of which 12 were in English and 17 in Turkish. The 12 English questions were answered in English only (100 %). On the

other hand, the 17 Turkish questions were answered by 13 Turkish questions (76.47 %) which is significantly higher when to 4 English answers (23.53 %). Similar to the Topics 1 and 3, the answers were mostly E/E and T/T. Therefore, it can be concluded that language choice was affected by the language in which the questions were asked, rather the topic *Generation Gap* itself.

The fifth topic presented to the subjects was **FASHION**. A total number of 25 questions was asked, of which 13 were in English and 12 in Turkish. The 13 English questions were responded by 12 English answers (92.31 %) which is significantly higher when compared to only 1 Turkish answer (7.69 %). On the other hand, the 12 Turkish questions were responded by 9 Turkish answers (75.00 %) which is significantly high when compared to 3 English answers (23.53 %). Similar to Topics 1, 3 and 4, the answers to the topic *Fashion* were mostly E/E and T/T which shows how the language of the questions affects the answers.

The sixth topic presented to the subjects was **WOMEN'S RIGHTS**. A total number of 12 questions was asked of which, 3 were in English and 9 in Turkish. The 3 English questions were responded by 2 English answers (66.67 %) and only 1 Turkish answer (33.33 %). On the other hand, the 9 Turkish questions were responded by 7 Turkish answers (77.78 %) which is significantly higher than 2 English answers (22.22 %). Considering E/E and T/T being higher than other answers, the outcome of *Women's Rights* is similar to Topics 1, 3, 4 and 5, in that language choice was affected by the language of the questions.

The seventh topic presented was **TV** which was also favoured by the subjects. A total of 43 questions was asked, of which 20 were in English and 23 in Turkish. The 20 English questions were answered by 11 English answers (91.67 %) which is significantly higher than only 1 Turkish answer (8.33 %). On the other hand, the 23 questions were answered by 21 Turkish answers (91.30 %) which is significantly high compared to only 2 English answers (8.70 %). The number of both **E/E** and **T/T** is considerably high which clearly shows how the language of the questions affected the subjects' language choice.

The eighth topic presented to the subjects was **LANGUAGE LEARNING**. A total of 19 questions were asked, of which 12 were in English and 7 in Turkish. The 12 English questions were answered by 11 English answers (91.67 %) which is significantly higher compared to only 1 Turkish answer (8.33 %). On the other hand, the 7 Turkish questions were answered by 3 Turkish answers (42.86 %) which is a bit lower than 4 English answers (57.14%). Unlike other topics, the topic *Language Learning* showed similarity to only the topic *Funerals* in that **E/E** and **T/E** answers were higher than other answers. In this case, it can be inferred that for this particular topic, the preferred language is *English*.

The ninth topic presented to the subjects was **SCHOOL**. A total number of 32 questions were asked, of which 15 were in English and 17 in Turkish. The 15 English questions were responded by 14 English answers (93.33 %) which is significantly higher than only 1 Turkish answer (6.67 %). On the other hand, the 17 Turkish questions were answered by 10

Turkish answers (58.82 %) which is higher than 7 English answers (41.18 %). For this topic, E/E and T/T are higher, similar to Topics 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Therefore, it can be inferred that the subjects' language is not affected by the topic *School* itself but by the language in which the questions were asked.

The tenth topic presented to the subjects was **BOOKS**. A total number of 28 questions were asked, of which 9 were in English and 19 in Turkish. The 9 English questions were answered by 8 English answers (88.89 %) which is significantly higher than only 1 Turkish answer (11.11 %). On the other hand, the 19 Turkish questions were answered by 12 Turkish answers (63.16 %) which is higher than 7 English answers (36.84 %). Similar to the topics listed previously the topic *Books* was answered mostly by E/E and T/T which reveals, once again, the effect of the participant's (observer's) language.

The eleventh topic presented was **POLITICS**, all subjects were not interested in. Only 7 questions were asked, of which all were in English-5 English answers (71.43 %) and 2 Turkish answers (28.57 %). It is not possible to predict the effect of a topic with answers nothing more than "I'm not interested." Nevertheless, the number of E/E being higher than E/T shows there may be a relation between the observer's language and the subjects' language choice, although it is not possible to compare them with answers to Turkish questions when there are no Turkish questions.

The last topic presented to the subjects was **FOOD&DRINKS**. A total of 21 questions were asked, of which 19 were in English and 2 in Turkish. The 19 English questions were responded by 16 English answers (84.21 %) which is significantly higher than 3 Turkish answers (15.79 %). On the other hand, the 2 Turkish questions were answered in Turkish only. Similar to all other topics, except 2 and 8, the number of E/E and T/T are higher, which reveals once more, the effect of the participant's language.

As a result, the findings in the present study revealed that there is no *significant* effect of the topic on the bilinguals' language choice. However, it can be concluded that due to the dominance of E/E and T/T in almost all topics, the effect of the *language* in which questions were asked, are more likely to determine the bilinguals' *language choice* rather than the topics themselves (see 4.1.5).

4.1.4. The Effect of the Participant's Language on the Subjects' Language Choice

Does the language in which a question is asked affect the bilinguals' language choice? While seeking evidence on the effect of topics on the six bilinguals' language choice, the findings revealed that the topics did not have any significant effect on their language choice. Another factor- *the language* in which the question is asked- was also investigated.

The effect of the *participant's (observer's) language* on the bilinguals' language choice was analyzed through observing the subjects' speeches individually. The number of questions asked to each subject was counted, their answers to English and Turkish questions were noted and the ratios between their answers (E/E and E/T, T/T and T/E) were calculated. As mentioned in 4.1.3., dominance in E/E and T/T indicate the effect of the participant's language.

Table 4.7 The Subjects' Language Choice

SUBJECTS	QUESTIONS		ANSWERS		RATIO %		QUESTIONS		ANSWERS		RATIO %	
	E	T	E	T	E/E	E/T	T	T	T	E	T/T	T/E
SUBJECT A	21		20	1	95.24	4.76	24	10	14		41.67	58.33
SUBJECT B	43		41	2	95.35	4.65	23	10	13		43.48	56.52
SUBJECT C	23		15	8	65.22	34.78	33	31	2		93.94	6.06
SUBJECT D	15		9	6	60.00	40.00	30	30	0		100.00	0.00
SUBJECT E	22		22	0	100.00	0.00	23	9	14		39.13	60.87
SUBJECT F	21		17	4	80.95	19.05	15	9	6		60.00	40.00
TOTAL	145		124	21	85.52	14.48	148	99	49		66.89	33.11

E : English
T : Turkish
E/E : English Questions/English Answers
E/T : English Questions/Turkish Answers
T/T : Turkish Questions/Turkish Answers
T/E : Turkish Questions/English Answers

Table 4.7. presents the total number of questions asked to each subject and how these questions were answered. *Subject B* was asked the highest number of questions at 66, followed by *Subject C* at 56, and *Subjects A, D* and *E*, all at 45. The lowest number of questions, at 36, was asked to *Subject F* (the number of questions varied according to the subjects' interest in the topics or eager to speak).

Questions asked in **English** were answered in **English** more frequently than in **Turkish** by *all* six subjects: *Subject E*: 100.00%, *Subject B*: 95.35%, *Subject A*: 95.24%, *Subject F*: 80.95%, *Subject E*: 65.22% and *Subject* 60.00%. Answers in **Turkish** were rather low in frequency: *Subject E*: 00.00%, *Subject B*: 4.65%, *Subject A*: 4.76%, *Subject F*: 19.5%, *Subject C*: 34.78% and *Subject D*: 40.00%.

On the other hand, answers to questions asked in **Turkish** varied. *Subjects C, D* and *F* answered in **Turkish** more frequently than in **English**: *Subject D*: 100.00%, *Subject C*: 93.94% and *Subject F* 60.00%, while the other three subjects preferred to switch to **English**: *Subject A*: 58.33%, *Subject B*: 56.52% and *Subject E*: 60.87%.

Despite small language differences individually, on the whole, among the total 145 questions asked in **English**, 124 answers were in **English** (85.52%), which is significantly higher than 21 answers in **Turkish** (14.4). Among the total 148 questions in **Turkish**, 99 answers were in **Turkish** (66.89%), which is considerably higher than 49 answers in **English** (33.11%). As a result, it can be inferred that the subjects tend to

answer more in English when asked questions in English, and more in Turkish when asked questions in Turkish.

The data revealed that although the subjects were talking about *one* specific topic, the language which they used differed. The following examples from the observations demonstrate how the subjects' answers change according to the language in which questions are asked and support that there *is* a direct relationship between the language in which the questions are asked and answers given (note that examples given below show that language changes have occurred when talking about *same* topic):

- Ex. 5. E:** Int: Think of *school in Australia* ... How was it? (English)
 E : Umm ... It was fun ... I danno ... I had good friends ... I miss them. We used to go and play football outside ... (English)
 Int: Peki, *çocukluğun* nasıldı? Şöyle genel olarak anlat ... (How was your childhood ...in general?). (Turkish)
 E : Mutluydu...çok mutluydu...(Happy...very happy ...). (Turkish)

As can be observed in **Ex.5.**, the interviewer asks a question about *school* in Australia in English. In return, the answer is in English, although at first it was thought that an experience in Australia would lead the subject to speak English. The next question was about another experience

in Australia, asked in Turkish this time and in return, the answer was in Turkish. From the example, it can be inferred that the *language* is more effective than the topic itself. Similar to Ex.5., the following examples show how the subjects changed languages in favour of the language in which the questions were asked:

Ex. 6. D: When Subject D was asked a question on fashion in Turkish, she responded in Turkish. Another question was elicited in English and was responded in English:

Int: *Moda hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? (What do you think about fashion?). (Turkish)*

D : *Moda...takip etmeyi unuttum artık...Moda diye birşey kalmadı. (Fashion ...I've forgotten about it now ...There's nothing such as fashion anymore). (Turkish)*

Int: *O zaman takip etmiyorsun? (Then you don't follow fashion anymore?) (Turkish)*

D : *Takip etmiyorum, ama önemli olan güzel ve rahat olması. (I don't, but what's important is it (clothes) being pretty and comfortable). (Turkish)*

Int: *What about *fashion in Australia*? (English)*

D : *Umm ... I remember wearing leggings ... (English)*

Int: *Yeah, we have no leggings here. (English)*

D : *That's what I miss ... and big jumpers ... (English)*

Ex. 7. D: Answering what she thinks about *Marriage*, she explains:

Int: What's your idea about *marriage*? (English)

D : Good question! I've been thinking about that lately ...
(English)

Int: Peki "görücü usulü" hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? (OK then, what do you think about "görücü usulü")?
(Turkish)

D : Hiç düşünemiyorum! (I can't think of it!). (Turkish)

"Görücü usulü" is a way of getting married in the Turkish traditions where the bride and groom are introduced to each other through family relations. In 4.1.4., it was inferred that a topic such as *Marriage* would perhaps be favoured in Turkish due to being introduced to the topic in Turkish. Ex. 7. shows that it is not necessarily the language in which the topic is first introduced to the bilingual, but the language in which questions are asked (English or Turkish) that significantly affects language choice.

Ex. 8. C: Int: What kind of *TV programmes* do you like watching?
(English)

C : Sports, news ... that's it! Isn't it enough?! (English)

Int: Orada Avustralya'dayken, ne kadar *televizyon* seyrederdin ...çocukken? (When you were living in Australia, as a kid, how much TV did you used to watch?). (Turkish)

C : Televizyon ... sabahları, bir de akşamları geç vakitlerde seyredirdim. (TV...I used to watch it in the mornings and also late at night). (Turkish)

When a topic is about an experience in Turkey, naturally it is expected that the answer would be in Turkish (due to handling a topic in the language in which the topic was first introduced). Although Subject C was asked about the kinds of *TV* programmes he liked watching in Turkey, he responded in English since the question was in English. Similarly, when a question about *TV* in Australia was asked in Turkish, the subject answered in Turkish.

Ex. 9. C: Int: *Modayı* takip ediyor musun? (Do you follow fashion?). (Turkish)

C : Ediyorum. (I do). (Turkish)

Int: (jokingly) Bu senenin modası ne? (What's in fashion this year?). (Turkish)

C : (jokingly) Bu senenin modası kısa saçlar, mavi renkli giysiler! (Short hair and blue clothes are in fashion this year). (Turkish)

Int: What do you think about *fashion in Australia*? (English)

C : I'm not living in Australia! (English)

As can be seen in the example above, the languages in which *Fashion* was introduced determined the answers in which Subject C replied. The effect of the language in which the question is asked can be clearly seen in the following example also. The subject first repeats the question in the same language it was asked in (seeking for clarification), then switches to the other language to continue:

Ex. 10. B: Int: What's your idea about *generation gap*? (English)
 B : Yes, there is a big generation gap between me and my parents. (English)
 Int: *Ev hayatındaki en önemli problem ne?* (What's the most important problem in your house?). (Turkish)
 B : *Ev hayatında?* (In my house?) ... What? I don't know (Turkish/English)

Ex. 11. B: Int: Yakında evlenmeyi düşünüyor musun? (Are you thinking of marrying soon?). (Turkish)
 B : Yakında! Yarın düşünüyorum...Sabah dokuzda başlarım! (Very soon! I'll think about it tomorrow ... I'll start at nine o'clock!). (Turkish)
 Int: What's your idea about marriage? (English)
 B : Yes... OK. I'm against ... I'm against .. "görücü usulü". I think that the boy and the girl should get to know each other before they get married. (English)

The topic “*görücü usulü*”, which is a part of the Turkish traditions, was expected to lead the bilingual to speak in Turkish. Ex.11. shows that the language in which the questions were asked was more effective than the culture which the topic belonged to.

Ex. 12. F: Int: What’s your idea about *generation gap*? (English)

F : Generation gap ... problem between parents and children (English)

Int: Senin *ev hayatındaki en önemli problem* ne? (What’s the most important problem in your house?).(Turkish)

F : Ev hayatında ... Annem babam bize çok karışırlar. (In my house ... My mum and dad interfere a lot.).
(Turkish)

In Ex. 12., Subject F responded to *Generation Gap* according to whether the question was in English or Turkish. As can be seen in *all* examples above, the language in which a topic was introduced *directly* had an effect on the subjects’ answers. The most striking example was Ex.8, where Subject C was asked to talk about TV in Australia. Considering the topic being about his experience in Australia, his answer was expected to be in English. On the contrary, he answered in Turkish due to the question being asked in Turkish. Not only for Subject C, but the findings for all subjects, as shown in the examples above, revealed the effect of the participant’s *language*.

It can be concluded that according to the findings in the present study, it is the *participant's language* in which a topic is presented that affects language choice, not the *topic* or *participants* themselves. For the subjects in the present study, the language in which a topic was presented was highly effective on language choice.

4.1.5. The Effect of the Length of Stay in Turkey on Language Choice

Does the length of stay in Turkey affect the subjects' language choice? In other words, do the subjects tend to speak the language of the society (Turkish) more often than English? In order to be able to answer these questions, the subjects' speeches were analyzed under two groups: (1) the speeches (answers) of the subjects who have stayed in Turkey for a long period (Subjects C, D and E) and (2) the speeches (answers) of the subjects who have stayed in Turkey for a short period (Subjects A, B and F). For both groups, the total number of English and Turkish answers were analyzed in order to find out which group tended to speak more Turkish.

Table 4.8 Relation Between Length of Stay in Turkey and Language Choice

SUBJECTS	Length of Stay in Turkey (years) (years)	Total Number of Questions	ANSWERS E (E/E) (T-E)	RATIO %	ANSWERS T (T/T) (E-T)	RATIO %
A	8	45	34	75.56	11	24.44
B	8	66	54	81.82	12	18.18
C	11	56	17	30.36	39	69.64
D	10	45	9	20.00	36	80.00
E	13	45	36	80.00	9	20.00
F	8	36	26	72.22	10	27.78
TOTAL		293	176		117	

E : English

T : Turkish

E/E : English Questions/English Answers

E/T : English Questions/Turkish Answers

T/T : Turkish Questions/Turkish Answers

T/E : Turkish Questions/English Answers

As can be observed in Table 4.8., the subjects' answers to the questions (English and Turkish) during the observations were compared with how long they have stayed in Turkey. *Subject E*, who has stayed for the longest time in Turkey (13 years), tended to speak **English** (80.00%) more than Turkish (20.00%). On the contrary, *Subject C* who has stayed in Turkey nearly as much as Subject E (11 years), tended to speak **Turkish** (69.64%) more than English (30.36%). *Subject D* has also stayed in Turkey for a long time (10 years) and similar to Subject E, he tended to speak **Turkish** (80.00%) more than English. As a result, Subjects C and D tended to speak Turkish more than Subject E who preferred to speak English.

On the other hand, *Subjects A, B and F* have all stayed for 8 years in Turkey which is a shorter period when compared to the first group. *Subject A* tended to speak **English** (75.56%) more than Turkish (24.44%). Similarly, *Subjects B and F* tended to speak **English** (81.82% and 72.22%) more than Turkish (18.18% and 27.78%). As a result, all three subjects, *Subjects A, B and F*, tended to speak **English** more than Turkish.

When the two groups are compared, it can be noticed that the subjects who preferred to speak Turkish were found only in the first group (the longer stay) whereas none were found in the second (the shorter stay). Consequently, it is possible to state that there *is* a relationship between the length of stay in Turkey and the subjects' language choice.

In the following section, the results of the study will be discussed and limitations and suggestions for further research will be stated.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1. Conclusion

In this study, the language choice of Turkish-English bilinguals was investigated. The six subjects were selected from the English Language Teaching Department at Çukurova University in Adana. The speeches of the bilinguals were recorded in order to find out whether the topic (content of discourse) and/ or participants involved had any effect on the choice of language and code-switching behaviour.

The subjects were born in Australia and learnt two languages simultaneously in Australia. They returned to Turkey as adolescents fluent in both English and Turkish.

Data analysis was carried out on the basis of the following questions:

1. When interacting with other bilinguals, is the Childhood Bilingual's language choice affected by the type of bilingualism which other bilinguals belong to?

2. In what contextual situations do Childhood Bilinguals tend to code-switch more frequently?
3. Does the content affect the bilinguals' language choice?
4. Does the language being spoken at the time of interaction determine the Childhood Bilinguals' language choice?
5. Does the length of stay in Turkey after arrival from Australia affect the Childhood Bilinguals' language choice?

Hypothesis I claims that language choice depends on whom the bilinguals were interacting with. The subjects were believed to be using English more with other childhood bilinguals, whereas with other bilinguals, they tended to use Turkish. Indeed, the childhood bilinguals in the study preferred to speak English mostly with other childhood bilinguals. Such reasons were feeling more comfortable with other childhood bilinguals or believing that they would understand better. In addition, the subjects believed themselves to be code-switching more commonly when speaking to other bilinguals than when speaking to adolescent or adult bilinguals. Data collected from the interview revealed that all subjects, except one, had positive ideas about code-switching. All subjects thought it would be more natural to code-switch with childhood bilinguals than with others. They believed code-switching was more “natural” among themselves.

Hypothesis II claims that the bilinguals tended to code-switch from L1 to L2 (or from L2 to L1) if a word was not known or remembered in English. The data from the interview was supported by speeches recorded during the observations. Throughout the interview, all subjects had positive attitudes toward code-switching. The subjects stated that type of code-switching most commonly used, was the “one-word switch” in which they inserted a word from one language to another. They explained that when they couldn’t find a word in one language, basically they switched to the other. Data from the observations revealed that not only the mentioned reasons, but also reasons such as *lack of facility* in one language when talking about a particular topic, *not being able to find an appropriate word or expression*, or, *some notions being better expressed* in one language than another were present.

Hypothesis III claims that language choice depends on the choice of topic. The bilinguals were expected to handle some topics better in one language than another, either because they had learnt to deal with a topic in a particular language, or the other language lacked specialized terms for a topic. The data collected from the observation did not reveal any *significant* effect of the topic on the choice of language.

Hypothesis IV claims that the language in which a topic is presented or question asked, determines the language in which the subjects will respond. The subjects’ answers to English and Turkish questions were analyzed and the findings revealed that the subjects were likely to answer in the language which the questions were asked. Moreover, many speech

samples were supplied to support the claim that the language in which the topic was presented affected the language choice of the bilinguals.

Hypothesis V claims that the length of stay in Turkey after arrival from Turkey affects the Childhood Bilingual's language choice. Two groups were formed: subjects who have stayed for a long period, and others who have stayed for a shorter period. The speeches were analyzed and it was observed that, in general, the subjects who have stayed longer in Turkey were more likely to speak Turkish.

Finally, it can be concluded that Hypotheses I, II, IV and V were proven to be true. No evidence supporting Hypothesis III were found.

5.2. Implications to ELT and Suggestions For Further Research

According to Michael Byram (1989:2), foreign language teaching is an emancipation from the confines of one's habitat culture which is an experience whose complexity is far from exhausted by reference to "grammar, semantics, visits to foreign countries, reading foreign literature, studying foreign political systems, social issues and historical events." It is all these intellectual endeavours and much more. Byram believes that insufficient attention is paid by teachers and researchers to all of this.

Byram furthermore points out that foreign language teaching conveys information, attitudes, images and perhaps even prejudice about the people and countries where the particular language is spoken. According to him, every foreign language involves some spoken or written text and some visual image which refer to a particular foreign way of life. In his term, “cultural studies” refer to any information, knowledge or attitudes about the foreign culture which is evident during foreign language teaching.

Although the present study is not directly a cultural study based on cultural models, it is, however, closely related to them in nature, in that it focuses on cultural backgrounds (Turkish and Australian) of ELT students. It is important to note that culturally related studies, such as the present one, have a rightful place as a part of language teaching *and* learning. It plays a role in *language* teaching in the sense that words in the foreign language refer to meanings in a particular culture creating a semantic relationship which the learner needs to comprehend. This type of language learning broadens the horizons. The teacher pays particular attention not only to the linguistic, but also to the cultural background of her students. Thus, it can be stated that *culture* is an integral part of language teaching. From this point of view, that cultural studies is an integral part of foreign language teaching, it is always necessary to consider the relationship between language and culture, since they are interlinked in such a way.

One of the purposes of this study was to provide an account of how one’s cultural background may affect the bilingual’s speech. The outcome

of the present study has shown that the need for the one-word switch is mainly because of lack of terminology in one language, thus, there is a need to switch to the other language. Another outcome of the study shows how the presence of *other participants* also determine the bilingual's language choice. Bearing these in mind, it is likely that, in the classroom, the *foreign language teacher* has an important role on her students' language choice. Not only are they greatly influenced by the culture of their native language, but also have a tendency to speak the language in which their teacher is speaking.

It is clear that this study has a number of shortcomings:

First of all, the number of subjects who participated in the study was very small. In order to obtain more generalizable results, the number of subjects may be increased.

Secondly, two research questions had to be investigated through *interview* only: the frequency of code-switching, and the effect of other bilinguals on the subjects' language choice. Similar to the investigation of the other three research questions, they could be observed in their natural settings.

Lastly, it was very difficult to differentiate the effect of topic on language choice, with the effect of the participant's language choice. Perhaps pictures on topics could be shown rather than the observer introducing questions. In doing so, the interference of the participant's language could be prevented when investigating the effect of *topic*.

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APPENDIX I.

Questionnaire

1. Age

Over 20

Age of 20

Age of 19

Age of 18

Under 18

2. Sex

M

F

3. How long have you lived in Australia?

Less than 5-7 years

8-10 years

10-12 years

13-15 years

16-17 years

18-20 years

4. What type of primary and/or high school did you attend in Australia? For how long?

5. What type of primary and/or high school did you attend in Turkey? For how long?

6. How long have you been living in Turkey?

Less than a year

1 year

2 years

3 years

4 years

5 years

6 years

7 years

Over 7 years

7. Is this your first experience in Turkey?

Yes

No

8. If not, how many times have you visited Turkey?

Once

Twice

Three times

Over three times

Never

9. In What part of Turkey have your parents lived before emigrating to Australia?

Village

Town

City

Metropolitan

10. Where does your family live now?

Village

Town

City

Metropolitan

11. How many children are there in your family?

Only 1 child

2 children

3 children

4 children

5 children

Over 5 children

12. Are they bilingual? (Yes/No)

13. Do you live with your family?

Yes

No

14. Reason for permanent return

Unemployment

No adaptation to the foreign country

Better opportunities in Turkey

Educational reasons

Health problems

Own desire to live in Turkey

15. Are you content with living in Turkey? State your reasons.

APPENDIX II.

Interview

1. Do you consider yourself to be a bilingual who is equally fluent in two languages? If not, which language is dominant?
2. Are your parents bilingual? If so, to what degree?
Childhood Bilingual ()
Adolescent Bilingual ()
Adulthood Bilingual ()
3. Which language(s) did you use at home before schooling?
4. Which language(s) did you prefer at home/at school/in public while living in the Australian society?
5. Which language(s) do you prefer to use at home/at school/in public now?
6. Do you often code-switch?
7. With whom do you code-switch more often?
Other Childhood Bilinguals ()
Adolescent Bilinguals ()
Adult Bilinguals ()
8. Do you code-switch more at home/at school/in public?
In what situations do you code-switch more frequently?
9. What type of code-switching do you tend to use more frequently?
One-Word Switch ()
Phrasal Switch ()
Sentence Switch ()

APPENDIX III**OBSERVATION****TRANSCRIPT 1.****Subject B : SB**

S : I've got to ask you some questions.

SB: Why don't you keep this door open?

S : OK. (Opens the door) Would you like anything to drink?

SB: No, thanks.

S : We've got to close the door.

SB: Why?

S : Cause I'm recording.

SB: Are we? Really? Why?

S : I'm not gonna get you to write anything. It's better if you speak. You can answer in either English or Turkish, it doesn't matter. The first question:

Do you consider yourself a bilingual who is equally fluent in two languages?

SB: You ask me the questions? Or do you want me to read them?

S : No, I can ask you. (Repeats the question).

SB: Which language is dominant. Umm. Yes, I'm a bilingual but I can't say that I'm fluent in both Turkish and English but umm...but I consider my English to be better than Turkish.

S : Al right. Are your parents bilingual?

SB: No.

S : OK. Which language(s) did you use at home before schooling?

SB: Before schooling? Turkish.

S : Only Turkish?

SB: I guess so...yeah...yes, Turkish.

S : Which language or languages did you prefer at home while living in the Australian society.

SB: English.

S : At school?

SB: With my brother and sister but umm...Turkish with my parents.

S : Al right. What about school?

SB: At school, English.

S : In public?

SB: English.

S : OK. Did you have any difficulty in either language (or both languages) while living in the Australian society? If yes, do you still have the same problem?

SB: What do you mean? Like, did I have problems with English in Australia or Turkish in Australia?

S : Doesn't matter.

SB: Turkish, yes...with Turkish people. English...maybe yes.

S : In what ways? You knew I'd ask this question!

SB: I danno. Maybe vocabulary.

S : Turkish?

SB: No, English. I mean with English, the only problem, if I had any, would be because of vocabulary.

S : Then or now?

SB: Then...now...always.

S : What kind of problems do you have now?

SB: Now? I don't speak the language often so...umm...vocabulary again. It's a big problem and what else? Umm...I can't speak as fast as I used to. That's another problem but basically vocabulary. I've forgotten most of the words.

S : What about Turkish?

SB: I don't understand some things that people say. For example some...

S : Phrases?

SB: Yeah. Idioms...and some words I use maybe I think is different to what other people had learnt it as...what was it...?

S : "Kabuk" ?

SB: No. "Nünük" or something like that. And people used to say "What are you talking about!?" But it was something else "Kabuk" maybe. I danno...So words. -vocabulary- a big problem.(SB laughs)

S : Did you have any Turkish lessons at school in Australia?

SB: Yes. On Saturdays.

S : On Saturdays...for how long? I mean how many hours a day, and how long did it last for?

SB: 2 or 3 hours...3 hours maybe. Every Saturday.

S : How many years?

SB: I danno. Five years maybe. Five or six years.

S : Were they sufficient?

SB: No, because we...that was because of us. We never used to use it.

S : So you say no matter how much you learnt.

SB: We didn't practice it.

S : I see. Did you have any education in Turkey?

SB: Education?

S : Yeah, any...

SB: English education?

S : No, Turkish. What I mean is did you go to school here before university?

SB: Yes, dersane yes. And computer course.

S : What about high school?

SB: No, that was all in Australia.

S : OK. Which language or languages do you prefer to use at home now?

SB: At home now? With my sister, English. With my parents, Turkish.

S : Al right, at school?

SB: Turkish. But except you.

S : So you say that with other bilinguals, you prefer English.

SB: Yes.

S : In public?

SB: In public, Turkish.

S : Do you often code-switch?

SB: At home with my sister, yes. With you, yes. With bilinguals, yes. With Turkish people, no.

S : OK.

SB: With Turkish people, as if your not Turkish.

S : That was going to be the next question: With whom do you code-switch more? With other childhood bilinguals, adolescent bilinguals or with adult bilinguals?

SB: Anyone who came from Australia.

S : So, childhood and adolescent bilinguals?

SB: Yes.

S : I see. What's the reason for only speaking like that with them.

SB: I feel more comfortable. But then again, for example, I feel more comfortable speaking in English with you than, for example, your brother...or...umm...who else can I say? My aunty...she came from Australia, but I speak Turkish with her..and we code-switch a lot when we speak Turkish with her because she uses some English words as well.

S : How is her English?

SB: Good. It's good but, I danno...because she's married to my uncle. and they always use Turkish at home so when she comes and visits us, even though she grew up there, just like I did... um, she uses Turkish. But then she was some English words...that's what we do. We code-switch all the time.

S : What are the reasons for code-switching?

SB: Code-switching? Like, if I'm speaking in English and there is a word that I don't know...that I've learnt as...as a Turkish word, I use the Turkish word. But, if I'm speaking in Turkish...and...it's the same thing. If I'm speaking the Turkish and the word that I want to say...if I don't know it in Turkish, if I've learnt it as an English

word, then I use the English word. It depends on the situation. Sometimes I know both the Turkish *and* the English word...it depends on...like if I can't find remember it, I use the other language.

S : What happens when you know both the English and Turkish word? Which one do you tend to choose?

SB: If I'm speaking Turkish, I use the Turkish one. If I'm speaking English, I use the English one.

S : So the language you speak also determines...

SB: The words I use.

S : Yes, OK. Do you code-switch more at home, at school, or in public?

SB: At home.

S : At home with your sister, I guess?

SB: Yes.

S : OK. What type of code-switching do you tend to use more frequently: just the one-word switch, the phrasal switch or the sentence switch? You know, one sentence Turkish, one sentence English and then another Turkish. Which one?

SB: Most often?

S : Most often. The one-word switch, as you just explained, "Allah korusun, I'm gonna die". Like that...that's the phrasal switch and...

SB: It depends on where I am. If I'm sp.....at home, speaking to my sister, then I use words and sentences depending on what I want to say...Code-switching...but if I'm at school and I'm speaking Turkish with my colleagues, then it's just words, not sentences.

S : So your not giving any specific answer...this or that...

SB: No.

S : All of them you say?

SB: It depends on situation and who I'm talking to.

S : OK. Could you explain that. I mean, what d'you mean?

SB: OK. If I'm talking my sister at home, OK, ..um...we speak in English...But if there's a word that I'm going to say and I don't know the English word for it, I say it in Turkish. That's a word.

S : A "one-word" switch.

SB: Yes...a one word switch. It can be a sentence, OK. for example, "Ne demek istiyon?" I mean, all of a sudden, I might say that in Turkish.

S : So with your sister it can be any - it can be a one-word switch.

SB: Or sentence. If I am talking in Turkish with my colleagues that I usually talk Turkish with, and if there's a word that I want to say that I don't remember in Turkish, I use the English word for it. But I only use it because I know that they know the English word for it.

S: I see.

SB: But it's....it's words. So, words with colleagues, sentences and words from Turkish to English with my sister.

S: OK. Do you feel any change in personality with the switch from one language to another?

SB: No.

S: When you speak English, do you feel more Australian, when you speak Turkish, do you feel more Turkish?

SB: No.

S: No? Do you feel yourself bicultural, you know belonging to two different cultures ?

SB: Yes, yes definitely.

S: OK. Do you believe you possess the values and attitudes of two different cultures? If not....

SB: No, I believe I am dominant as a Turkish person, the Turkish culture...

S: Even when you were living in Australia?

SB: Yes, even then.

S: What's the reason?

SB: Because my family is Turkish. We speak Turkish at home with my parents. They made us.....how can I say it....

S: feel Turkish?

SB: Yes, feel Turkish, you know you are Turkish. Turkish people do not do this, Turkish people do not do that. So you grow up Turkish. But still because I lived there for twenty years, I still have the feeling that I understand Australian people, their culture... I mean I feel as if I am a part of their culture as well. But I'm dominant with the Turkish culture.

S: OK. Well...Let's have a conversation. That was the interview. Now let's have a chat with you. What's your idea about marriage?

SB: Ideas about marriage?

S: Yes.

SB: OK. I'm against....

S: Honest ideas!

SB: Honest ideas, yes. I'm against "görücü usulü". I think that the boy and the girl should get to know each other before they get married. I guess that's one of the reasons why I like....I prefer ...I wish I was in Australia and getting married there because I feel as if I'll have that opportunity. But when I am here, especially because of my relatives and everybody, everyone's saying you can't do this, you can't go out, görücü usulü olacak. You know when they say that, then, I don't knowI don't feel like getting married in that situation.. Do you know what I mean?

S: Yes, I do.

SB: That's what I think about marriage...like, I want to get to know the person before I get married.

S: Gelenekler hakkında neler düşünüyorsun?

SB: Traditions? It's good not bad. But what exactly? Anything specific?...Not bad, but look, I don't like kissing hands, I don't like kissing people's hands...I don't like when they say " don't cross your legs in front of other people", when they say "don't smoke in front of older people"... these things. "Don't do this , don't do that ". I hate those things. You should feel comfortable. It's a matter of how you feel inside...like, if I say to myself " OK, I'm going to cross my legs in front of my father, then I won't do it. But I'm not doing it because people tell me not to because I sometimes I do cross my legs. It depends on the situation. It depends on whether you feel like doing it or not.

S: Yes, yes. I don't like being forced to do anything....so that's what I don't like about the Turkish traditions.....like they are always forcing you. Do this, do that....

S: What do you think of Turkish traditions of marriage? For example, "söz kesimi", "nişan", "kına", "düğün"?

SB: Stupid!

S: Stupid!

SB: Aha (yes)

S: What's stupid about 'em?

SB: Um..I danno...like in Australia, you see people, they just get engaged by themselves and the family doesn't know about it. Then you go up to your parents and you say, "Mum, look I'm engaged. Look at my engagement ring". I guess maybe I want something like that for myself. I don't want to say "Oh mum and dad, look there's so and so. I want to get married with. Sizin de onayınızı alayım bakalım. You know, I don't want to say anything like that. I don't want his family to have to come up to us in a formal situation and say "Allah'ın emri, peygamberin kavliyle..." whatever...to ask for me. I want the guy to come and ask me if I want to get married with him. I want to accept it and then I want to say to my parents, "I accepted so and so guy. I'm going to bring him over today and you're going to meet him.

S: (laughs)

SB: That's what I want to say. I don't like söz kesimi, I don't like... um...OK, that "tatlı" business is OK if you have just his family and your family...but I hate it when people say, "Ah, işte tatlı yaptılar, bizi

çağırmadılar! " You know, all your aunts and uncles...everybody has to come. And in a small apartment how...who are you gonna call? I don't want that. Um, I don't like big engagements, I don't like weddings...I mean, I used to like weddings before...I mean I like it when people wear wedding...

S: Wedding gowns?

SB: Aha (yes)...wedding dresses...but I don't like it when the bride and groom get out and they start dancing and people throw money...I don't like that - especially as a university graduate, I feel it's so stupid that you have people from the village...all your relatives from the village, sitting around with their "şalvar" (S laughs) and they clap, "Ah, işte bizim kızımız işte evleniyor". How stupid! I'd say...I'd rather die.

S: Senin söylediğin şeyin aynısını ben de düşünüyorum. Bak bir liste hazırladım...tam elli kişilik. 180 oluyor toplam...mesela...

SB: Do you mean 50 families or 50 individuals?

S: 50 invitation cards.

SB: So they're families?

S: Yes.

SB: Each family is going to bring about 4 or 5 people maybe...

S: Maybe...Bak akrabalarından sadece bunlar...Bak, bak...ne kadar az akraba çağırıyorum, ailem, babaannem, amcalarım ve aileleri, halam ve ailesi...

SB: So at least, you're gonna have 2 people coming...

S: Aha

SB: With on invitation card?

S: Exactly. Yes, two people.

SB: And where is this wedding going to be?

S: I danno. Halam ve ailesi...anneannem, teyzelerim, dayılarım ve aileleri. Sonra, çok yakın ahbabları çağıracağım. Bak bu kadar... akrabalardan bak ne kadar yakın akrabalar... Bu kadar yeter. Alright peki, sen yakında evlenmeyi düşünüyor musun?

SB: No, not unless I fall in love.

S: Hmm.

SB: Eh, you're more experienced in something like this, why are you asking me "yakında evlenmeyi düşünüyor musun?" It's like a Turkish question, "Kızım sen ne zaman evlenecen?" (S & D laugh)

S: It's stupid.

SB: Niye? Rahatsız mı oluyorsun?

S: I mean...I find it a stupid question, "sen ne zaman evlenecen?" sanki biri var da! ...biri var da... bir aşık oluim hele bir bekleyin.

S: Yani düşünüyor musun? Sadece bunu merak ediyorum.

SB: If I fall in love, I will think about it. If I don't fall in love, I won't think about it.

S: Peki yakında aşık olmayı düşünüyor musun? (jokingly)

SB: Yakında...(jokingly) Yarın düşünüyorum. Sabah dokuzda başlarım (S & D laugh).

S: Cenaze?

SB: Huh!

S: Evlilikten sonra cenaze lafı pek iyi olmadı ama...Cenaze...

SB: What about it?

S: I mean...

SB: What do I think about it?

S: Yeah, What d'you think about it in general?

SB: I mean...Allah rahmet eylesin...What can I say? (S & D laugh) I never go to those types of ceremonies anyway.

S: Why not?

SB: Do you call them "ceremonies"? What d'you call 'em? (S laughs)

S: Funeral.

SB: Ha, funeral işte.

S: Alright. "Pollution". Şimdi bu soruyu da nereden buldun diyorsundur.

SB: Yes, I mean, I don't know...I mean what can I think about it? Pollution? Yes! And we can't do anything about it.

S: "Generation gap"

SB: Yes, there is a big generation gap between me and my parents.

S: What's... Ev hayatındaki en büyük problem ne?

SB: Ev hayatında? What? I don't know. Like they for example my parents would say, " a,işte hiçbir iş yapmıyorsun. Eve geldin hani ne işe yaradın?" gibi.

S: Bizimkiler de aynı ya!

SB: You don't cook anything, you didn't clean the house, you didn't sweep the house, you didn't do this....Things like that.....about cleaning.

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

University
1998

Çukurova University
Adana - Turkey
The Faculty of Education
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1991-1995

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Graduation : 1995-BS

High School
1988 - 1991

Adana Abdülkadir Paksoy Girls High School
Adana - Turkey

1987 - 1988

Adana Süreyya Nihat Oral Secondary School
Adana - Turkey

June 1986 - Dec 1986

Enmore High School
Sydney - Australia

Feb 1986 - June 1986

Marrickville High School
Sydney - Australia

Primary School
Feb 1985 - Dec 1985

Wilkins Public School
Sydney - Australia

Feb 1979 - Dec 1984

Camdenville Public School
Sydney - Australia

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

From Feb. 1996 to Now

Çukurova University
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English Instructor

ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Seminars
June 1997
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" Ways to Attain Effective Results in Speaking Classes"
"The Role of Participant and Content of Discourse in Bilingualism" MA THESIS

AWARDS RECEIVED

Achievement Award of the Year 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985
Camdenville Public School

Art Competition "23 rd April Children's Day"
Adana -3rd Prize 1988