Pragmatic Aspects of Language in Bilingual Arabic-English Speaking Children

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Abstract

This thesis aims to explore how bilingual children could be in a situation of learning two different sets of pragmatic rules in a bilingual context, how those systems are operating, and what the implications are for children's language learning. For a pragmatic study, we need to understand the culture and the context of language in use. Therefore, this thesis begins by reporting information about the language-learning environment for this population through a survey. One of the survey results was that home was the main source of exposure to Arabic and children's main exposure to English was from attending kindergarten. The two contexts – home and kindergarten – are different in terms of the dominant language and culture in each, along with the relationships and the agendas contained in them, which are all relevant to considering pragmatic skills.

Data was collected from home for an Arabic speaking context and from kindergarten for an English-speaking context. Interviews were conducted with mothers and teachers, and video recordings of natural interactions between children and their Arabic speaking mothers and then with their English-speaking teachers.

The results show that while mothers were strongly motivated to maintain the use of Arabic at home and instituted strategies to achieve this, English was used there by the children and sometimes by the mothers also. Children used English mainly to close the gaps in their Arabic language and mothers also used English to express solidarity and to bond with their children. Children in both contexts received a large number of directives. Although there were similarities in the functions of these directives in the two contexts, the forms differed considerably, mainly in the degree of directness which was greater in Arabic and at home. Arabic speaking mothers frequently used imperative forms, whereas the English-speaking

teachers used modal verb questions. Children's responses to those directives were more direct in the Arabic speaking context, as they sometimes responded with direct refusal statements. However, such direct forms of refusal were rarely used in the English-speaking context. The implications of such pragmatic differences could range from a communication breakdown to points of conflict and relationship breakdowns.

Dedication

To Hussain, who made tremendous sacrifices to make my childhood dream today's reality.

"Thank you for your usual support" saying that appears very inadequate because your "usual support" goes far beyond "the usual".

To my children – Ghadeer and Ali

You are a true inspiration, sometimes a distraction, but always-perfect companions. This journey would not be so rich and joyful without you. Now as we are reaching the end, I promise you to be less stressed and a bit cooler mom.

To the little challenger inside me.

Please keep going. With you, I can turn difficult times into wonderful memories.

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Preface

I always loved the dynamics of language development but raising bilingual children was an eye-opening experience. It stimulated my thinking about many aspects of the uses of their languages, and the opportunity to try to answer some of the important unanswered questions that came with this PhD.

My twin daughter and son were born into a family where everyone spoke the same Arabic dialect as their main language, but were also proficient in English. Their official journey of bilingualism began when they were nine months old, when they started to attend a full-time, early childhood centre, where English was the main language of communication and was the only common language that staff, children and parents shared. This centre was in an Arabic-speaking country, in a closed university campus, where staff and students came from different countries across the world. Due to such diversity in the university, the main language of communication was English. However, in most of the places outside the campus Arabic was the main language. This pattern continued to their kindergarten years, as at the ages of three and four years their teachers were native English speakers from Australia and New Zealand.

When my children were five years old, we moved to an English-speaking country (New Zealand) where they started school. In the first school visit, I was asked by the teachers if my son (Ali) and daughter (Ghadeer) knew how to speak English. I answered confidently “yes, they have been attending English-speaking childhood centres since they were 9 months, their last teachers were Kiwi and one of their favourite stories is “How Maui slowed the sun”. Naively, I assumed that their use of the English language in a school context would be a

smooth transition, without any barriers, simply because they knew the linguistic codes and were familiar with some aspects of New Zealand culture, e.g., Maori stories.

In the first days, Ghadeer's teacher mentioned when I came to pick them up that Ghadeer was ignoring the teacher's directives about eating her morning tea when the teacher told her, "would you bring your morning tea and join your friends?" The same incident was repeated for a few days until without obvious reasons, it did not happen anymore. One day, at dinnertime, Ghadeer said, "How we have a morning tea at school but without tea!?" Her comment made me think that perhaps she was not eating her morning tea because she was waiting for "snack time", which it was called in her previous kindergarten, and the teacher's indirect request for action, "would you bring your morning tea and join your friends?" seemed to Ghadeer like a question that she did not know how to answer. Therefore, she kept playing instead of aligning with the teacher's directive. This was not an issue about understanding English; it was an issue about understanding language-in-use, a cross-cultural and pragmatic issue.

As time passed my children became more proficient in the socio-pragmatic uses of English in the context of their school, and started to transfer some pragmatic rules from English to Arabic. One day, Ali asked me in English "why you always tell us to do things?" First, it came to my mind that he did not like to be told what to do. I asked him using Arabic "what do you mean?" He said using Arabic, "you always tell us things like 'Ali wash your hand', 'Ali finish your food'". I replied, "sometimes you need a reminder or a guidance and because I'm your mom I need to remind you or tell you what you need to do". He said, "Even at school they tell us that but it's kind of different". After some thought about his comment, I realized he was referring to how I say it rather than why. He seemed to be highlighting some

differences in the way directives were given between the two languages in the two different contexts.

There are many other examples, and they continue to be demonstrated. So, now if the past would repeat itself and the teacher asks me if my children can speak English, I may say something like “I think they speak very good English, but there are some differences between them and children who speak only English. They are new to this context, maybe they would need some time to apply all their knowledge”. But these examples are those which appeared spontaneously. What patterns can be found that might allow us to predict or explain how these children are learning socio-cultural or pragmatic rules of language?

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the research background which involves studying pragmatics in bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children. It gives an account of the theoretical background, reviews the literature into pragmatics and bilingualism, highlights the main research problem, and presents the rationale for the study including the aims of this thesis. Chapter 2 presents the methods used in the studies, gives information about the participants, their recruitment, the procedures used, the data analysis and provides information related to the research ethics.

Chapters 3 to 7 present five different studies, each one divided into four sections: introduction. methods, results, and discussion. Chapter 3 concerns the language learning environment of the children of Arabic-speaking parents in New Zealand which was gathered through an online survey. Chapter 4 is a study of language use at home between Arabic speaking mothers living in New Zealand and their preschool children. Chapter 5 discusses code switching to English by both mothers and their children during their interactions. Chapter 6 looks at how directives were issued to bilingual Arabic-English speaking children in the contexts where they were exposed to each language the most, namely home and preschool. Chapter 7 studied how children responded to directives in each context. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis. It highlights the implications of this thesis findings, suggest recommendations for future studies and outline limitations of this thesis.

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1 Issues of Pragmatics and Bilingual Language Development

Bilingualism is an advantage and an enrichment for people generally. However, the process of learning a language for children can look very different in bilingual language learning contexts compared to monolingual ones. The presence of different languages and different contexts has an impact on language learning more widely (Genesee, Paradis & Crago, 2004). Bilingual language development is affected by the amount, type and quality of exposure the child has to their two languages (Paradis, 2011). It is also the case that language development in bilingual children is not the sum of that of two monolingual children, as both the rate and progression are different.

The difference between monolingual and bilingual language development is marked clearly in pragmatic areas of language (Genesee et al., 2004). Pragmatics is concerned with language in use, or as one linguist put it "who says what, to whom, when, and in what way" (Lasswell, 1948, p.117), and this is where the cultural-language interface becomes clearest. Context is known to affect language development, and so is the relationship between language and cultural dominance. Since pragmatics is a culturally mediated set of skills, it mandates broad information about the daily practices of people who share a social environment (Mintz & Price, 1992). Macro-level, cultural, contextual data such as demographic information, which can influence language use, should be included in the studying of pragmatics (Hyter, 2007).

We might anticipate that the picture of language development for Arabic-English bilingual children in New Zealand would be unique. However, there is little information about Arabic speakers in New Zealand, and this means we are missing the necessary information about the underlying factors that can affect pragmatics. This includes information about the language-learning context of children who are bilingual Arabic-English language learners.

To reduce the ambiguities and understand some of the complexities in studying pragmatics among bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children, this chapter will review the body of research literature and summarise background information which involves and contributes to studying pragmatics in bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children. It is divided into three sections: the first section covers information related to the Arabic language and Arabic speaking communities; the second outlines issues related to the development of bilingualism among minority language speakers, and the third covers some theoretical aspects of pragmatics and literature on cross-language speech acts, especially research that involves Arabic speakers.

1.1 Arabs and the Arabic Language

Arabs are a group of people who speak Arabic as their first language and originally came from the Arabic world. Some people assume that all Arabs are Muslims and all people in the Middle East region are Arabs, but neither of these points are true. The term Middle East refers to the geographical area located in western Asia and some parts of northern Africa. It contains a range of ethnic groups such as Arabs, Kurds, Persians and Turks. Some of those ethnicities are minorities in Arabic speaking countries such as the Kurds in Iraq or majorities in non-Arabic speaking countries in the Middle East such as the Persians in Iran. Religion is often an imperfect match; not every Muslim is Arabic and not every Arab is a Muslim. While the majority of Arabs are Muslims, Arabs and Middle Easterners constitute only 20% of the total Muslim population (Lipka, 2017); Indonesia, which is neither an Arabic country nor in the Middle East, has the largest Muslim population of any country. The most common religion among Arabs after Islam is Christianity, but there are also minorities of other religions such as Druze and Bahá'is. There are substantial Christian populations in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Morocco.

Arabic is the language of the Qur'an (Muslim's holy book), so it carries significance and value in religion as well as everyday life. Arabic is also valued as the medium of literature, and some Arabic poetry goes back to 1,400 years ago. As well as these 'high' uses of language, a spoken language carries identity, and the maintenance of a home language is important to most cultures (Verdon et al., 2014). The Arabic language is spoken by more than 400 million people around the world, as it is the native language in the Arab world. Arabic is the official/co-official language of 25 countries of the Arab League.

The Arabic language is complicated because of the presence of diglossia, i.e., there are three forms of Arabic language; classical Arabic, modern standard Arabic and spoken Arabic (Albirini, 2016). The first form (classic Arabic) is the language form of the Qur'an and classical literature such as Arabic, old poetry and reference books. Many non-Arab Muslims learn to read this form of Arabic to be able to read the language of the Qur'an. The second form (modern standard Arabic) is a simplified form of classical Arabic used in education and formal settings. The third form (spoken/ dialectal Arabic) is used in conversation and social interaction. Spoken Arabic has many different dialects, which is expected, given the wide geographical regions and long history over which it has been spoken.

The main dialect groups are North African Arabic (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), Hassaniya Arabic (Mauritania), Egyptian Arabic, Levantine Arabic (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine), Iraqi Arabic, Gulf Arabic (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the U.A.E. and Oman), Hejazi Arabic (Western Saudi Arabia), Najdi Arabic (Central Saudi Arabia) and Yemeni Arabic (Yemen & southwestern Saudi Arabia). Each of these dialects has sub-dialects. Those dialects share some commonalities and huge differences. For example, in most Arabic dialects the term /sæjɒːˈɾe/ means 'car', but in the Egyptian dialect the word is /ʕa.ra.bij.ja/. The dialects are not all mutually intelligible. Egyptian and Levantine Arabic are the most

widely understood dialects among Arabs, and this is directly related to the media industry, as most of the cinema productions and television shows use these dialects. North African dialects are the least widely understood, and are influenced by other languages such as French and Berber (Benzehra & McCreary, 2010). For example, vowel deletion in open syllables is a distinctive feature in the Moroccan dialect and is similar to the Berber language (Albirini, 2016; Hamdi et al.,2005).

1.1.1 The Arabic speaking community in New Zealand

New Zealand is a post-colonial society, with the dominant culture being of English extraction, and the indigenous peoples (Maori) being the other major strand of society as reflected in the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement signed by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs in 1840. The Treaty has played a major role in the political relations between the British and Māori to build a government in New Zealand (Orange, 1997). Traditionally, a majority of the immigrants came from the United Kingdom and Europe, and the UK is still the largest single source of migrants to New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). However, since the late 20th century, the ethnicity of migrants has become more diverse (New Zealand Parliament, 2008). New Zealand is considered a multi-cultural country with immigrants that speak more than 160 different languages. The Arabic language is ranked as twentieth among the top 25 languages spoken in New Zealand.

The New Zealand government adopted a points system for migrants in 1991, wherein the more points you had that were considered desirable qualities for New Zealand, the more likely you were to get a residence visa, and this had the effect of increasing the range of parts of the world that migrants came from (TE ARA, n.d). However, the migration pattern of the past is reflected in the way that data gathered. The New Zealand census, up to and including

2018, reported combined country of origin categories of 'Middle Eastern, Latin American or African' and 'Asian', which put together the Indian subcontinent and south-east Asian countries. Although this reduces the precision of the information, it is still notable that in the 2018 census, these combined categories had increased by more than 30 percent since the 2006 census. While some of these ethnicities began to migrate to New Zealand decades ago and a significant number of them are third generation immigrants, other ethnicities such as Arabs are more recent immigrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Given these historical patterns, it is understandable that there is a lack of information about Arab communities in New Zealand.

In New Zealand's 2018 census, it was reported that the Arabic language was spoken by 12,399 individuals (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Given that there was a total population of over 4 million, this is a small proportion of the population at less than one percent, but in absolute numbers it is significant. Sixty-eight percent of Arabs lived in Auckland with smaller numbers in Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Hamilton (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Arabs in New Zealand are a diverse group and vary by country of origin, religion, purpose for coming to New Zealand and when they arrived in New Zealand. According to Veitch and Tinawi (2005) the first Arabs in New Zealand were Lebanese immigrants who came in the 18th century. The political instability in Arabic countries was one of the reasons that led many Arabs to come to New Zealand. According to New Zealand's Refugee Migrant Services (RMS) between 1984 and 2007, 2,754 refugees from Arabic speaking countries came to New Zealand, with 2,586 of them being Iraqi.

In the period between 2007 and 2017, the number of Arab refugees that came to New Zealand was 1,694. Refugees from Iraq and Syria were the largest groups with 644 and 637,

respectively. However, in the last 30 years more Middle Easterners came to New Zealand as skilled workers through the points system, which enabled professionals to migrate to New Zealand (Shepard, 2006). Based on information obtained from New Zealand immigration statistics, in the period between 2013 and 2017, residents' visas were granted to 4,335 individuals of Arabic nationality. New Zealand's Ministry of Education shows that the number of students who came from the Arabic world increased from 2,143 students in 2006 to 6,343 students in 2011 (Ministry of Education, 2013). The vast majority of these students were Saudi with 5,590 students in 2011. However, the total number of students from the Arabic world decreased significantly in 2016 to 2,810 which was largely accounted for by a drop in the number of Saudi students to 2,395 (Ministry of Education, 2016).

The wider Arabic community in New Zealand can be connected through several channels such as Arabic community schools, mosques or special celebrations such as Eid for Muslims, considering that the majority of Arabs are Muslims. Mosques can be found in major cities in New Zealand such as Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Hamilton. A terrorist attack against Muslims in two mosques in Christchurch on 15 March 2019 resulted in calls to foster unity among people in New Zealand and has highlighted the need for dominant New Zealand culture to know more about this community. It has resulted in a growing interest by dominant culture New Zealand to increase their knowledge about Islamic cultures. Therefore, many people in New Zealand visited Muslim mosques to express their solidarity. In addition to that, in the last two years, members of the Muslim community along with the authorities in Auckland organised Eid celebrations which were open to the public. Ultimately, such actions led to increased knowledge about Muslim cultures and helped in mainstreaming the Muslim Arabic speaking community with the wider culture in New Zealand.

As mentioned earlier Arabic language speakers are a small proportion of the New Zealand population. Consequently, the Arabic language is not supported as a minority language in the formal education system. However, there are some external supports for the Arabic language by public libraries, Arabic community members and Islamic schools. Public libraries provide books written in the Arabic language to readers of different age groups. These are available in certain areas in the Auckland region where there are a considerable number of Arabic speakers.

Arabic community schools are run by volunteers in the Arabic speaking community and have existed in New Zealand for some time, with the purposes of maintaining the Arabic language and Arabic identity. In addition to that, there are two Islamic schools in Auckland. Although the Islamic schools follow the New Zealand curriculum, they add classes to teach classic Arabic and Islamic studies. The situation of Arabs in New Zealand implies that the family is mainly responsible for Arabic language maintenance. However, there are limited opportunities for some children in the Arabic speaking community to get exposure to the Arabic language outside home.

1.2 Bilingualism and Bilingual Language Learning

Bilingualism is a widespread phenomenon that can take place between different languages. According to one estimate, between half and two thirds of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual (Baker, 2006), which means it is more the norm than monolingualism. The scale of bilingualism varies, as it can take place at the level of individual families, or within communities, countries or multi-country regions. Pure monolingualism is inevitably exposed to expressions in other languages, which affects their linguistic system (Bialystok, 2001). Hence, to be affected by multiple languages is very much the majority experience. It is not uncommon for monolingual speakers to borrow different words or phrases from another

languages. But such borrowing from other languages would not accurately describe those individuals as bilinguals. Bilingualism is frequently defined as an individual's ability to speak two languages. However, such a definition oversimplifies the complexities in bilingualism. It focuses on speaking ability and ignores language comprehension, which plays an important role in individuals' ability in utilising the two languages.

Definitions of bilingualism are fraught with difficulty. The definition ought to be broad enough to encompass the variations that exist in language learning, such as the child's age of exposure - commonly different between the languages, and the context(s) of exposure, such as home versus school, or two parents using different languages (Kan & Kohnert, 2005; MacLeod et al., 2013; Pearson, 2007). It also needs to involve more than speaking, so as to include comprehension and also how proficiency may vary a great deal by what functions users have for their different languages. This means that many more people could be defined as 'bilingual' even though they may not have high levels of proficiency in two languages.

Historically, there was a common belief that being bilingual meant equal and high proficiency in two languages, sometimes referred to as balanced bilingualism (Grosjean, 2013). Studies on bilingualism tended to view bilingual language development as if it would be the sum of two monolinguals (e.g., Grosjean, 1989; Cook, 1991 & 1992). Proficiency in each language was compared to those of the monolingual groups, and the result was they tended to see bilingual children's language development as deficient. Although those studies highlighted language development differences between the two groups, they failed to see bilingual language development as a different language learning experience, and not comparable to monolingualism. If children learn one language in the context of day to day socially driven interactions, which come from the oral end of the oral-literate language continuum (Westby, 1991), and their other language at school or somewhere which uses

language from the more literate end of the oral language continuum, their competence in each language will be different. Cummins (1979) referred to this as BICS and CALP - basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). Differences in outcome might include that the child's vocabulary in their two languages will cover different ground, and the degree of complex explanation and abstractness in each language may end up being different, among other things. It is also not uncommon for children to not be literate in one of their languages, if it is not the language of school. These children are certainly bilingual, but they do not have equal proficiency in their two languages. Such living experiences for bilinguals may have an influence on language and cognitive development (Bialystok, 2001).

Most bilinguals have different levels of proficiency in their two languages, which is logical, as most use their two languages in different amounts, for different purposes and in different contexts. Grosjean (2008) stated that comparing the performance of bilinguals to monolinguals in traditional monolingual tests was not appropriate, as research within bilinguals should take into consideration the context of language acquisition. Therefore, more research has shifted the focus in bilingualism research from 'competency' to 'language use' (Grosjean, 2013; Mackey, 2000). Such a view of bilingualism is interested in the functions of the languages (what a bilingual person uses each language for), their domains of language use (where each language is used most e.g., home, school, work), language switching (when and why bilinguals switch from one language to another), and language transfer (how one language influences the use and form of the other). Understanding bilingual proficiency variations is helped by categorising bilinguals by age of acquisition relationships of their two languages (simultaneous vs. sequential), their measured ability in each language (incipient, receptive, productive), and the contexts in which the languages are used (e.g., home, school, work) (Valde´s & Figueroa, 1994; Genesee et al., 2004).

However, there is little agreement on several aspects of these factors. Genesee et al. (2004) reported different cut-off points for differentiation between sequential and simultaneous bilingual language development across a range of studies. Some researchers defined simultaneous bilingualism as children who are exposed to two languages from birth (Extra & Verhoeven, 1999). Others have suggested that children who are exposed to a second language before the age of three years (Montrul, 2013) or before the age of 4 years (Guasti, 2002; O'Grady 1997; Snyder, 2007) may still be considered simultaneous bilinguals. A child aged four years, who has just been exposed to a second language is likely to look very different as a language user to a child also aged four who has been exposed to two languages from birth. There is a tendency to think that simultaneous bilingualism is normal, but, in migrant families it is common that the children get their main exposure to the majority language through kindergarten, which might start at three or four years of age, or even age five at primary school. But earlier exposure to majority language cannot be discounted. They may not be getting the same amount, quality of input and opportunities in both languages, but overlapping from a majority language is likely to take place even in minority speaking contexts, so that bilingual minority speaking children are unlikely to be exposed to a minority language exclusively.

Overall, this summary highlights factors we need to consider when studying bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children in New Zealand. The learning process of English as the majority language is affected by their age of exposure to English, and the context(s) of exposure, such as home, school, or both. The next section will address bilingualism among children of immigrants' families in more detail.

1.2.1 Bilingualism in children of immigrant families

The quality and quantity of language exposure are key components in bilingual language development (Pearson, 2007). It is common in situations where bilingual children acquire a minority language with their main exposure to that language being at home and to the majority language through schools (Fishman, 1991). Several researchers (e.g., Genesee et al., 2004; Gathercole, 2007) pointed out that bilingual children's strongest or preferred language is usually determined by the amount of exposure to that language. This means when bilingual children are exposed to the majority language more than the minor language, they will become more competent in the majority language as it becomes their strongest one. However, children of immigrants' families do not receive a consistent and equal input to each language over time. At a young age, and before children enter school, they receive a lot of exposure to the minority language through home, but this pattern changes when they enter majority language speaking schools.

Bilingual minority speaking children frequently begin school with a low level in the majority language due to limitations in the quantity and quality of majority language exposure (Hoff, 2018). In minority speaking homes, families may choose to restrict the use of the major language to create more opportunities to use the minority language, or those families may have limited proficiency in the majority language. The literature on children from minority-language speaking families suggests that those children begin to receive regular exposure to the majority language in the age range of three to five, as when children reach three years they may start to go to preschool or kindergarten, thus, achieve gains in the majority language (Hammer, Lawrence, and Miccio, 2008). However, progress in majority language development was found to negatively affect minority language use at home among preschool Turkish children in Germany, as those children, after enrolment in preschool, became more receptive and less productive in their minority language they ceased to express their home

language, but continued to comprehend it (Herkenrath, 2012). This is supported by Tagoilelagi-LeotaGlynn et al. (2005) who found similar patterns among Samoan and Tongan children growing up in New Zealand.

Such a change in bilingual performance was noticed in an early study by Merino (1983) in which she highlighted language loss in Spanish-English bilinguals. She measured comprehension and production of morphosyntax features in both languages (English and Spanish) in 41 bilingual children ranging from kindergarten through fourth grade. The results showed that fourth graders exhibited a sharp drop in Spanish production proficiency, to a level where they performed significantly lower than the kindergarten children. Such findings indicate that the first language should not necessarily be considered as the strongest language and highlights that children's ability to speak a minority language at a young age does not imply that the use of that language will be maintained.

However, external support in a minority language and family efforts to maintain the use of that language can lead to progress in both languages. Winsler et al. (1999) and Barnett et al. (2007) showed that when both minority and majority languages were supported in preschool, children from minority speaking families continued to make strong gains in both languages. In addition to that, family management efforts played a positive role in maintaining preschool children using the minority language (King et al., 2008).

The above-mentioned dynamics contribute to the complexity of minority language maintenance. Home interaction using the minority language is a key component of continuous minority language use (Fillmore, 2000; Fishman, 1991). Hayashi (2006) suggests that parents need to show a positive attitude and provide children with opportunities to use the minority language so as to increase the rate of minority language use. Parents' limited proficiency in the majority language can help in creating opportunities for their children who

are growing up as bilinguals to use the minority language in order to communicate effectively with their parents (Lambert and Taylor, 1996). Parents' positive attitudes regarding their minority language, proficiency and practices, management efforts and strategies are emphasised and included in the analysis of language policy (Spolsky, 2007). King et al., (2008) propose a framework of family language policy which covers the planning of both minority language and majority language use in a home context between family members. Several studies have shown that with sufficient home input and opportunities for children to use minority languages at an early age, young children can speak both languages, even if their home language is not supported outside the home environment (Romaine, 1994; Saunders, 1988).

The above summary confirms the possibility that children among Arabic speaking families in New Zealand might develop the Arabic language at an early age because of their parents' competencies in that language and the opportunities those children have to use Arabic in the home context. However, it is also possible that when these children begin to receive regular exposure to the English language through kindergarten, they start to use it at home. This may lead to a similar pattern as indicated by Herkenrath (2012) and Merino (1983), in which children are able to understand the minority language but use the majority language for speaking. In addition to that, this summary highlights that the parent's active role can promote children's minority language use. However, we lack a great deal of information about what Arabic parents practice to maintain Arabic language use. The next section will review the current information in the position of the Arabic language as a minority language in a family context.

1.2.2 Arabic as a minority language

Arabic is spoken as a minority language by several millions of people across different parts of the world (Albirini, 2016). In countries where Arabic is a minority language, children in Arabic speaking families will be exposed to the dialect their families use and it may be that they have no clear, regular source of exposure to standard Arabic. In Arabic dominant countries, children will learn standard Arabic in school and obtain early exposure through T.V programs and children's rhymes, and in some activities in preschool years, while speaking their family's spoken Arabic dialect at home. Albirini (2016) suggested that children in minority Arabic speaking families in the U.S.A would be exposed to Arabic spoken dialects consistently during early childhood at home, followed by extensive exposure to English at school. As they grow older, they may start to use the Arabic language to mark their Arabic identity.

However, some of those children may have some exposure to standard Arabic through Arabic community schools, where they will be taught Arabic literacy through standard Arabic (Ferguson, 2013). This may mean that these children are in a situation where they need to read and write a literate form of language without the usual input or exposure to the oral forms. This has the potential to result in a disturbance of the reciprocal relationship between the oral language form and the written form.

This possibility is supported by Al-Sahafi (2015) who found in a study of ten Arabic-English speaking children in New Zealand that their Arabic literacy skills were lagging behind their oral skills. This is not limited to Arabic literacy skills, as Albirini (2014) stated that limited exposure to the Arabic language among Arabic minority speakers resulted in a lack of some basic Arabic socio-linguistic competencies. However, he concluded that a lack of socio-

linguistic competency did not always negatively affect Arabic minority speakers' attachment to Arabic culture, as many of them held their sense of belonging to Arabic identity.

The majority of the studies that looked into Arabic as a minority language were focusing on parents' perspectives, such as their beliefs, attitudes and language practices and management. For that reason, the data collection in those studies were through interviews or surveys (Gomaa, 2011; Al-Sahafi, 2015; Yazan & Ali, 2018). Visonà and Plonsky (2020) did a scoping review in which they reviewed the methods of 34 studies on Arabic as a minority language, and concluded that interviews followed by questionnaires were the most common method and observations were the least common. Although such studies and methods deepen our understanding of Arabic parents' perspectives and opportunities, these studies have raised many questions about how parents' motives and beliefs are reflected in their children's use of their languages. We are still missing observational data about how minority Arabic-speaking young children use their languages in the home environment. Such data would reveal essential information about children's language proficiency and use, rather than relying solely on parents' perceptions (Surrain, 2018).

While some previous studies confirmed that Arabic-speaking parents rely more on the minority language at home (Gomaa, 2011, Al- Sahafi 2015 & Yazen and Ali, 2018) the picture is ambiguous when it comes to children. In two studies of Arabic language maintenance, Ferguson (2013) and Said & Zhu (2017) conducted observations of Arabic language use among Arabic school age children in the UK. Ferguson (2013) studied language practice and use of Yemeni Arabic school attendees in Sheffield, with children ranging from 12 to 18 years old. This study revealed that parents had tried to support their children's Arabic language skills in multiple ways, and although their children were able to speak Arabic, they preferred to use English. While this age group enabled a clear view of the

proficiency of two languages as both languages were established, it did not provide an understanding of the different factors that influenced early bilingual development.

Said and Zhu (2017) presented an observational case study of language use at home in a second-generation immigrant Arabic and English-speaking family in the UK who had 6 and 9-year-old children. They analysed twelve hours of mealtime conversations over a period of eight months. The results showed that the father (who had the greatest proficiency in Arabic) used Arabic the most, followed by the mother, who was not very confident about her Arabic language skills. Said and Zhu (2017) indicated that the younger child occasionally switched to Arabic, and this might result from the fact that his Arabic repertoire was still not well established compared to his older brother. Since both children were enrolled in an Arabic weekend school, the older child may have had more exposure to Arabic through the Arabic school as he had been going to the school for longer, which expanded his Arabic repertoire and increased his confidence to use it. However, children were aware that Arabic was the preferred language for their parents.

The above-mentioned review of the acquisition of Arabic as a minority language confirmed that parents have a strong motive to maintain Arabic language use. Extra opportunities could be provided outside a home context mainly through Arabic community schools when families are sufficiently motivated, and the schools are available. However, these studies have not shown how each language (Arabic and English) was used by the parents and their children, how the parents encouraged their children to use Arabic at home and how they dealt with the use of English in a home context. The next section will begin to answer some of these questions by providing information related to code-switching to majority languages in a minority-language-speaking context.

1.2.3 Code-switching to majority language in a minority speaking context

It has been reported consistently in the literature that even when children are bilingual, they code-switch to the majority language when they are in a minority language context (Greene, Peña & Bedore, 2013; Ribot & Hoff, 2014; Smolak, de Anda, Enriquez, Poulin-Dubois & Friend, 2020). One common feature in a minority-language-speaking context is that the children's strongest language and/or preferred language may not be the same as their parents'. Evidently, this will be reflected on children's code-switching, as even young bilingual children alter their languages according to the preference and capabilities of others (Dolitsky, 2000).

While some of those contexts mandate children to use only the home language, other contexts allow the use of both languages. In one study, Gross and Kaushanskaya (2015) examined children voluntarily switching between English and Spanish and conclude that children in the age range of five to seven years old switched frequently to highly accessible items, even when it was in their non-dominant language. This is partially supported by Hurtado and Vega (2004) wherein they conclude that different amounts of exposure to Spanish and English between parents and their children influenced their language choice when interacting. Due to this, it is not surprising to find some differences in code-switching manifestations between children and their parents.

There is a variety of code-switching functions that have been identified by previous research. Some code switching appears to fill gaps; bilingual children may switch from one language to another to fill any lexical or grammatical gap (Cantone, 2007; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997). Another reason appears to be speed of access. Bilingual children may switch between two languages if items in one are more highly accessible than in the other (Gross & Kaushanskaya, 2015; Zentella,1997). A third function of code-switching that has been

identified is to perform pragmatic functions, such as emphasising, narrating, or protesting (Genesee et al., 2004; Gumperz, 1982; McClure, 1981; Köppe & Meisel,1995). Some children also switch because some activities are mostly experienced in one language, and they are more likely to use that language when that activity comes up (Cheng, 2003). Another pragmatics function that has been identified is when children's motivation to code switch appears to be to decrease distance between the interactants (Flores-Ferrán & Suh, 2015; Gumperz,1982). At the more linguistic end, Cheng (2003) also found that lexical borrowing can be motivated by the fact that some words that are more distinguishable in one language than the other. (Cheng, 2003).

Previous studies of code-switching among bilingual minority speaking families have indicated that code-switching can be deliberate, and be irrespective of language preference or dominance. Flores-Ferrán and Suh (2015) found that both parents and children in Korean-English speaking families used code-switching during conflicts for many functions such as clarification, challenge, mitigation and hedging. However, Said and Zhu (2017) studied language use among a second-generation immigrant Arabic and English-speaking family in the UK and indicate that children's awareness of their parents' preference to the Arabic language enabled them to use code-switching to Arabic, which was not the children's preferred or strongest language strategically to get their interactive goals.

While previous studies about code-switching in a minority-language-speaking context have enriched the understanding of code-switching patterns and functions, there are still many gaps in the wider perspective of code-switching in natural conversations. The above studies confirm that in the Arabic speaking context, parents value and encourage their children to use the Arabic language. At the same time, it is expected that code-switching to English would take place, as it is difficult for bilinguals to exclude the use of the majority language,

especially when they know the listener holds a certain proficiency in that language. However, the picture is not clear about exactly how English use would take place in an Arabic speaking context and how parents would deal with it.

The above review highlights that linguistic phenomena among bilinguals such as code switching can take place to serve pragmatic functions. This is one phenomenon that can affects pragmatics in bilinguals. As explained in this section, bilingualism represents two languages which frequently includes two cultures of each language. Pragmatics is concerned with the language use, and this use fall within specific cultural norms across different contexts. The next section will address some aspects of pragmatics that relates to bilingual language development.

1.3 Pragmatics

Pragmatics as a term was first introduced by Charles Morris at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, many scholars have proposed different views and definitions of pragmatics. Although no single definition has been widely accepted, there is a consistent agreement that pragmatics concerns the use of language, as opposed to its structures or its content. Levinson (1983) clarified that context is an important aspect of studying pragmatics, "Pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding" (Levinson, 1983, p. 21). While considering 'context' deepened the study of pragmatics, it also increased its complexity and the scope of context is not easy to define (Levinson, 1983).

However, Thomas (1995) took context into consideration and expanded the view of pragmatics as "meaning evolving in interaction between speaker and hearer, the context of the utterance (physical, social and linguistic) and the meaning potential of an utterance" (p. 22). Thomas classified three levels of pragmatic meaning: the first an abstract meaning

covering what words, phrases or sentences could mean in theory; the second is contextual meaning, which links what is said to context and refers to what the speaker meant by using that particular utterance in that particular situation; and the third level, force, refers to the speaker's intention of what s/he said. Another scholar viewed pragmatics in two ways, as expressed by the speaker and interpreted by the listener (Yule, 1996).

Yule (1996) specifies four dimensions in studying pragmatics: the study of speaker meaning, contextual meaning, how more is communicated than what is said and the expression of relative distance. In another definition, Crystal (1997) considered language users' subjectivity in the choices of form, and consequences of the choice and meaning in social interaction. He defined pragmatics as "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (p. 301). His definition to some extent aligns with Kasper (1997, P.2), as she defines pragmatics as "the study of communicative action in its sociocultural context."

Overall, pragmatics is a broad umbrella which includes multiple components and allows different theories related to different contexts, cultures, situations and interlocutors. Although there are different definitions and different ways of analysing pragmatics, those different perspectives share common grounds on language, context and culture. Different theorists have concentrated on different pragmatic phenomena such as implicature, deixis, turn taking, conversation rules, presuppositions, politeness and speech acts (Austin,1962; Searle, 1969; Gumperz, 1982; Brown & Levinson, 1987). Speakers need to follow sociocultural rules in the use of these features within different contexts to be considered pragmatically competent.

As this thesis looks into pragmatic aspects in bilingual the Arabic and English population, we need to recognise the role of both Arabic and English culture in shaping pragmatics and the

sociocultural rules within each language-spoken context. The first step to deal with those complexities is to review the fundamental work that contributed to our understanding of pragmatics in the bilingual population.

1.3.1 Politeness and Face Theory

Politeness in interaction is one of the major topics within the field of pragmatics. Goffman (1967) described politeness within social behaviour. He also presented the concept of "face" to convey various interrelated aspects of social interaction. Scollon and Scollon (2001, p.45) defined the concept of face as "Face is the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event.". Politeness is the way face is managed, via language. Lakoff (1975) describes politeness based on the desire to reduce friction in social interaction and highlighted how syntactic and lexical strategies can be used to express politeness.

Brown and Levinson (1987) expanded the theory of politeness and identify two types of politeness: negative and positive. These were renamed by Scollon & Scollon (2001) into: involvement and independence. Involvement "a person's right to be considered a normal, contributing, or supporting member of society" (p 46). Independence "emphasises the person's right not to be completely dominated by group or social values, and to be free from the impositions of others" (p47). Involvement strategies can be achieved by emphasising solidarity and rapport between speaker and hearer e.g., "Let's do this together" or by conveying the commonalities between the speaker and the hearer's desires and wants "You and I have the same problem". However, independence strategies conducted by showing that the speaker does not intend to interfere with the hearer's independence or invade their personal space e.g., "I'm sorry to bother you" or "I know you're busy, but…" (Yule, 2010).

Brown and Levinson (1987) clarified that some speech acts may interfere with politeness because those acts might threaten the speaker's or the hearer's positive or negative face. They called those acts as face-threatening speech acts, and an example of that is the speech act of a request, as it shows that the speaker intends to impose on the hearer 's independence and that threatens the hearer's negative face. Brown and Levinson (1987) acknowledged that face-threatening speech acts vary in their seriousness, and they proposed three universal factors which affected the seriousness of face-threatening acts. Those three factors are: power, distance and weight. The first one refers to the relative power of speaker over hearer e.g., an interaction between an employer and employee vs. an interaction between two employees. The second one is the social distance between the hearer and speaker such as an interaction between strangers vs. an interaction between family members. The third is the weight of imposition e.g., requesting to borrow someone's pen vs. requesting to borrow someone's car.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speakers can avoid face-threatening acts by not conducting the act. However, there are other options. First, they can conduct the speech act without softening or mitigating the illocutionary force. This strategy Goffman had labelled as "bald on record" which can take place when the speaker has authority over the hearer, but it is dispreferred in most contexts. This would involve saying something like "go and get me my shoes". The second option was to make the same request for an action but with using politeness markers like mitigation and hedging (seen in italics), such as saying "please would you mind going and getting me my shoes?", and this strategy was labelled as "go on record". However, it is important to consider the context. Wootton (2007) gave an example when children use the word "please". For example, utterance like "one more biscuit please, please!" contain a politeness marker which is "please". In this example, the child may know that s/he not allowed to have one more but used it to insist on the order and place extra pressure. The third option, "go off record" involves using hints so the speaker's intention is

unclear, such as saying "I wonder if anyone knows where my shoes are?" so as to minimise any imposition on the hearer.

Although politeness theory has been used extensively to look at language in intercultural contexts, it has been criticised. Politeness theory implies that different cultures share consistent agreement on the notion of politeness is universal. There is considerable debate about how suitable the theory is for non-Western cultures. One of the main critiques for Brown & Levinson's politeness theory is that it ignores group identity within a society, which is an essential part of the politeness system in Japanese and Chinese cultures (Matsumoto, 1989; Mao, 1994). Some studies have found that independence politeness is irrelevant in some cultures (Wierzbicka, 1985; Matsumoto, 1989; Gu, 1990). In addition to that, the general categorisation of positive and negative face has been considered by some authors to oversimplify the complex process of interaction in which the choice of polite forms may vary depending on the context (Matsumoto, 1989; Watts, 2003). Regardless of these criticisms, politeness theory provides a useful framework for understanding cross-cultural differences in language studies, especially for bilinguals where the difference includes a cultural-language interface, which is the case in this study.

1.3.2 Speech Act Theory

This thesis investigates aspects of pragmatics in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children. As this involves two different cultures as well as two languages, it is not surprising that there may be cultural variation in speech act realisation. While the same speech act could be expressed in different languages, the realisation and the conditions of the appropriateness of this speech act may differ. As a base for later discussion about speech acts, it is important for this thesis to cover speech act theory. Speech act theory is regarded as a substantial theory in the pragmatics literature. Because it has substantial social implications (Ervin-Trip, 1976),

and is central to understanding politeness and face (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to Grice (1975), it appears to be governed by universal principles (Grice, 1975).

Austin (1962) in his major work "How to Do Things with Words" presented the concept of the speech act. He had seen that utterances were not just words or meanings, but they achieved something in the world. "The uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action" (Austin, 1962, p. 5). This is most obvious in the acts he called "performatives" such as "I now proclaim you husband and wife" or "I name this ship the Voyager", in which the status of something in the real world has changed because of the utterances spoken. Other more common utterances, such as "pass me the cup" produce actions, which the speaker intends to achieve, so this speech "act" is that of requesting an action on the part of the hearer. Speech acts are therefore things that speakers use to achieve an end, such as to request something, to refuse something, to promise, to complain, to compliment, to invite and to apologise, among many others.

Austin (1962) identified a set of verbs he called performative verbs, which explicitly indicate the speaker's goal of utterance e.g., "I promise I will be there" or "I declare all the information is true". However, even forms of speech which do not contain explicit performative verbs may function to perform acts without explicitly naming them. For example, "All the information is true" could be used for making a declaration. Nevertheless, Austin concluded that whether utterances have a performative verb or not, there are two elements: the 'saying' element refers to what is said and the 'doing' element covers what is done or accomplished in the speech act. However, the 'saying' and the 'doing' can be separated, as happens in indirect speech acts. To say, "would you like to come and sit down?" on the surface is about what someone likes. However, it is indirectly a request for an action – come and sit down.

Competent communicators give precedence to the intent, or the 'doing" rather than the literal meaning, or the 'saying'. This led Austin to distinguish between three forces of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. The locutionary part is the act of saying or the literal meanings of an utterance. The illocutionary part is the speaker's intention of the produced utterance (e.g., to compliment). Perlocutionary is the effect of the illocutionary act on the hearer (e.g., to be flattered, or perhaps offended). Searle (1969) divided Austin's acts into five categories: directives, commissives, representatives, declaratives, and expressives. Directive acts are used by the speaker to request action from the hearer (for example, command, request, suggest, advise). Commissive acts are used by speakers to commit to future actions (e.g., promise, refuse, pledge, threaten). Representative or assertive speech acts in which a speaker expresses feelings or states truth or beliefs (for example, claim, complain, conclude, report). Declaratives are speech acts that change the reality as a result of the performed declaration (for example, resign, nominate) and expressive speech acts are used to express psychological states or feelings (for example, thank, apologise, congratulate, blame, praise).

An important aspect of Austin's speech act theory was the concept of felicitous conditions. These state that a certain set of conditions need to be met for a speech act to be performed successfully. Searle (1969) developed Austin's conditions of felicity and distinguished four types of conditions of success: propositional content, preparatory conditions, sincerity conditions, and essential conditions. Propositional content identifies conditions on the type of content, which can be in a particular type of speech act, for example, a requestive act needs to imply that the requested act is a future act of the hearer. The preparatory condition discusses what the speaker is indicating in the performance of a speech act, for example, in a requestive act the speaker believes that the request is within the hearer's ability and the hearer needs to hear the act to perform the request. The sincerity condition (sincerely or insincerely) refers to

what psychological state the speaker expresses when performing a speech act. In that example the speaker is genuinely asking the hearer. The essential condition refers to the context and utterance that may clarify the intention of the speaker. So, the speaker is performing the act as an attempt to influence the hearer. Those conditions include the example of "close the window" where: (1) the hearer should be able to close the window; (2) the hearer should be willing to close the window; (3) the window should be open; and (4) the speaker should sincerely want the hearer to close the window. If the addressee contradicts the existence of any of the conditions s/he will invalidate the directive, and consequently make a polite non-compliance response (Campbell, 1990). The concept of felicitous conditions is a useful to consider when studying adult-child interaction, as this would be reflected in chapter 7.

Austin's speech act theory had expanded the horizon of pragmatic understanding and established the analytical system used in many pragmatic studies. Dore (1978, 1979) used Austin and Searle's theory of speech acts to analyse and classify functional categories of children's language. He suggested changing the term 'speech acts' to 'conversational acts' to emphasize the significance of interaction in interpreting acts. Dore's conversational acts had six main divisions.

- Requestive acts; ask for information e.g., "what's that called?" or action e.g., "pass me that pen".
- Assertive acts; used to state rules, facts, or attitudes e.g. "I'm shy" or "blue cars stay here"
- Performative acts which accomplished acts by being said, like imaginations, for example, "I name this ship the Judy" or "I sentence you to one year's jail".

- Responsive acts: supply information to or acknowledge a preceding act such as, "yes,"(after “are you coming?”) or "at work" (after “where are you going?”).

- Regulative acts; which control personal contact or conversational flow, e.g. “Let’s talk about the movie”

- Expressive acts; conveyed attitudes or emotions such as exclamations, "oh" and "wow."

- Miscellaneous acts: those that did not fit into the existing categories, such as silence or jargon.

Dore subdivided each of these six categories further, resulting in a total of 35 speech acts, such as statement evaluation, statement explanation…etc. Although this was a thorough exploration of the wide range of purposes or functions that utterances could have, in practice distinguishing between each of them was not a simple or highly reliable process, and few researchers have used speech acts to this degree of fine analysis (Jose, 1987). An example of an adaptation and simplification of Dore’s system was that of Fey (1986), in which he used a simplified set of Dore’s speech acts and called it Socio-Conversational Analysis. This was an applied tool for the purpose of analysing children’s language in clinical contexts, hence was practical and more reliable.

Speech act theory has been criticised for its attempts to capture the possible functions of language by classifying individual utterances as speech acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Riley, 1989; Wolfson, 1989). It is common for utterances to have more than one function (or act), or even for a long discourse to have just one function. Hearers cannot always identify the illocutionary force of a speech act, as the speaker’s intent and utterance of meaning are not the same. Flowerdew (1990) pointed out that speech act theory cannot explain discrete

categories. Instead, it deals with approximations that are likely to vary from one situation or context to another. He gave a locutionary example like “It’s cold in here”, which could have three illocutionary forces: a statement of fact, a request for someone to close the window through giving a hint in a statement form, or advice for someone to put on warmer clothing. While this allows to prioritise intent over form, it is centred around the speaker rather than including the meaning of the dialogue between the speaker and the hearer (Masaki, 2004). These critiques are important to recognize when studying or analysing speech acts. For example, if the researchers aware that speech acts deal with approximations that is context or situation dependent. They may prepare for the data collection with equipment that can record changes in the context or situation.

1.3.3 Politeness and Speech Acts in non-English contexts

Many studies using or applying Brown & Levinson’s (1987) politeness analysis have been of English-speaking contexts, and in western hemisphere cultures. Hence, directness is often discussed in terms of the politeness systems of language and/or cultures (Yule, 1996). However, indirect speech acts have varying roles in those different cultures. As discussed begore, indirectness is often used to avoid Goffman’s “bald-on-record”, which is when direct, unqualified statements are seen as potentially face threatening, as they put the addressee in a subordinate, less authoritative position than the speaker. While some cultures might share some strategies such as indirectness to convey politeness, others do not.

Several scholars have disagreed with the claim that the more indirect and act is, the more polite it is (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1991; Wolfson, 1989). Researchers pointed out that some of the strategies described the politeness theory are applicable only to self-dominant or individualistic cultures. In contrast, those strategies and features do not apply to group-dominant or communalistic cultures such as Japanese and Chinese

(Matsumoto, 1989; Ide, 1989; Gu, 1990, Kong, 1998). One of the main points is the Japanese speakers' consideration to Brown and Levinson's (1987) power, social distance, and the degree of imposition of social factors when using honorifics in their language (Fukada & Asato, 2004; Pizziconi, 2003). Another one is the use of "euphemisms, hedging, questioning, and apologising" in Japanese speakers' speech acts to indicate their respect for the hearer (Pizziconi, 2003; Chen, 2010). A polite act in one culture might violate politeness in another language or culture. For example, to call someone by their first name is in the service of involvement or positive face in American or NZ culture. But this might be seen to violate the independence or negative politeness expectations of a person from Asian culture, who expects to use honorifics or titles. This illustrates cultural differences in what is seen as polite, in what context.

Pragmatic features generally vary across cultures and languages. Many studies have identified specific cultural and linguistic norms in issuing different speech acts either in one specific culture (e.g., Brumark, 2010, in Swedish culture; Bhimji 2005, Mexican immigrant families in US) or across different cultures (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1997, who looked at Israeli and American cultures). However, saying that does not imply the cultural norms reflected in speech acts are similar within the same linguistic groups. Previous researchers highlighted some differences across varieties of English (Schneider, 2011; Holmes et al.,2012).

As this thesis, looked at directive speech act addressed to bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children, the next section will review directive speech act in general, followed by in Arabic speakers.

1.3.3.1 Directives

The term 'directive' was defined by Searle (1976) as an attempt by the speaker to get the addressee to do something. A directive is a broad term which can cover a variety of speech

acts such as commands e.g.," I command you to leave", begging someone e.g.," I beg you to leave", suggestions e.g., would you like to leave?", and advice e.g.," I advise you to leave". Directives can be issued using a variety of syntactic forms; which range in their directness such as question form, statement form and imperative form. In English, a question is a clause which has a Verb before the Subject, with optional other elements (Object, Adverbials). A statement is a clause which has a Subject and a Verb clause element in that order, with optional other elements (Object, Adverbials). An imperative is a clause which does not take a Subject, so is a Verb -headed clause with optional other elements (Object, Adverbials). In addition, there is "elliptical" as a clause form. For example, we can say "biscuit?" and it is functioning as a response to a request for information (e.g., answering 'what would you like?') or an offer as in "would you like a biscuit?".

Lakoff (1977) suggested a hierarchy for the forms of directives, starting with questions as the least direct form, to imperatives as the most direct. As explained in the politeness section, the more direct form has been interpreted as having the potential to create a conflict and to be a face-threatening act (Leech, 1983). To illustrate, a requestive act can be issued using an imperative form, the most direct, e.g., "close the window", or using a question form "would you mind closing the window?" It is possible to have an even less direct requestive act by using a statement form, usually described as a "hint" e.g. "it's a bit cold in here".

Directive acts have been examined from several perspectives across pragmatics, child development, psycholinguistics, and applied linguistics (e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Searle, 1975; Goodwin, 1990). Previous scholars (e.g., Schegloff, 1984; Goodwin, 1990; Aronsson & Thorell, 1999) have critiqued Searle's (1976) view of directive acts, as they suggest it limits the directive act to a single utterance produced by the hearer. Rosaldo (1982) pointed out that Searle's analysis of directive acts only considered the 'what' and 'why' of words but

not the 'where', 'how', and 'when' of the context. While the critics in partial agreement with Searle's (1976) view of directive acts as an act of the speaker telling the hearer to do something, they disagree with taking those acts as single utterances without considering the context (Goodwin, 2006; Kidwell, 2006; Vine, 2009).

It is important to include information of what preceded or followed the directive acts. Such information is important to reveal particular information such as why particular forms were chosen for specific functions (Vine, 2009), as directives are used frequently by adults toward children and the socio-pragmatic rules are not the same in issuing directives across different languages.

Directives in Arabic speakers

Cultural, linguistic and contextual differences between two languages may contribute to variations in issuing directive acts. For bilingual children this may mean that the way of issuing directive acts might be different in the two languages they speak. Evidence that the use of directive acts may be different in interactions in Arabic has been found in a number of studies, both between Arabic speakers in Arabic, and in inter-cultural or inter-language contexts.

Several research studies have investigated the realisation of directive acts among Arabic speakers over the last twenty years. To the best of our knowledge, there is no study that has investigated directive acts among Arabic speaking children. In one of the earlier studies that looked in directives issued by Arabic speakers, Atawneh (1991) compared requesting strategies of 30 American native speakers of English, 30 Arabic-English bilinguals living in the U.S. who responded using both English and Arabic, 30 monolingual Arabs who responded using Arabic, and 20 Arabic-English bilinguals living in Palestine who responded using English. The participants ranged in age from twenty to sixty years old. Atawneh

administered a questionnaire which involved role-playing situations. The results revealed that when using Arabic, participants showed more directness in their requestive acts. Atawneh considered that directness in Arabic requestives was a result of the unavailability of an elaborated modal system like English for making indirect requests. He suggested that his study results exhibited an indication of Arabic cultural norms that transfer into the performance of English, and American norms were reflected in bilingual Arabic and English speakers living in the U.S. but not in the bilingual Arabic and English speakers living in Palestine.

Farahat (2009) chose the context of plays written in English and Arabic to examine how directive acts appeared. He had ten plays: five of them using Australian English and five using Palestinian Arabic, and he specifically focused on face-threatening acts. He also found a preference to use direct forms of directive acts among Arabic speakers and suggested that in Arabic cultures directness shows solidarity and in-group identity, especially when social distance is close between the speaker and the hearer. Farahat (2009) explained that requestive acts are not always considered as the most face-threatening acts in Palestinian Arabic culture and suggested that Palestinian society acknowledges the reciprocity of requests. Therefore, even when the speaker issues a request in the present, they are expecting the hearer would need a request back anytime in the future. Therefore, Farahat concluded that indirectness is not used widely for requestive acts in Arabic culture, in contrast, indirectness along with other mitigation markers such as prayers like" may God bless you do…" would be used with the rquestive act.

Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) studied making requests among 364 Yemeni Arabic speaking university students. Their data was collected using a Discourse Completion Test. Al-Marrani and Sazalie (2010) proposed that directness in requestive speech acts was not only accepted

in this Arabic speaking group but was perceived as a positive indication of involvement politeness, as it implied that the speaker assumed only a small social distance between themselves and the hearer. The use of directness as a strategy to express closeness and group-connectedness was highlighted by Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily (2012) as they compared directness in requestive acts made by 30 Saudi Arabic native speakers of Arabic and 30 American native speakers of English. Both groups were undergraduate students who completed a discourse completion test. Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily (2012) concluded that native English speakers used mostly indirectness to convey politeness. On the other hand, native Arabic speakers used different request strategies based on the social variables of power and distance. Irrespective of directness or indirectness to convey a polite request, Arabic speakers relied more on adding external request modifications such as religious softeners and prayers to soften their directive acts (Al-Marrani, 2018).

There were some clear differences in these studies in the way in which directives were issued in Arabic versus English. As this thesis studies bilingual Arabic and English children, it is anticipated that the pragmatic rules vary across the two languages and what is considered acceptable in one language might not be in the other languages. Bilingual speakers can be in a situation where they are pragmatically competent in one language but not necessarily the other language. Or where the pragmatic rules of one language influence the other language used. Therefore, we need to review two important concepts: pragmatic competence and cross-linguistic influence. These two concepts can affect different speech acts which includes directive acts issued by or to bilingual speakers using each language. So, before conducting a study on directive acts issued to bilingual children, we need to review them.

1.3.4 Pragmatic competence

Pragmatic competence, as a concept, originated from the broader concept of communicative competence, associated with Hymes (1966). It was posited in response to the notion of 'linguistic competence' from Chomsky's (1965) writing, wherein language was seen to be primarily a cognitive skill arising in the brain and centred there. The more social and functional linguists felt that there was a significant set of things about language which were not covered by Chomsky's perspective. Hymes indicated that speakers needed Chomsky's notion of 'linguistic competence' plus mastery of the principles of language use, to achieve communicative competence. Therefore, speakers need to use their languages in linguistically and socially appropriate ways. Hymes' concept of communicative competence stimulated different scholars to develop models for communicative competence.

Fraser (1983) used the term 'pragmatic competence' to refer to a performance level that the speaker uses to express his/her intentions by performing speech acts such as requesting, promising and apologising. Canale and Swain (1980) proposed a theory of communicative competence which was later modified by Canale (1983). According to Canale's (1983) framework, communicative competence consisted of four components: grammatical competence, sociocultural competence, strategic competence and discourse competence. As the name indicates, grammatical competence referred to the correct use of syntactical and morphological rules. Sociocultural competence referred to utterance production and comprehension in specific contexts by particular speech communities. Strategic competence covered verbal and nonverbal communication strategies lastly discourse competence referred to rules governing coherence. The significance of this model is that it highlighted the importance of the sociocultural rules that govern pragmatics, which was named by later scholars as pragmatic competence. Faerch and Kasper (1984) proposed a model for pragmatic competence, which was divided into two knowledge categories: declarative and procedural.

Declarative knowledge contained six types of knowledge: linguistic, socio-cultural, speech act, discourse, context, and knowledge of the world. Procedural knowledge covered how categories of declarative knowledge are selected and combined. Another model for pragmatic competence was suggested by Bachman (1990), which divided pragmatic competence into two categories: illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence. Illocutionary competence covered four functions: ideational, manipulative, heuristic, and imaginative. Sociolinguistic competence contained four categories: sensitivity to differences in dialect, sensitivity to register, sensitivity to naturalness, and knowledge of the culture. Bachman (1990) model viewed pragmatic competence as the larger umbrella that included sociolinguistic knowledge. Bialystok (1993) divided pragmatics into three components that involve both speaker and listener. The first component was the ability of the speaker to use his/her language for diverse functions. Second, the listener's ability to understand the intention of the speaker. Third, the knowledge of combining utterances to form discourse. Bilingual individuals need to master the pragmatic rules that apply within specific cultural contexts to prevent pragmatic failure.

1.3.4.1 Pragmatic competence in bilingual contexts

There are two conditions that may result in pragmatic failure in bilingual contexts: first, the speaker's lack of linguistic means to convey the pragmatic knowledge, and differences as to what constitutes appropriateness within each culture (Thomas, 1983). It is not easy to compare pragmatic competence of monolingual and bilingual speakers. Bilingual language acquisition is influenced by the context and the experiences of each language for the learner. Thomas (1983) divided pragmatic competence in bilingual speakers into two broad categories: pragmalinguistic competence and socio-pragmatic competence. Pragmalinguistic refers to the ability to use different linguistic resources to convey speech acts (Cenzo, 2007).

Socio pragmatic competence referred to the ability to use variety of pragmatic strategies to adjust to situational or social factors (Harlow,1990).

In one of the few studies that looked at pragmatic development among bilingual school aged children, Rose (2000) investigated three groups of primary school students who were in three age groups of 7-, 9-, and 11-year-olds in Hong Kong. Students completed tasks to elicit requests, apologies, and compliment responses; in each age group half of the students completed the task using English and the other half using Cantonese. The results indicate that pragmalinguistics take place before socio-pragmatics in the early stages of pragmatic development. In another study, Rose (2009) looked at the responses to requests of Cantonese-speaking high school students learning English at school. She concluded that there was strong evidence of pragmalinguistic development, but little evidence of socio-pragmatic development, except for the increased occurrence of 'please' in requests to higher authority. In another study, Lee (2010) found that the seven and nine-year old Cantonese speakers learning English encountered problems in understanding indirect speech acts, specifically indirect refusals, compliments and complaints. Lee (2010) suggested that Cantonese speakers usually express these three acts directly. The lack of awareness of sociocultural conventions and norms of second language use, and dependence on sociocultural conventions of the first language, led to transfers of the pragmatic norms of the first language to the second language.

A pragmatic transfer has the potential to cause pragmatic failure, as it may violate the sociocultural rules of language use for that language. As such it may violate the politeness rules of a speech community. Usually, if bilingual speakers lack the socio-pragmatic knowledge of what is considered to be appropriate linguistic behaviour in the weaker language, they will use the rules of the stronger language.

1.3.4.2 Cross-linguistic influence: pragmatic transfer

The phenomenon of pragmatic transfer has been largely studied in research into second language acquisition. As such, it has mostly looked at those acquiring their second language after their first, so has focused on speech act realisations among adult second-language learners. Few studies have looked at speech acts among children as bilingual language learners.

Kasper (1992) described pragmatic transfer as the influence that previous pragmatic knowledge has on the use and acquisition of second language pragmatic knowledge. Pragmatic transfer is considered as a positive transfer if the transfer from the first language is consistent with the pattern of the second language. However, if contradicts the second language pattern, then, it is considered as a negative transfer (Kasper, 1992). Eisenstein and Bodman, (1993) gave example of a negative socio-pragmatic transfer in expressing gratitude. In their example, the participant came originally from Puerto Rico but she acquired US English as a second language as she lived for many years in United stated. In the example, the participant thanked her father for taking care of her son, but the father was offended as expressing gratitude between family members is not usual. In their culture, taking care of a family member in this example grandson is viewed as a family duty and saying “thank you” was interpreted by the authors as causing offence because it places a distance between close family members. Takahashi and Beebe in their (1993) study found that second language proficiency was positively correlated with pragmatic transfer. They interpreted this as being second languages learners with a low proficiency level do not have the linguistic ability to transfer their first language forms into their second language. Pragmatic transfer is not restricted to one direction (first language to second language), it can be bidirectional from a first or dominant language to a second or non-dominant language. Studies have highlighted different factors which may affect the amount and type of pragmatic transfer such as second

language proficiency (Olshtain & Cohen, 1989) and length of time in a second-language speaking community (Félix-Bradsefer, 2004).

The above information indicates the possibility of socio-pragmatic transfers from Arabic to English or vice versa from English to Arabic. As mentioned before, the sociocultural rules of issuing directives are different between Arabic and English, which may lead to a negative pragmatic transfer. This phenomenon will be studied in this thesis as part of studying directives issued to bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children.

This section has indicated the scope of pragmatics and its importance to communicative competence. It has also indicated the complexity of pragmatics, and how different models have attempted to unpack what it consists of. This complexity includes the notions of face and politeness, and how these interact with speech act theory; the way we do things with language. It is complex enough to learn in one language: even more so in learning multiple languages. The context of learning more than one language has two impacts on studying pragmatics. One is that it puts pragmatic rules into sharp relief by showing how relative or variable the rules are. The second is that it shows the complexity of the task of bilingual language learning. Language is not just linguistic; it is social and cultural, and these are the areas which pragmatics is most embedded within.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Knowledge about bilingual language development in children growing up among Arabic speaking families in New Zealand is surrounded by gaps. First, there is very little information available on the development of bilingualism in children in Arabic-English speaking contexts anywhere, and no information on this issue for New Zealand has been found. Second, we are missing some basic information about the Arabic speaking community in New Zealand and the contexts of exposure to Arabic among children, and as part of that the language

competence of families. Although New Zealand Statistics (2018) provides information about individuals' reports of their ability to speak Arabic, the data is blunt. There is little information about the actual use of Arabic, or the degree of exposure to the Arabic language at home. It does not indicate proficiency as an individual's identification as a speaker of a language does not always imply consistent language use. Third, pragmatics has not been widely researched in bilingual children. Studies of speech acts appear on monolingual or bilingual adults or older children, mainly those learning English as a second language (e.g., Hill, 1997; Lee, 2010; Rose, 2009; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993; Kasper, 1992).

Bilingual language development is affected by the quantity and quality of each language that children are surrounded by. For minority languages, children's language development is affected by how long they and their parents have been in the other-language dominant country, how competent the caregivers feel in their use of the languages, and what their educational backgrounds are, and how motivated they are to maintain a home language, among other things. Studies have highlighted Arabic-speaking parents' strong motives to maintain the use of Arabic at home (Al-Sahafi, 2015), however, this alone is not sufficient to provide full support for children to grow up and be able to speak the minority language (King, 2000).

Research on Arabic speaking families in English-dominant countries in a home context has shown that although parents preferred the use of Arabic, children in those families tended to use English (Al-Sahafi, 2015; Yazan & Ali, 2018). Code-switching is a natural bilingual phenomenon, and studies have indicated that code-switching can be used strategically to mark certain communication functions (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Myers-Scotton, 1993). In this case, the use of natural phenomena such as code-switching at home in an Arabic-speaking context might interfere with parents' preferences. The picture is not clear on how

Arabic speaking families in New Zealand viewed their Arabic language and how both languages (Arabic and English) were used in a home context.

It is common for bilingual minority language speakers to have most of their exposure to the minority language at home and the majority language outside home in domains like school. Bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children in New Zealand are probably exposed to the two languages in two different contexts. The two language contexts are also different in terms of the dominant cultures in each, which are relevant when considering pragmatic skills. This may indicate those children would be exposed to different socio-pragmatic uses in each language-spoken context. Pragmatic features include face and politeness in language, speech acts, and many others. How these operate are not predictable from the outside of any cultural or social group, but are very predictable from the inside, and this is where the cultural language interface becomes clearest.

In both Arabic and English-speaking contexts, adults use directive speech acts when interacting with children. We believe a directive is an important speech act to study for different reasons. First, it is used frequently by adults as a tool to guide children in what to do and how to do it (Halle & Shatz, 1994; Waring & Hruska, 2012, Moore, 2013). Children are taught certain culturally appropriate ways in which they need to respond to directives. Second, bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children may be exposed to two sets of directives that differ in their socio-cultural rules. Cross-linguistic studies among adults' use of Arabic and English directives tell us that for politeness and face-saving reasons indirectness is usually preferred when issuing directives in English, but not in the Arabic language (Atawneh, 1991; Farahat, 2009; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012). This may lead us to assume that bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children would receive a direct directive from their parents in Arabic and indirect directives from their children using English.

It is not clear how bilingual children perceive the two different sets of directives. There are many studies that have provided strong evidence of early language differentiation among bilingual children (e.g., Genesee et al.,1996; Genesee, Nicoladis, & Paradis, 1995; Köppe, 1996). However, the question is still unanswered as to whether the realisation of a particular speech act using one language may lead to conflict in another context when the other language is used. For example, an Arabic-speaking mother in New Zealand may routinely issue a direct directive like "clean your toys" to her three-year-old child. This child starts to attend kindergarten and the teacher may issue a directive like "it is clean up time" or "would you like to clean up the toys?" It is not clear if this child would treat the teacher's statement and question as a directive or would consider the statement as a comment or would try to answer the question according to his/her preference. However, considering the fact that those bilingual children and their families live in a majority English-speaking country may present another possible scenario. In this scenario, the mother might show a pragmatic transfer or cross-linguistic influence from English into Arabic when issuing directives. This means that the mother issues a directive using Arabic, but not in a direct form, instead she could use a hint statement or a question form.

This thesis starts with some background for pragmatic studies on bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children in New Zealand by first gathering information on this relatively small and little researched community. It then gathers data language use and exploring the language learning environments for children growing up among Arabic-speaking families. From that data, it investigates some critical aspects of pragmatics, particularly directives issued using the two languages to bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children and how they responded to them.

1.5 Thesis Aims

The overarching aim of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of pragmatics, which bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children are exposed to or use when growing up in a majority English-speaking context. To achieve this aim we needed first to discover the language-learning environment for children growing up among Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand. Therefore, the first goal of this thesis is to collect macro level data about children's exposure and the opportunities they have to use both languages, and demographic data which may affect language use e.g., family size and the number of years they have spent in an English-speaking country. This information was gathered through a survey for Arabic speaking families living in New Zealand.

The second goal of this thesis is to highlight if Arabic-speaking mothers hold certain beliefs regarding Arabic language use, and if so, explore the reflection of those believes on home language practices. To fulfil this goal, observations and interviews with Arabic-speaking mothers in a home context were conducted. The third goal of the thesis is to identify the functions and situations in which code-switching to English took place at home during natural interactions between children and their Arabic-speaking mothers. The fourth goal is to explore how directives were issued to children by their mothers at home speaking Arabic and by their teachers in preschool in an English-speaking context. The fifth goal is to identify how bilingual children respond to different forms of directives issued using two different languages and if they exhibit any form of pragmatic influence from one language to another across the two contexts.

To answer the last four questions, I needed to carry out a qualitative study which includes naturalistic observational data of the context in which children use each language the most. Such data provides a holistic picture of the dynamics of language use and enables deep

analysis of the complexities in each language and their cultural and contextual differences. Children ranging in ages from three to five years participated in this study. This age range was chosen for the following main reasons: (1) Children in this age range start to produce more complex and abstract utterances in conversations; and (2) At the age of three, children in New Zealand are entitled to begin 20 hours of early childhood education, which may indicate that more children will be enrolled in a majority English speaking context.

2 Methods

Three types of data have been collected for the present thesis: survey data about Arabic speaking families in New Zealand, interviews with Arabic-speaking mothers and with English-speaking teachers, and recordings of Arabic speaking children's natural interactions in two different contexts – at home with mothers and at kindergarten with English-speaking teachers.

The first part of the study was gathering information about the language-learning environment for children growing up in Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand. This goal was addressed by conducting a survey open to Arabic-speaking families living in New Zealand. The survey's findings highlighted the need to further understand the contexts of Arabic and English language use, mothers' beliefs and practices about their children's use of language and teachers' input about these children's use of English. To fulfil these purposes, two sets of qualitative data were collected; interviews with mothers and teachers to understand their beliefs about each language, and recordings of interactions between children and their mothers (in Arabic at home) and the same children and their kindergarten teachers (in English, at kindergarten) to observe the languages in use.

2.1 Survey

2.1.1 Participants

Participation was open to parents of children who were exposed to Arabic as their home language and who were living in New Zealand. The survey was distributed initially through my contacts in Arabic weekend language schools in Auckland, who posted an invitation on a "WhatsApp" social networking group for Arabs in New Zealand. Snowball sampling was also used to recruit participants, in that potential participants were asked to pass on the recruitment notice or email to anyone they knew who met the criteria. As the potential

participants are a minority group in New Zealand, the use of social networks utilised by the snowballing technique is a recommended method (Parker et al., 2019). A second distribution was through Facebook pages that were dedicated to Arabic and/or Muslim families in New Zealand, and a third through some Twitter accounts which were dedicated to specific relevant groups of people in New Zealand such as Saudi students. Snowballing was also used in these places of recruitment.

Each of these postings included an invitation to participate, with a link to a detailed information sheet, and a link to the survey itself. The information sheet was available to potential participants before they started to answer the survey. Included in a preamble to the survey was a statement that submitting the survey would be considered as meaning that they have agreed to take part in the research under the terms in the participant information sheet (see appendix 9.2). They were also informed there that their response could not be withdrawn after they had submitted, as the survey was anonymous and there was no way of telling which response was theirs. Participants were also given contact details of the researchers for any questions they may have had.

A total of 91 people completed the survey, however, six were found to not meet the criteria, mainly through not having children or not speaking Arabic as their native language at home, leaving a participant group of 85. The three contact points accessed different groups (e.g., different home countries or different lengths of time lived in New Zealand), as became clear in the survey results. Most commonly, participants received the invitation from a friend or came across it through social media, mainly the Facebook pages or Twitter accounts.

There is little detailed data on the nature of the Arabic-speaking population in New Zealand. Census data contains little detail of such groups, which do not have many historical links to this country, and which change rapidly. The demographics of the participants in this survey

may be typical of the Arabic-speaking population in New Zealand, but until more research becomes available it is not possible to be sure.

2.1.2 Instrument

An online anonymous survey was constructed using Qualtrics software. It was aimed at Arabic-speaking families currently living in New Zealand who had children. The survey was designed to be answered by a family member and included questions about both parents. All the information was available in both Arabic and English, and the language option could be selected at the beginning. The survey was developed in English and translated into Arabic by the researcher, a first language speaker of Arabic, and was then reviewed and edited by a second bilingual Arabic-English individual whose first language was Arabic and who worked in the field of English-Arabic translation.

The survey was designed to elicit information about the factors which can affect language development in bilingual children, where the first language of the parents is a minority language in the society, they are living in. The literature suggests that some these factors are; the reasons the family are in the country concerned (e.g. refugees, voluntary migrants, students, etc), their socio-economic status, the language proficiency in each language for the adults including literacy in each language, the education level of the parents, and the amount of exposure the children have to each language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Genesee et al., 2004; Gathercole, 2007 Guardado, 2002; Lambert &Taylor, 1996; Surrain, 2018). The survey asked questions in each of these areas (see appendix 9.3). The survey was trialled with three people in the Arabic-speaking community, to ensure that the questions were clear and to identify any possible misunderstandings. Based on their feedback, minor modifications were made to the survey.

The survey included an overview about the project, available in both languages (Arabic and English), which contained brief information about the researcher and the research. Respondents were given the option of not responding to any question if they didn't want to (for example, their reasons for being in New Zealand). However, some people may have felt uncomfortable filling in or sharing some personal information about their immigration to New Zealand with unknown persons or in an online survey. Some 200 people opened the survey link and read the questions but did not participate, and this may explain why. Such fears and hesitation in Arabic communities about participating in surveys have been reported by several researchers in different countries such as New Zealand, Australia and America (Kadri, 2009; Kenny, Mansouri, & Spratt, 2005).

2.2 Interviews and Interaction Recordings

2.2.1 Recruitment of Participants

Invitations to participate in this study were distributed among families whose children were exposed to both Arabic and English and were living in New Zealand. The survey (see Chapter 3) included an option for respondents to indicate if they would be interested in participating further in the research. Forty people indicated yes and were contacted via email to see if they were interested in taking part in this research study. Out of those forty, only one responded that she was interested to take place in this study. As this method did not result in a sufficient number of participants, snowballing or a social network framework was used. In this method, reaching participants was through a friend of a friend and/ or trustworthy person (Mesthrie, 2013). This helped in providing some assurance about the researcher's credibility and releasing uncertainties about the research. Contacts in Arabic schools in Auckland were approached and agreed to post the study advertisement on their noticeboards. These contacts and friends posted the invitation on "WhatsApp" groups and Facebook pages for Arabic

families in Auckland or Hamilton. Any potential participants were asked to forward the invitation to any families they knew who may be interested.

Twenty-seven mothers indicated interest in participating in the study. The majority of those mothers were keen to support their children's use of the Arabic language and viewed this research as an opportunity to shed some light on Arabic language research. However, of those twenty-seven only twelve were recruited as research participants. The main reason the mothers stated what prevented them from participating in the study was that they were not comfortable being video recorded. Although this information was stated in the advertisement, perhaps some of them had not read it in its entirety and others assumed the video recording would be for the child only. Considering the cultural and religious factors for the potential participant mothers, it would help to understand the reasons for their discomfort at being video recorded. All those mothers are Arabic Muslims wearing hijabs (what Muslim ladies wear in front of male non-family members), therefore, video recordings in a natural home environment for research purposes is not expected to be a positive choice for the majority. Generally, in Islamic culture men and women sit apart during visits. (Dagamseh, 2020). It is common for men and women who are not within the same family to socialise separately. Usually, the husband sits with men and the wife sits with women. That is the main reason why I did not include fathers in the data collection. As this is not usually within the social norms of Islamic families, and this may impact natural interaction.

In contrast to the cultural issues concerning recruiting mothers to the study, the recruitment of the teachers was a more straightforward process. Twelve kindergarten head teachers were approached, nine of them gave permission to this research taking place in their facilities and coordinated with the teachers. Nine kindergarten teachers agreed to participate and signed the consent forms. In New Zealand, children between the age of three and five usually attend

early childhood education. The government fully funds 20 hours per week of early childhood education for all children over 3 years of age. The foundations of New Zealand's national early childhood curriculum "Te Whāriki" are; empowerment, holistic development, family and community and relationships. Te Whāriki is designed to foster "children who are competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society" (Ministry of Education, 2017, P.5).

2.2.2 Participants' information

Participants included 13 children, 12 Arabic-speaking mothers and nine English-speaking kindergarten teachers. The criteria were: (1) Children were in the age range of three to five years old; (2) Their parents speak Arabic as their primary language; (3) Children were not regularly exposed to other languages other than Arabic and English; and (4) Children had no known hearing or speech problems and no other developmental delays or disorders.

The mothers in this study were born in countries other than New Zealand and arrived in New Zealand at different ages within the last 20 years, with the majority arriving within the previous 10 years. Table 2.1 provides a summary of all the mothers participating in the study (all names are pseudonyms). All mothers' spouses were originally from the same home country and spoke the same Arabic dialect, except for Dunia, who does not share the same home country and dialect with her husband. All the mothers reported that Arabic was their first language. While Luma reported that Arabic was her first language, she indicated that English was her strongest language.

Table 2.1

Mothers' Information

Participant mother (child)*	Education/ Spouse's Education	Job/ Spouse's Job	Strongest Language	Years in NZ	Ages of Children**
Dalia (Fatem)	PhD/MD	TA/ Medical doctor	Arabic	12	10 & **4**
Noor (Ali)	BSc/BSc	MSc student/ IT specialist	Equal	9	8 & **4**
Maryiam (Dana & Jana)	BSc/MSc	FT mother/ Pharmacist	Arabic	4	**4** & **3**
Rana (Zahra)	BSc/BSc	MSc student/ IT specialist	Arabic	8	6 & **4**
May (Maya)	BSc/BSc	FT mother/ Engineer	Arabic	3	9, 7 & **4**
Faridah (Ammar)	Diploma/BSc	FT mother & Teacher Arabic weekend school/ Engineer	Arabic	2	14, 9 & **3**
Daya (Zeyad)	BSc/BSc	FT mother & owns a small business which she runs from home/ IT specialist	Arabic	2	7, 6 & **4**
Fouz (Jasem)	High school (NZ)/ diploma (overseas)	FT mother/ Taxi Driver	Arabic	16	14, 10 & **4**
Dunia (Amina)	Not enrolled in any formal education	FT mother/ casual jobs	Arabic	8	7, 6 & **4**
Shereen (Soma)	BSc/BSc	IT specialist/ Engineer	Arabic	4	7 & **4**
Luma (Farah)	Diploma/BSc	FT mother /Engineer	English	18	3 & **2**
Waad (Basem)	Diploma/MSc	FT mother/ Engineer	Arabic	2	6 & **3**

*All names are pseudonyms **target child in bold

The children attended different kindergartens in different neighbourhoods across Auckland, except for two participants who attended the same kindergarten. All children in this study were enrolled in kindergarten for at least twenty hours a week (see Table 2.2 for more

information about children). All the teachers are native English speakers with different educational backgrounds and years of experience (see Table 2.3 for more information about teachers).

Table 2.2

Children's Information

Child's Name	Age	Age of Enrolment (in KG or day care)	KG hours/week	Recording Type/Place
Ali	4.7	6 months	40	Video/Home &KG
Dana	4.5	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Zahra	4.9	1 year	30	Video/Home &KG
Maya	4.2	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Ammar	3.7	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Zeyad	4.1	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Amina	4.3	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Basem	3.3	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Jasem	4.10	3 years	20	Video/Home &KG
Fatem	4.2	3 months	40	Video/Home
Soma	3.10	6 months	40	Audio/home
Farah	3.8	2.5 years	20	Audio/home
Jana	3.1	3 years	20	Audio/home

Table 2.3

Teachers Information

Teacher	Teaching qualification	Years of Experience
Ali's Teacher	BSc	3
Dana's Teacher	Certificate	21
Zahra's Teacher	Diploma	6
Maya's Teacher	Diploma	14
Ammar's Teacher	BSc	2
Zeyad's Teacher	Diploma	12
Amina's Teacher	BSc	4
Basem's Teacher	Diploma	5
Jasem's Teacher	Certificate	25

2.2.3 Procedure

The data were collected through visits to each participant child in both the home and kindergarten. Twelve were home visits and nine were kindergarten visits. Each visit was divided into two parts. Part one included structured interviews with the mother or teacher for about one hour. The mothers were asked about their preferred language to conduct the interview and all mothers chose Arabic, except Luma, who chose English. The interviews cover issues about the family's immigration to New Zealand, family composition, mothers' beliefs and attitudes to Arabic and English languages, Arabic and English language use, child's exposure to different languages and their perceived competence in the different languages, and Arabic language practices and management (see Appendix 9.4 for interview schedule). During the interviews, children were sitting in the same room where their mothers interviewed. Children were playing with their toys or doing some of their activities on their own. Sometimes, minor interruptions to the interviews took place as children needed their mother's help. In that case, the interview was paused for few minutes until the mothers were

ready to continue. During teachers' interviews, children were doing their routinely kindergarten activities. Teachers' interviews included questions about their teaching experience and educational background, frequency of meeting the participant's child and any concerns about the child's development or behaviour (see Appendix 9.4 for interview schedule). Interviews with teachers and with mothers were recorded using portable digital recorder. The recorder was placed in the middle between me (the interviewer) and the interviewee.

Part two involved recordings of natural interaction between the participants' children and their mothers at home and with their teachers at kindergarten. Each recording session of natural interaction lasted for about one hour. I paused the recordings for less than five minutes in three occasions. Two of them, the participants children needed to go to toilet and in the third, one of the mothers needed to answer her phone. So, I paused that to maintain her privacy. The recordings were in one(child) to one(adult) across different activities such as sharing books, drawings and doing crafts and playing. The recordings included verbal and non-verbal interaction taking place between the children and adults. However, the amount of verbal interaction varies between activities. For example, when the child was doing an activity that they were confident with is not the same as when the child was doing a new activity that they needed the adult's assistance.

Two of the twelve home recordings were audio recordings and the remaining ten are video recordings. This is because two of the participant mothers (Luma and Shereen) did not feel comfortable to be video recorded, so we switched to audio recording, as they did not mind that. Mothers were asked to do as they normally would do at home. The home recordings included mothers and their children across a variety of situations such as snack time, the

child's solo play and the mother commenting on their playing, the child and mother playing together, and mother and child sharing books, activities or drawings and doing crafts.

Nine of the ten children who were video recorded at home were video recorded again interacting with their English-speaking teachers, as nine kindergartens consented to participate in this study. At the kindergarten, the teacher was asked to interact one-to-one with the child about things they would normally interact with children at preschool. During the recordings the teachers and children sat in a corner doing a variety of activities such as crafts, playing with cars, blocks, tea sets and doing a puzzle. Portable digital video recorder was used, which gave some flexibility in tracking children as they were moving and capturing contextual cues in the environment.

All recordings from home and kindergarten were transcribed into the same language spoken. They were transcribed entirely with the only parts omitted being interruptions by a third party talking to the adult participants and did not involve the participants' children. Two professional transcribers were employed to assist with transcription. Confidentiality Agreements were signed by them to ensure privacy and to observe ethical standards. A transcriber who speaks English as a first language transcribed the kindergarten recordings. Another transcriber who is bilingual Arabic- English speaker but speaks Arabic as a first language transcribed the home recordings. To familiarize the transcribers with the recordings, I briefed them about the project and clarified the content of the recordings with them before sending them. During transcription, they asked few questions about the recordings. One of the questions was what to do if the child produces unintelligible utterance. In which we decided to write between brackets not clear if the transcriber cannot tell what the child said. However, if the transcriber not sure what the child said to indicate that by writing between brackets what she thinks. The same is applicable for adults' responses. It should be

acknowledged that transcription is not theory neutral. Although it is an objective process to represent the data, it relies on the researcher theories and this has the potential to influence the interpretation cycle (Ochs 1979).

2.3 Analysis

It should be noted that this thesis did not start with a predetermined set of analyses, instead all the analyses are driven by the flow of data. Different methods of analysis were used in different chapters that corresponded with the chapters' aims. The survey results were analysed using descriptive statistics, mainly frequencies and percentages which allowed simple descriptive comparisons between the different categories of questions. Interviews were thematically analysed according to study 2 specific themes and codes (see chapter 4 for more details). The transcripts of the video recordings from home and kindergarten were used for coding the data into speech acts. In the transcripts some situational information and non-verbal behaviours notes were included as needed to support better understanding of the verbal output. Every speech act was analysed using Fey's (1986) socio-conversational analysis with some modifications (see Table 2.4). To ensure accuracy, my supervisor reviewed a sample of the analysis, gave me some comments, we met to discuss them further and applied a group analysis exercise.

First, home recordings and mothers' interviews were used to observe Arabic and English language use and the reflections of mothers' beliefs and attitudes on language practices. During the recordings it was noticed that mainly the children and sometimes mothers code-switched to English. However, it was not clear why and in which situations code-switching to the English language took place in an Arabic-speaking context; therefore, this issue is analysed and studied using home video recordings in Chapter 5. Only home recordings were included in Chapter 5, since in kindergarten none of the children exhibited code-switching

from English to Arabic (see Chapter 5 for more details). An in-depth analysis of the recordings of natural interactions between adults and children in two language contexts was conducted as well as throughout the data in both contexts – Arabic speaking context (home) and English-speaking context (kindergarten) as it was found that directive speech acts were used frequently by adults in both settings when interacting with children. Therefore, the reasons and forms of directives issued using both languages with children and how they responded to those directives are addressed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 (see Chapters 6 & 7 for more detail).

Table 2.4

Fey's (1986) Socio-Conversational Analysis

Assertive Acts	**Examples**	**Responsive Acts**	**Example**
Request for information	What is that?	**Response to request for information**	It's a map
Request for action	Get your bag, please	**Response to request for action**	O.K.
Request for clarification	Which one?	**Response to request for clarification**	The black shoes
Request for attention	Look!	**Response to request for attention**	Wow!
Assertive statement	"It is gonna break"	**Response to assertive act (RSAS)**	Yeah
Assertive comment	"You're making giants"	**Imitation**	
Assertive denial	No, it isn't		
Performative	Oh		

2.4 Personal Position

It was not easy to recruit participants (Arabic mothers) from a considerably conservative culture who value their privacy. However, home visits expedited establishing rapport with the participants and helped them to open up to the researcher (who is Arabic). To illustrate this, good hospitality is a very important aspect of Arabic culture and part of it is talking and

elaborating with guests (in this case the PhD student). Therefore, the mothers answered the interviewer's open-ended questions spontaneously and elaborated about their personal stories.

The commonalities I shared with the participants mothers were in terms of language, culture, living in New Zealand and the research area being bilingual and raising bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children. Sharing such similarities contributed to a deeper understanding of the areas under investigation and helped in building a rapport and trust between me and the participant mothers in this thesis. Qualitive research foregrounds value the insights of personal experiences (Moch & Gates, 2000) and here my language background helped my observation of the contextual cues during the data collection. Clearly, I was not conducting a participant observation which is a "systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall & Rossman,1989, P.79). However, it is possible that those similarities may impose potential risk of me being too familiar with participants' customs and this may have the potential to affect the interpretation of the data. In this thesis, this risk was dealt with by one or more of the following strategies. First, any insight from my background that overlaps with this study data was treated as a claim in which this thesis data presented as evidence to support or challenge it through data examination and analysis. Second, all the studies in this thesis were reviewed by my supervisors who are experts in bilingualism and pragmatic development and do not speak Arabic. Therefore, they do not share all the commonalities I share with the participant mothers. They reviewed and we discussed different analytical systems, the results, and their interpretation. My supervisors' neutral positions were helpful in raising a red flag to possible biases toward result interruption.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

As this thesis involves children growing up in an Arabic-speaking community in New Zealand, some of the key ethical considerations include avoiding causing harm to vulnerable participants, developing a relationship of trust, respecting community cultural norms, ensuring voluntary participation, keeping participants' identity confidential, and providing full information about the research (Denscombe, 2007; Israel & Hay, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). These considerations were addressed in the study at all stages. To maintain participant confidentiality, names and identifying details are not included in any output of this study. However, as the study concerns a small community of people (Arabic speakers in New Zealand) who may know each other, there is a risk that others may be able to guess the identity of a participant or identify them by their demographic information. Every effort was made to ensure anonymity in written and oral presentations, but this risk was made explicit in participant information sheets and consent forms.

Two separate ethics approvals were granted from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC); one of them for the survey study, protocol number 019687 and the other for home and kindergarten visits, protocol number 019473. Participant information forms and consent forms were available in both languages – Arabic and English. Participants were given freedom to select which version of the consent form and information sheet they wanted to read. Full information about the context of the study, the main purpose, participants' roles in the study, their rights, highlighting that their participation in the study is voluntary, and that they have the right to withdraw (up to two weeks after their participation and any data collected will be withdrawn from the study and destroyed or deleted) without any negative consequences. My email address was provided, and full contact details of my supervisors were included in the information sheet in case any potential participants had any questions or concerns about the study.

During the home visit, I reviewed the project information sheet and the consent form with the participants, answered any questions they may have had about the study and then asked them to sign the consent form. As this study involves children who are considered as vulnerable participants, children will be with their mother for the purposes of the research and not alone with the researcher, and consent will be given on their behalf by their mothers. Data collection began only after each participant had signed the consent form. By signing the consent form, permission to conduct and to record was given. Two participants requested to be audio recorded instead of video recorded. During the interviews, I reconfirmed to participants that they had the right to refuse to discuss or answer any sensitive questions. All recordings were kept securely and labelled with participants' pseudonyms and were transcribed by a third party. A Confidentiality Agreement was signed by the transcribers to ensure privacy and to observe ethical standards. I sent records to the transcribers without revealing the names of the participants and who they were.

3 Bilingualism in Children with Arabic-speaking Parents in New Zealand; the Nature of the Language Learning Environment

3.1 Introduction

Bilingual language development is affected by the amount, type and quality of exposure children have to their two languages (Paradis, 2011). Therefore, an understanding of the factors that influence each language exposure would help understand the child's presenting communication skills. The delivery of educational and clinical services to bilingual children can be improved by planning how to support their bilingual language development (Kohnert, 2010). This has the potential to positively affect bilingual children's sense of belonging in the society and help them in building their identities. It is common for bilingual children in minority-language speaking families to have most of their exposure to this language in the home (Guardado & Becker, 2014). Over the past decade, many studies have been conducted on aspects of minority language practices, shifts and maintenance in the home context (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Guardado, 2002; Hu, Torr & Whiteman, 2014; Surrain, 2018). (Hirsch, & Lee, 2018). Studies involving Arabic speakers in New Zealand have looked at Arabic language use and proficiency among adult Arabic speakers (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Dagamseh, 2020). Arabic language maintenance practices among a closed group of Arabic community school attendees have also received attention (Al-Sahafi, 2015). However, there is very little information about even the basic factors mentioned, of amount, type and quality of exposure to the two languages, in the language development of Arabic-English speaking children in New Zealand, hence study needs to begin here.

Studies in other countries have looked at the family context of Arabic language use in English speaking countries but not all the findings can be generalised. Arabic-speaking communities can vary a great deal; for example, it might be a longstanding community in one area (e.g., Yemeni in Sheffield, see Ferguson, 2013) or a relatively small new community in another area (e.g., Arabs in Toowoomba, Australia, see Abdelhadi, 2018). These types of variation will affect the acquisition of Arabic and therefore the features of bilingualism among children growing up in those families.

Previous studies of Arabic speakers across different English-speaking countries have made a clear connection between immigrant Arabic families having a positive attitude toward maintaining Arabic and their desire to uphold Arabic identify and/or their affiliation to Islam (Al- Sahafi, 2015; Gomaa, 2011 & Yazen and Ali, 2018). In one recent study in an immigrant family in the U.S., Yazen and Ali (2018) concluded that the main motivator to maintain Arabic was to practice Islam and to keep the Islamic identity. Gomaa (2011) studied Arabic language use and maintenance among Muslim and Christian Egyptian families in the UK and reported that ethnic identity and/or religion played a major role in maintaining the Arabic language. In one of the few studies in a New Zealand context, Al-Sahafi (2015) studied the attitudes and practices towards Arabic of ten Arabic immigrants' fathers whose children attended an Arabic complementary school in New Zealand. He concluded that participants viewed the Arabic language as an essential marker for Arabic and Islamic identity. Although Arabic was used primarily in parent-child interactions, children used English when interacting with their peers. This led Al-Sahafi (2015) to advocate for more domains for speakers to use the Arabic language in New Zealand.

Studies that looked into the opportunities that Arabic language speakers have to use Arabic identified the home, community complementary weekend Arabic schools and the

concentration of Arabis speakers in specific neighbourhoods (Al-Sahafi, 2015; Bale, 2010; Dweik, 1998; Ferguson, 2013; Gomaa, 2011; Turjoman, 2017; Yazan & Ali, 2018). However, the quality of Arabic language exposure differs in those domains and not all of those three domains would be available to every Arabic immigrant family. Arabic complementary schools are one of the main strategies used by Arabic speaking families but researchers have questioned how effective they actually are (Al-Sahafi, 2015; Ferguson, 2013; Turjoman, 2017). Ferguson (2013) observed language practices in Arabic complementary schools in the UK and described the pattern of language use among teachers and students as asymmetric. Arabic was the dominant language among the teachers and English was the dominant language among the students. This led Ferguson to differentiate between two groups: the younger UK born individuals, describing their bilingualism as English-dominant bilingualism versus older individuals (teachers and parents), where both languages were equal, or Arabic was the dominant language. Both Ferguson (2013) and Al-Sahafi (2015) pointed to the challenges that Arabic school attendees faced in standard Arabic, therefore in acquiring Arabic literacy skills.

Although the above-mentioned studies have provided information about the motives for maintaining Arabic language use and the opportunities children have to use it, they did not provide information about the family factors which influenced Arabic language use. For example, Hirsch and Lee (2018) in their systematic review found that factors like family living arrangements or reasons for moving outside the home country and the length of stay in the host country should be taken into consideration. Details about the reasons the family had for moving, information about the family's plans, about the children and composition of the family, and about immigrant families needing to understand family approaches regarding minority language shift or maintenance should all be investigated.

This study aims to explore the language-learning environment and the factors which can influence Arabic language use among children growing up in Arabic speaking families in New Zealand. The literature has shown that some basic information on the factors involved in growing up with Arabic and English will aid our understanding of bilingual language development in this population.

3.2 Methods

An online survey was used to obtain information from Arabic-speaking families living in New Zealand, via the adults in the family. See Chapter 2(section 2.1) for details of how the survey was developed and administered, and how participants were located. See appendix 9.3 for the survey questions.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Country of origin

The 85 participants originally came from 14 different Arabic countries. One participant came from Iran, which is not an Arabic-speaking country, as Farsi is the official language and the population mostly identifies as Persian rather than Arabic, but there is an Arabic speaking minority in Iran. Table 3.1 shows the participants' home countries. It should be noted that 10 participants reported that their spouses came from different countries to themselves, with five of them from non-Arabic countries. This suggests they are not a homogeneous population and may be speaking a range of dialects. However, as 75 responses (88%) indicated that both parents came from the same country there seems a high likelihood of the same dialect being spoken within a home. For example, if both of the parents came from Iraq, it is most likely that Iraqi dialect is used at home. Children at these homes will mostly be exposed to the dialects their parents speak (Albirini, 2016).

Table 3.1

Participants' Home Country

Home Country	Number of Participants	Spouse Home Country
Saudi Arabia	30	29
Iraq	12	10
Egypt	11	10
Jordan	8	8
Syria	5	5
Palestine	4	3
Bahrain	3	3
UAE	3	3
Lebanon	3	3
Kuwait	2	2
Yemen	1	1
Iran	1	1
Morocco	1	1
Tunisia	1	1
Total	85	80

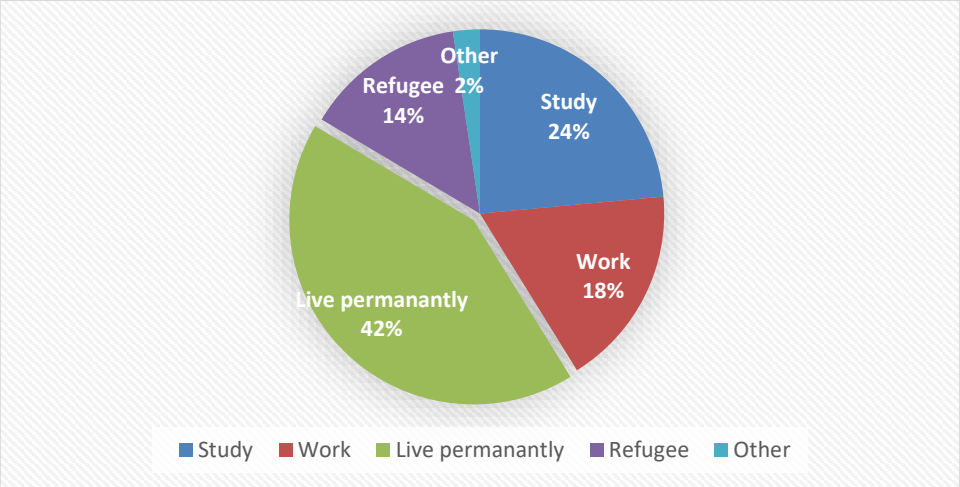
3.3.2 Moving to New Zealand

The degree of commitment that a family might feel to a new country may influence the uses of their languages. Refugees might represent a very different demographic to students and might retain major uses of a home language as their own, whereas students might be out in the dominant community more and might use their home language relatively less. On the other hand, a student may only be here temporarily and might not expect their children to learn the dominant language, whereas those having permanent residency may prefer for them and their children to fit in. These points may all affect the language learning environments they provide for their children. The Arab population in New Zealand who were in this study seemed to largely be here by choice, and to have been here for a relatively short time. Eighty-

four percent of the group were either permanent residents or students, with only fourteen percent refugees (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1

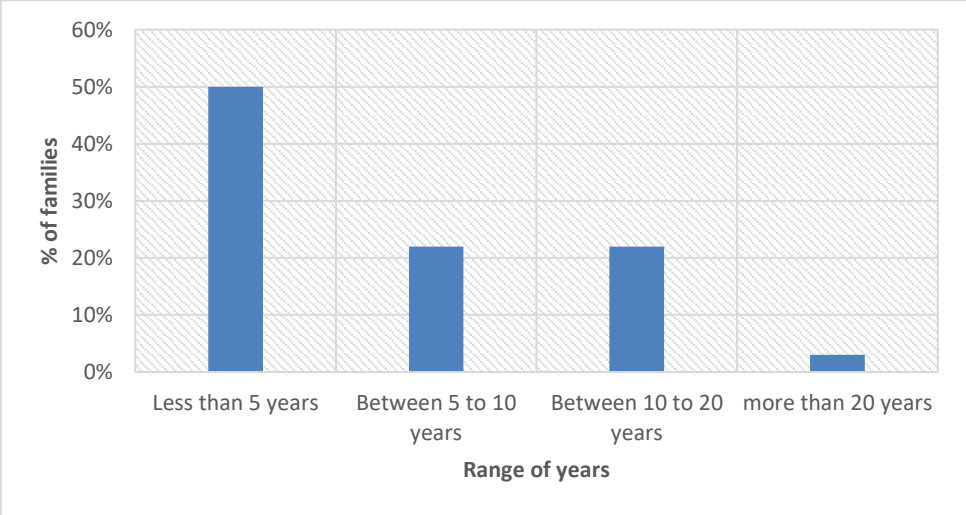
Reasons for Moving to New Zealand



In this sample, the number of years in New Zealand shows that the majority of families were first-generation immigrants (Figure 3.2). Fifty percent had been in NZ fewer than 5 years, and only 2% for more than 20 years.

Figure 3.2

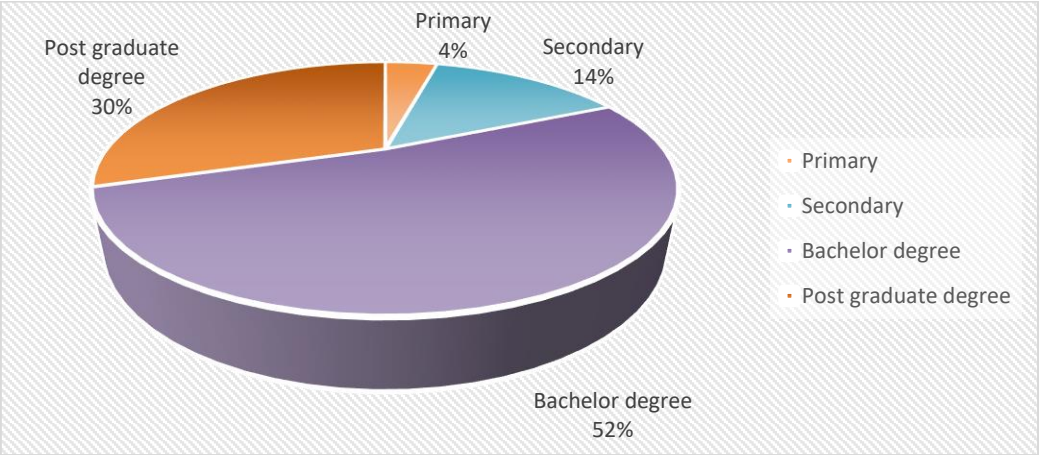
Years in New Zealand



3.3.3 Education and occupation

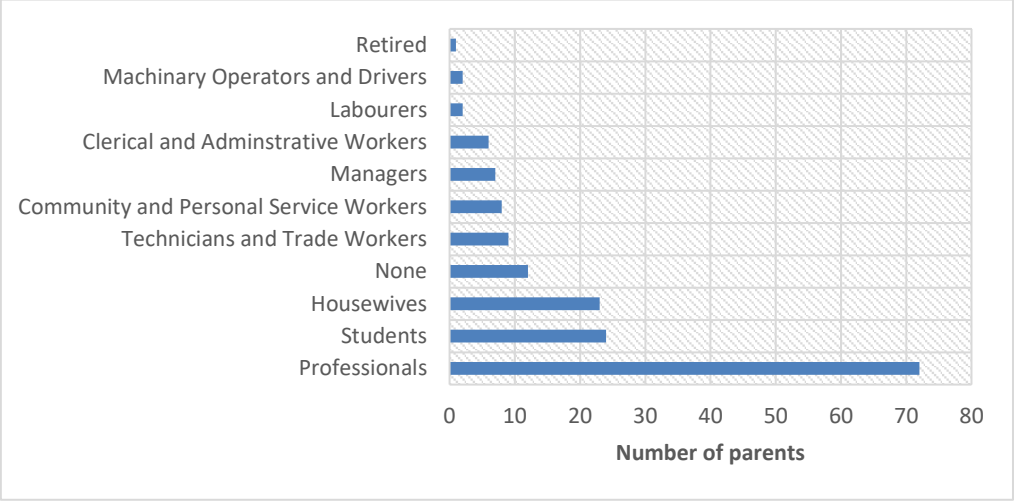
Education levels for the participants were high: 52% had a bachelor degree, and 30% had a postgraduate degree (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3
Education Level



Correspondingly a high proportion of participants (who reported on both parents) were in professional occupations and other skilled areas or were students (Figure 3.4). The educational levels of these parents related to New Zealand immigration policy of prioritising skilled and professional workers.

Figure 3.4
Parents' Occupations

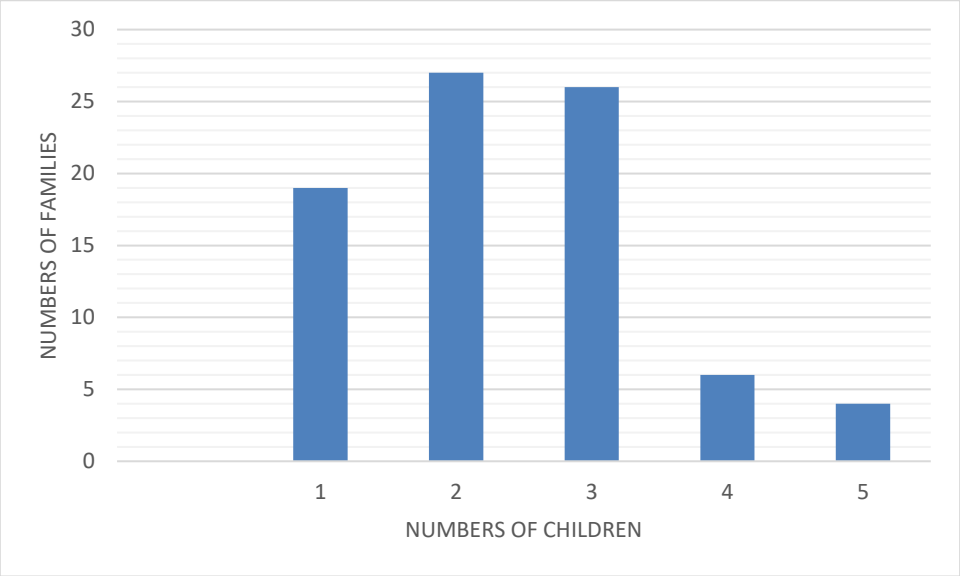


3.3.4 Number of children

Eighty-eight percent of the participants had from 1 to 3 children in their households (Figure 3.5). Seventy-nine percent of children had at least one sibling, but only 11% had more than 2. Arabic families in NZ were not large, in this survey.

Figure 3.5

Number of Children in Family



3.3.5 Language proficiency

The second section of the survey asked about participants' perceptions of the language strengths of themselves and their spouses in both Arabic and English. If children have highly competent language speakers in their families, they may become more proficient bilinguals themselves. It may also speak about the opportunities of exposure to Arabic, as exposure to English is much more easily obtained in New Zealand society.

Among the survey participants, 86% reported Arabic as their and their spouses' first language, and 82% rated their oral and written/read Arabic as 'excellent', the top of a 5-point scale. Only 7% of the participants reported English as one of the parents' first language and

another 7% indicated that one of the parents' languages was neither English nor Arabic. Among those who reported Arabic as their first language, 68% of them believed that it was their stronger language, 22% believed that their Arabic and English were equally proficient, and 10% believed English was their stronger language.

All participants were, by definition, bilingual in English and Arabic. However only 67% evaluated their English and their spouses' English oral language skills as either "excellent" or "very good" (see figures 3.6 & 3.7). Most participants who rated their English oral skills as "excellent" had University degrees, either undergraduate or postgraduate (Figure 3.8). More than half of those who said either that English was their strongest language or that English and Arabic were equal had spent more than 10 years in New Zealand. Saying this does not imply greater proficiency in English or that more years in New Zealand would result in a lack of exposure to Arabic at home. In this study, even families who had been living in New Zealand for more than 20 years, and those who described English as their dominant language, reported they used Arabic at home.

Figure 3.6

Participant Parents Reported Proficiency in Arabic & English

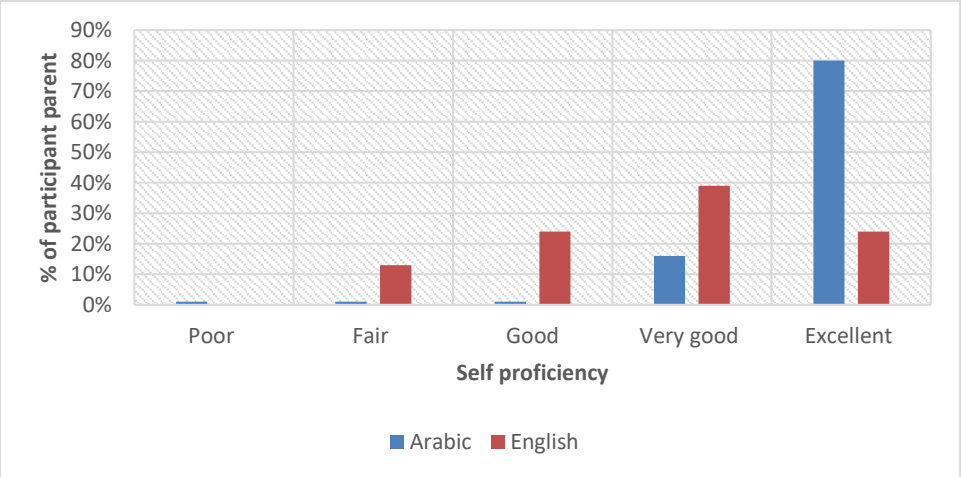


Figure 3.7

Participants' Rating of Their Spouses' Proficiency in Arabic & English

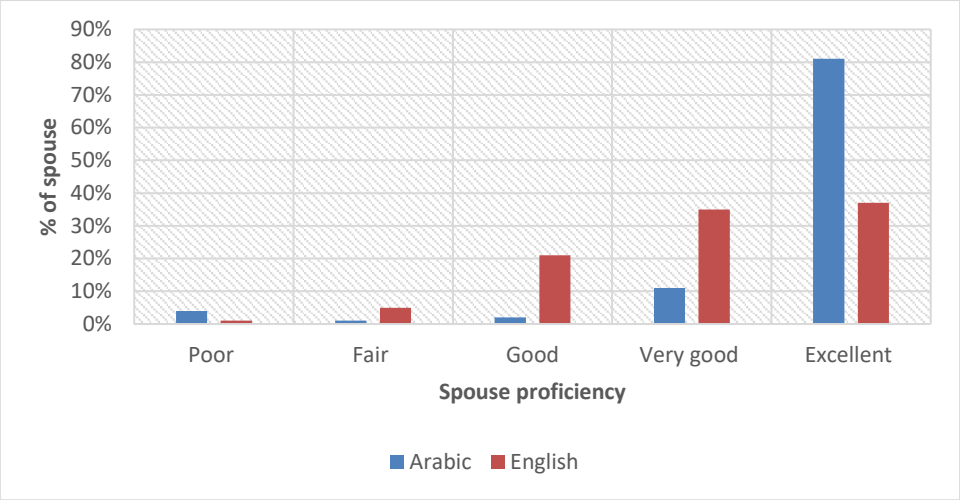
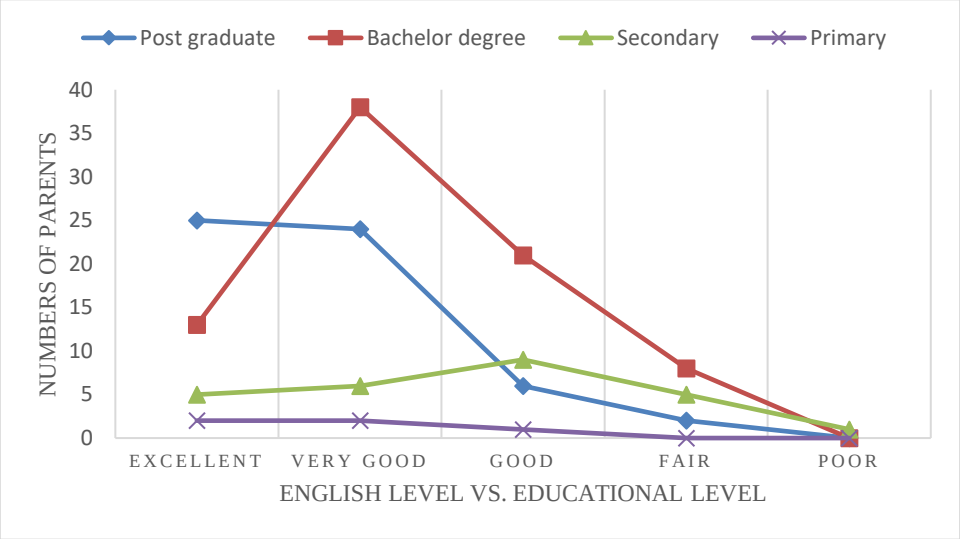


Figure 3.8

Parents English Level vs. Educational Level



3.3.6 Children's exposure to the two languages

In this section participants were asked to provide information about their children's exposure to Arabic and English languages. Nearly all participants reported that school (or an early childhood centre) was the primary source of exposure to English and home was the primary source of exposure to Arabic for their children. Additional regular exposure to the Arabic

language was reported by 21% of participants through Arabic language weekend schools or Islamic schools. As explained in Chapter 1, the main difference between the two is that Arabic weekend schools run only once a week and focus on teaching Arabic. Islamic schools are regular full-time schools that follow the New Zealand curriculum but add subjects about Islam and the Arabic language. Nineteen percent of study participants reported they sent their children to an Arabic language weekend school and only 2% reported that their children attended an Islamic school.

Arabic language community schools provide children with a weekly exposure to Arabic language, where they have the opportunity to learn or practice their Arabic language. Although this does not seem like a lot of exposure, in this study it was one of the main sources of exposure to Arabic language. Table 3.2 shows Arabic school attendees are a diverse group in terms of the numbers of years the family had been in New Zealand. While some of them are recent immigrants, others have been living in New Zealand for more than 10 years. One family had been living in New Zealand for 25 years and indicated that they send their youngest child to Arabic weekend school for extra exposure to the Arabic language. Families of Arabic school attendees came to NZ to work, live permanently or as refugees. Although the group of the participants who came to New Zealand to study is the second largest in this study, none of them indicated they would send their children to Arabic language schools. This may be because students can be assumed to intend to return to their home countries and are confident their children will receive maximum Arabic language exposure when they do. However, all the participants reported some irregular sources of exposure of their children to Arabic, such as community and/or friends' gatherings, visiting the home country, watching Arabic T.V., and attending public library Arabic story time.

Table 3.2

Arabic School Attendees

No.	Strongest language	Spouse strongest language	Additional language*	Education/ occupation*	Spouse education / occupation	Reason to move to New Zealand	No. of years
1	Arabic	Arabic	German	UG/ Engineer	UG/ FT mother	Live permanently	2
2	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ IT analyst	PG/ IT project manager	Live permanently	1
3	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ Teacher	PG/ Lecturer	Work	2
4	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ Analyst	UG/ FT mother	Live permanently	3
5	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ Engineer	UG/ Health scientist	Work	8
6	Arabic	Equal	NA	UG/ S/W Tester	UG/ Architect	Live permanently	4
7	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ FT mother	PG/ Physician	Work	9
8	Arabic	Arabic	German & French	PG/ FT mother	UG/ Accountant	Live permanently	5
9	Arabic	Arabic	French	UG/ Teacher	Secondary/ Student	Refugee	19
10	Arabic	English	Kurdish	PG/ Teacher	PG/ Businessman	Live permanently	25
11	Arabic	Equal	French & Persian	UG/FT mother	Secondary/ Worker	Refugee	15
12	Arabic	English	French	PG/ Database Coordinator	PG/ Lecturer	Live permanently	12
13	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/ Teacher at Arabic school	Secondary /NA	Refugee	5
14	Arabic	Arabic	NA	Did not answer	PG	Work	1
15	Arabic	Equal	NA	PG/ Architect	PG/ Physician	Work	10
16	Arabic	Arabic	NA	UG/FT mother	Secondary/ Taxi Driver	Refugee	6

***** UG=undergraduate degree PG=post graduate degree

3.4 Discussion

This study explored some basic issues about the language learning environment for children growing up in Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand. The participants reported a high level of self-perceived proficiency in Arabic among the parents, which was the strongest language for the majority of them. All the parents in this study were bilingual, but there was variation in their report of their English proficiency. A strong proficiency in Arabic among parents at home provided a source of good language learning exposure to Arabic for those children, which all the participants reported as the children's main source of exposure to Arabic. This finding is consistent with previous research findings about Arabic language use at home among Arabic communities in English-speaking countries (e.g., Al-Sahafi, 2015; Ferguson, 2013; Gomaa, 2011; Yazan & Ali, 2018). It should be noted that the majority of this study's participants were recent immigrants which may be a reason for the dominance of Arabic among parents and the use of Arabic at home. Verdon et al. (2014) studied language maintenance and loss among Australian children who spoke languages other than English and found that Arabic-speaking children maintained their language in early childhood and linked that to the fact that these children arrived in Australia more recently than other groups.

Both more years in New Zealand and parents' higher educational level were likely to indicate a higher level of English proficiency as figure 3.8 shows. However even when English proficiency was high, the respondents maintained their use of Arabic. Even the participants who had been in New Zealand for more than 15 years indicated they used Arabic among their families, with some of them sending their children to Arabic weekend school as well. This might be expected when taking into consideration that the parents were not born in New Zealand and were first-generation immigrants. However, this study finding of consistent Arabic language use at home among parents with a higher education contradicts those of Karidakis and Arunachalam's (2016), in which they reported a positive association between

higher levels of education and a shift to English use at home among Arabic speakers in Australia. This is counter-balanced somewhat with Leuner's (2008) suggestion that immigrants with higher education are well aware of the significance of the maintenance of their minority language. Opinion may be divided about what happens to minority home languages as proficiency in the dominant language increases. However, this present study does not suggest that only parents with a high education maintain the use of Arabic language, as all participants did so, and this is consistent with previous researchers' conclusions about the importance of Arabic language maintenance in Arabic-speaking immigrant families (Abdelhadi, 2018; Al-Sahafi, 2017; Gogonas, 2012).

Outside the home context, the main external sources of exposure to the Arabic language of children in this study were Arabic community weekend schools and Islamic schools. It is essential to note that the quantity and quality of exposure are not the same among those sources. Exposure to Arabic in Arabic weekend schools is not the same as the exposure in Islamic schools. While in both schools children will be taught Arabic literacy, in Arabic weekend schools children will be exposed to spoken dialects of Arabic (which may vary across schools and among the teachers within the same school) and mainstream with other Arabic children. However, in Islamic schools, children will be exposed to standard Arabic and mainstream with other Muslim children whose home language might not be Arabic. In any case, previous studies tell us that Arabic school attendees tend to use English instead of Arabic when they speak with their peers (Ferguson, 2013).

Since children in Arabic weekend schools will be exposed mainly to spoken Arabic by teachers and taught literacy in standard Arabic, this situation along with other factors may affect those children's proficiency in Arabic literacy, especially for longer texts (Al-Sahafi, 2017). In this study, only 21% of participants reported sending their children to Islamic or

Arabic complementary schools. This suggests that there is a potentially large number of children who are able to speak but not read or write Arabic, therefore bilingualism among those children does not imply biliteracy. This is a result of the fact that home is the primary source of exposure to Arabic and the lack of official organisational support of the Arabic language in New Zealand.

The family circumstances in New Zealand seem to play a role in the decision whether to enrol children in an Arabic weekend school. The highest number of Arabic school attendees in this study were children of parents who came to New Zealand to work, live here permanently, or as refugees. Conversely, none of the parent participants who came to NZ to study reported that their children went to Arabic weekend school. This might be a result of parents plans to live in New Zealand only temporarily and leave to their home country upon completing their studies. Therefore, they are not very concerned about the risk of losing their native language. On the other hand, refugees, for example, might be under greater fear of losing their home language, as they are uncertain about the possibility of going back to their home countries and may want to support their home language through all possible means.

Overall, this study revealed a high and consistent use of Arabic among Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand. A high proficiency in Arabic was reported among parents with Arabic as their dominant language. In contrast, it is predicted that the children among those families will be bilingual, but English may be their dominant language due to the social dominance of English, as seen in previous research (e.g., Ferguson, 2013). While this study provides a view of some of the basic factors related to bilingual development in Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand, more studies are needed to gain more detail about the factors involved for children.

4 "Arabic at Home and English at School" Language Management among Arabic-speaking Mothers in New Zealand

4.1 Introduction

Languages that are not the dominant language of a society often struggle to maintain their integrity and use in the face of diminished coverage and use in a wider context. Home languages are often the language of migrant populations and may not be spoken or understood by the general population, and in post-colonial countries indigenous languages, not as a consequence of a migration, often suffer the same fate. English-dominant countries are particularly likely to have this situation. In New Zealand there are three officially recognised national languages: English, Te Reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language. However, relatively few people speak or understand either of the latter two. There are numerous other languages spoken by migrant groups, including other Polynesian languages and a variety from elsewhere in the world, including Arabic.

A common-sense argument that has often been used in the past is that if you migrate to another country, you learn that language, and what happens to the home language is not particularly important. This is an assimilationist view of migration. Fortunately, in more enlightened times, it has been found that there are many advantages to, first of all, bilingualism (or multilingualism), and secondly, to maintaining languages to which people have links. Positive attitudes toward minority language maintenance are beneficial for individuals and families for reasons of identity, economic opportunity and family communication (Portes & Hao, 2002; Hu, Torr & Whiteman, 2014; Surrain, 2018). Language is conned to self-identity and is a major factor that facilitates individual mainstreaming into the wider community.

Chapter 4 – "Arabic at Home and English at School" Language Management among Arabic-speaking Mothers in New Zealand

In immigrant families, parents may not speak the majority language fluently and children's proficiency in the minority language is the most efficient way for family communication. It is common for minority languages to experience a lack of formal organisational support, and maintaining that language is regarded as a parental duty (Pacini-Ketchabaw & Armstrong de Almeida, 2006). Many minority language-speaking parents experience difficulty in promoting balanced bilingualism for their children or family between their minority language and the country's dominant language (Juan-Garau & Perez-Vidal, 2001; Al-Sahafi, 2015; Surrain, 2018). It is the nature of dominant languages that a diminishment of bilingualism negatively affects minority language use and maintenance, rather than the dominant language.

During the last two decades, extensive literature has been developed in the study of different minority languages spoken in western countries, particularly about parents' motivation toward home language use, home language practices and maintenance (De Houwer, 1999; Guardado, 2002; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Tannenbaum, 2012). The concept of "family language policy" has been identified in relation to minority language maintenance and a shift which covers the planning of language use at home between family members (King et al., 2008). In line with Montrul's (2012) findings, in order to understand the linguistic abilities of minority language families researchers need a comprehensive and deep understanding of the factors that relate to that minority language. Studies agree that minority speakers share common motivations to maintain their minority language for future career opportunities and sense of identity. However, studies that looked specifically into Arabic speakers added a central motive of religion for those parents to maintain the Arabic language (Albirini, 2016; Bale, 2010; Yazan & Ali, 2018). Arabic is valuable for all Muslims because it is the language of the Qur'an, the Muslim holy book, and the language they use for practicing Islam.

While parents' positive attitudes towards their home language increase the possibility of their children growing up bilingually (De Houwer, 1999), it is not guaranteed as parents' beliefs or strong motives alone are not sufficient to resist language shift (Canagarajah, 2008; King, 2000; Yu, 2010). Dominant languages are powerful forces against the maintenance of minority languages, as is seen world-wide.

Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen (2006) surveyed the Arabic-speaking community in New Zealand and found that this community was strongly motivated to maintain Arabic language use, and wanted their children to speak Arabic with high proficiency. The survey in this present study (see Chapter 3) highlighted that Arabic-speaking parents in New Zealand generally are highly proficient in Arabic. While those two factors (motivation and parents' proficiency in the minority language) play an important role in home language use, they are not enough to resist a language shift to the dominant language. This is supported by Yu's (2010) study in which she analysed recorded conversations of eight recent Chinese migrant families on a monthly basis for one year. Yu reported a significant gap between parents' language use and language beliefs. While parents believed that they supported Mandarin Chinese maintenance, the children's use of Mandarin had significantly decreased and parents did not do anything actively to increase it.

Studies on Arabic-speaking communities across different English-speaking countries confirm that to different degrees children of Arabic-speaking parents will use English at home. This is in contrast to the fact that it is this context that the parents usually viewed Arabic speaking or very much preferred it to be so (Al-Sahafi, 2015; Gomaa, 2011). Al-Sahafi (2015) conducted interviews with 10 Arabic immigrants' fathers whose children attended Arabic complementary schools in New Zealand. He concluded that participants viewed the Arabic language as an essential marker for Arabic and Islamic identity. Though Arabic was used primarily in parent-child interaction, children used English when interacting with their peers.

However, there is not the same amount of data for Arabic as there was in Yu's 2010) study for Mandarin. Hence, the picture is not clear about how Arabic-speaking parents deal with such situations and how they reflect their beliefs into language practices.

This study aims to understand what Arabic-speaking mothers do in natural interactions to influence their children's linguistic choices between their languages, starting with what they believe they should be doing, and will address the following questions:

(1) Do Arabic-speaking mothers in this study believe that Arabic should be maintained at home? Do they have a strong motivation to do so?

(2) How do Arabic-speaking mothers reflect their language beliefs in home language use and practices when interacting with their preschool children?

(3) What strategies or management efforts do they use?

4.2 Methods

As the purpose of this study is to recognise the role that Arabic-speaking mothers play during natural interaction in their children's linguistic choices, this study will primarily address that goal by recording natural interactions between Arabic speaking mothers and their children. In addition, it will conduct interviews with the mothers about their family's experiences and information about mothers' language beliefs and management efforts towards maintaining Arabic (for more information about the recordings and the interviews, see chapter 2, section 2.2). Conducting the interviews was a crucial part of this study, as interviews are a key method in exploring ethnicities (Wei & Hua, 2010). However, in the present study, we are looking at the broader picture which starts with the families' immigration story and how that influences their attitudes and beliefs, and the reflection of those beliefs in home language practices. Therefore, interviews alone would not be enough to clarify the picture and this

highlights the significance of direct observation as a measure for the analysis of patterns of language use (Mann, 2010). Collecting qualitative data (both interviews and observation) develops a deeper understanding of immigrant families' attitudes and practices toward their home language (Cherciov, 2013). The reasons for choosing mothers and collecting the data in a home context were: (1) based on earlier surveys about Arabic families in New Zealand where parents reported that home was the primary source of exposure to the Arabic language; (2) generally speaking, in Arabic culture mothers are the primary caregivers for children, especially when they are young, and this implies young children spending the majority of their time with their mothers (Campbell-Wilson, 2012). In the present study, eight out of twelve participant mothers were full-time mothers, so naturally they will spend more time with their children than their fathers; and (3) as Piller and Pavlenko (2004) suggested that mothers tend to have the role of guardians of the minority language.

The data on which this study is based were collected through interviews with Arabic-speaking mothers and home recordings of them interacting with their children, who are in the age range of three to five years old. See Chapter 2, section 2.2 for more information about participants, interviews and home recordings.

Analysis was conducted in stages which were:

- Reading the transcripts of both the interviews and the recorded interactions and notes to gain familiarisation with the data content.
- Identifying important features of the data to identify common concepts or categories, which were then given codes.
- Examining the codes and organising data to identify patterns for potential themes.
- Examining the initial themes against the dataset.

- Finalising themes by deciding on a name for each theme which covers each theme's scope and focus.

Notes were documented immediately following each home visit to reflect on the participant's individual story and how it connected to the questions about attitudes and motivations for Arabic and English, and the practices of how to put those attitudes and motivations into practice. Data revealed features like 'identity', 'religion' and 'connecting with family', and were considered as codes and combined under one theme, which is the 'mother's motivation toward the Arabic language'. Another example is that mothers pointed to the use of Arabic only at home, or children watching only Arabic TV programs or attending Arabic schools. They were considered as codes under one theme, which is 'language management strategies.'

Overall, this analysis revealed three main themes which are described in the next section: (1) mothers' motivations and attitude towards Arabic and English languages; (2) mothers' language management strategies; and (3) linguistic choices in home environment. Those three themes are broad and are divided into subthemes as seen in the sections below.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Mothers' motivations and attitudes towards Arabic and English languages

All 12 mothers were asked about their beliefs concerning Arabic with their children. They all stated that speaking Arabic was important for their children. All the participants in this study were Muslims and all of them said in response to the question "How important is the Arabic language to you and your children?" that speaking Arabic was seen as crucial to enable their children to gain a deeper understanding and practicing Islam. They also indicated their strong desire to maintain it.

> *""I never thought about how blessed I am to be able to speak the language of Quran…I took it for granted…until I met with other Muslims who do not speak Arabic in Quran*

> *classes here in New Zealand…they made me realize how lucky I am. It is definitely a privilege that I would like to transfer to my kids and for them to pass on to their children".* (Faridah – translated from Arabic)

However, when asked the question "How important is the English language?" all the mothers agreed that English was important for their children. None of them was concerned about their children's English language development. They stated they were assured that other exposure, mainly kindergarten or school, was sufficient for their children to learn English.

> *"My daughter knew some English before even attending kindergarten, although we speak mainly Arabic at home, she started to speak English because it was everywhere…when we first came here, her brother was five years old and started school speaking very little English but in a few months, he became fluent in English and now I have to remind him to speak Arabic". (*May – translated from Arabic)

The two most common reasons mothers mentioned why they believed English was important were: their children's well-being and mainstream in New Zealand society; and second the importance of English as a global language for their children's future.

> *"The English language is so important for your career…. Even if we are not in New Zealand, I will enrol my children at schools that teach them good English…. My friends and relatives back at home are paying a lot of money to private schools so their children can speak English… Thank God I don't have to worry about that". (*Fouz – translated from Arabic)

Although the participant mothers had a positive attitude regarding the English language, ten out of the twelve mothers expressed that their children preferred to use English and their main concern was that this may negatively affect their children's use and proficiency in Arabic.

> *"I think they feel like English is more fun than Arabic…. When they play, they use English…When they want to watch T.V, they prefer English…They use Arabic mainly with me and with their father…Because they know we like them to use Arabic…. Of course, if they did not know how to speak English...they will have no choice rather than speaking Arabic". (*Mariam – translated from Arabic)

The two participants who did not express concerns about their children's preference for English were Dunia and Shereen. Although both of them indicated that the Arabic language was valuable for their children, they expressed their acceptance about their children's use of languages.

> *"Speaking Arabic is important for reading Quran, praying, for religion purposes…and for my children it is important so they can connect with our extended family when we visit our home country….and be able to make friends with other Arabic speaking children".* (Shereen – translated from Arabic)

Regarding English language use, Shereen said,

> *"My daughter was born here in New Zealand and she was enrolled in an English-speaking day-care since she was 3 months old, she goes there every weekday from 8 to 5:30. So it is expected and natural for her to speak more English, but we are at home use Arabic and even her brother speaks Arabic…she goes to Arabic weekend school…. I think she will speak more Arabic gradually".* (Shereen – translated from Arabic)

On the other hand, according to Dunia, she and her husband came to New Zealand as refugees and their proficiency in English is very limited. Dunia highlighted that the Arabic language was an important language when she was asked "how important is the Arabic language to you and your children?"

> *"It is important for all Arabs….as a one nation to speak our mother tongue …me and their father speak mainly Arabic…very little English".* (Dunia – translated from Arabic)

When Dunia talked about her children's English language, she stated,

> *"Thanks God my children speaks English…it is good for them…they can have more friends and mainstream easily in New Zealand society".* (Dunia – translated from Arabic)

In the first case, Shereen was accepting the fact that her daughter prefers and speaks more English, as the quantity of exposure to English is more than Arabic. However, Shereen tries to increase her daughter's exposure to the Arabic language by speaking Arabic at home and

enrolling her in Arabic weekend school. On the other hand, Dunia was satisfied and assured that her children were able to speak English, so that they would not face the same difficulty Dunia and her husband faced by not being competent in speaking the majority language. Regarding Arabic, the fact that Dunia and her husband speak only Arabic gave them the assurance that their children would speak it anyway.

Mothers were able to align with their beliefs about the importance of the Arabic language by their high level of proficiency in Arabic. Eleven out of the 12 mothers in this study were confident with their Arabic and considered they provided a good language model for their children. However, Luma, who moved to New Zealand when she was 5 years old with the family as a refugee, was not satisfied or confident with her Arabic language skills, but she has a strong desire for her children to speak Arabic.

> *"Arabic is a very important language…I want my children to speak it fluently… I don't want them to speak like me…my parents did not encourage me to speak Arabic…Actually my father was encouraging me to speak with him only in English when I was little…he knew some English terms, my mom did not speak English, but she did not mind it... I understand that my father just wanted us to be like everyone else…. but now I wish I could speak Arabic more fluently or be able to read and write in Arabic just like other people in the community who can speak both Arabic and English".* (Luma)

While Luma has a positive attitude toward teaching her children to speak Arabic, her father had a positive attitude toward teaching his children to speak English, and in each case, this related to their personal story and experiences. Her father came as a refugee and did not speak any English and his lack of English skills was a barrier to his career path in New Zealand. From her father's perspective, the use of English at home was an assurance for him that his children would grow up and look for opportunities like anyone else without facing the same barrier he faced. On the other hand, Luma believed that her children's ability to speak Arabic would maintain their Arabic identity and help them in practicing their religion;

however, she was facing a gap between her desire to teach her children Arabic and her limited proficiency.

> *"you know…. our children follow us… and when they hear me speak in English of course they will do the same…. so I always try to push myself to speak more Arabic…sometimes it's embarrassing, especially when other people who speak good Arabic around and I know I'm not saying it right...but it's really hard to keep focused on speaking Arabic especially when I'm busy or in a hurry".* (Luma)

4.3.2 Mothers' language management strategies

All the mothers in this study, except Daya, explained their children's tendency to speak more English than Arabic. As this was not what the mothers wanted, they were asked what they did to try to maintain Arabic at home. A variety of strategies emerged. Mothers expressed a variety of means and different degrees to support Arabic language use at home, as they considered Arabic language maintenance as a family responsibility and one of their duties as parents.

> *"We made the choice to move to non-Arabic speaking country…. And we are here trying to utilize all the available tools to maintain the use of Arabic language…. It is our children's right to speak their home language and it is part of our obligation as their parents to try our best in teaching them Arabic". (*Dalia – translated from Arabic)

Three mothers were enforcing a strict policy of speaking Arabic at home. Noor, who had two New Zealand born children, explained;

> *"We are forcing the use of only Arabic at home… me and their father keep reminding them about that but they still forget…. Now we have started to use a new strategy so when they use English, ten cents for each English word they say will be detected from their pocket money…. If they don't know the word in Arabic, they can say it in English but they need to ask about the Arabic translation so they can learn more vocabulary in Arabic…. This was not doable at the beginning, as my daughter, who is now 8 years old, was refusing to speak Arabic and telling me she hates it…. When they wanted to watch T.V, Arabic T.V is the only option they have, so either to watch Arabic programmes or none….with time she became able to speak it more and started to accept it….with her younger brother, who is now 4 years old, things were easier…as he's more open to speaking Arabic".* (Noor – translated from Arabic)

Dalia described a similar situation,

> *"It is clear for both of my children that they are supposed to use Arabic at home…. Although, both of my children, who are 10 and 4 years old, born here…their Arabic is good this is may be because we go to our home country every year, they watch only Arabic T.V, they go to Arabic school and since my son started school, I started to teach him Arabic reading and writing every day…. I have not started teaching my daughter yet but I will do next year when she starts school…. When they speak or ask something in English me and their father do not respond and ask them say it in Arabic".* (Dalia – translated from Arabic)

The other participant, Faridah, who applied this policy, moved to New Zealand in the last two years and her children were 12, 8 and 1 year old.

> *"My older two sons have a strong Arabic proficiency, as they were living in an Arabic speaking country. For my youngest son, we try to support his Arabic by speaking Arabic only at home so his Arabic language develops well and his brothers maintain their Arabic, however, as he started to go to kindergarten, he started to bring some English to home but we keep reminding him about the use of Arabic".* (Faridah – translated from Arabic)

In those three cases, they gave their children instructions to use Arabic only at home, they watched Arabic T.V, sent their children to Arabic weekend (language) schools and visited Arabic speaking countries from time to time.

The remaining mothers did not have a strict policy about using Arabic only at home but they still encouraged their children to use Arabic. They considered speaking English at home to be a natural consequence from the fact that their children lived in an English-speaking country. Luma, for whom English was her stronger language, was able to understand her children's perspectives:

> *"For me sometimes it is hard not to speak English…even when I want to speak only Arabic…. English comes so naturally...with my children I try to speak with them Arabic and I let them watch only Arabic T.V but my daughter knows we know English so she resist speaking with us in Arabic, but when she is with her grandparents she speaks more Arabic".* (Luma)

Nevertheless, even other mothers for whom Arabic was their strongest language reported having a more relaxed policy.

> *"My daughters speak a lot of English at home…me and their father speak with them in Arabic but they respond in English…sometimes we remind them that they should talk in Arabic but they do not always listen…. I don't think it is a big deal…because it is not stable last year when we travelled to our home country for two months, they spoke more Arabic and less English".* (Rana – translated from Arabic)

In this case, travelling to an Arabic-speaking country was an assurance for Rana that her children were not losing their Arabic language. Obviously, this is not an accessible option for all participants, as some of them cannot visit their home country for a variety of reasons. Dunia, however, had a different point of view:

> *"I cannot speak English…so I'm happy to see my children able to do that….and regarding Arabic it is the main language me and their father speak…so they hear it from us….and they speak it sometimes".* (Dunia – translated from Arabic)

In this case, Dunia focused on two aspects: the first is the fact that her children are able to speak English, and the second is that her lack of English provides exposure to her children to hear more Arabic and an opportunity for them to use Arabic when communicating with their parents. Alongside Dunia, other mothers such as May, who is able to speak English as a second language, had a flexible language policy. Although she preferred her children to use Arabic, she was accepting of her children's language choice.

> *"Me and their father use only Arabic with them…so even when our children talk in English, we reply in Arabic…. I think it is difficult to stop them and ask them to switch to Arabic…sometimes we do that but when they are excited, we just focus on the conversation not the language".*
>
> *"My daughter's best friend comes from an Arabic speaking family… she is our neighbour and they go to the same kindergarten…but because we and that family came from different Arabic countries, we speak different Arabic dialects…so even when we try to encourage the children to use Arabic with each other they find it difficult to understand different dialect…so they use English".* (May – translated from Arabic)

This case illustrates a missed opportunity for Arabic children to practice Arabic due to dialectical differences.

Overall, the results in this section showed the variety of ways mothers (and fathers) tried to manage their children's language use. They range from a restrictive policy of using Arabic only at home to a flexible strategy that followed the child's preference. Generally, mothers in this study were following one of these categories: (a) having a clear family language policy of speaking Arabic only at home; (b) parents speaking mainly Arabic and leaving their children to decide on their language choice with encouragement to use Arabic; or (c) parents using a mixture of the two languages and encouraging their children to use Arabic. One of the main differences between those three categories is that parents who applied a strict policy viewed the use of English at home as policy misalignment, which may lead to negative consequences for the child. On the other hand, in a flexible policy, parents accept English code-switching but see that their children are aware that the use of Arabic is preferred and encouraged by their parents.

4.3.3 Linguistic choices in home environment

Observations in the use of the two languages in a home context showed that English was used to variety of degrees across all homes. Even by the group of parents who placed a strict Arabic-only language policy, children were observed to use Arabic mainly but switched to English several times. However, reminders to use Arabic were given by either the mothers or sometimes the older sibling. In two of these cases, the older siblings also used English but appeared to understand the language policy in their homes and wanted to make sure that their younger siblings aligned with it.

Switching to English was not exclusive to children. For example, Noor (one of the mothers with an Arabic only policy) switched to English several times. In one incident, Noor was doing crafts with her children and explained the steps they needed to follow using Arabic. However, when it appeared to her that her children did not understand those steps she switched to English as a strategy to help her children understand better. In one exceptional case, the participant child did not use any English while interacting with his mother (Daya). Although there was no strict policy about using English at home in this family, there were several factors that enhanced Arabic language use. First, Daya stated that they have been living in New Zealand for two years, before that they were living in an Arabic-speaking country where the family had limited exposure to English and her children were enrolled in an Arabic-speaking school. Second, her two older children were attending an Islamic school. Such schools focus on teaching Arabic. We do not have data of the siblings' use of Arabic, but it would be reasonable to assume that their Arabic is strong. The third factor is the participant child's primary source of exposure to English is kindergarten, which he has attended for a year part time (three days a week, 20 hours per week). Therefore, he has limited exposure to English when compared to other participants who have been enrolled in a full time English-speaking day-care since they were 6 months old (see Chapter 2 for more details about the participants). The fourth factor is that his mother teaches him Arabic reading regularly and the T.V time is only in Arabic. All those factors probably encouraged a strong use of Arabic at home.

The other group of participants who did not have a strict language policy of using Arabic only in their homes, found their children used their languages in one of the following two ways: (1) Children mixed their English with some Arabic. The participant children (pre-schoolers) used English mainly when they were interacting with their siblings and more Arabic with their mothers; and (2) children speak using English but understand Arabic, as

their mothers were talking to them using Arabic. During observation, it was common practice for mothers to ask their children about the Arabic translation for English terms in a playful manner (see Chapter 5 for more details). However, all the mothers in this group switched to English several times; commonly using English vocabulary in an Arabic sentence or English phrases when they were talking to their children. Nevertheless, some mothers in this group requested their children to switch to Arabic from time to time. Occasionally children responded to that by translating one word to Arabic when they knew it, but in most cases, children did not respond to that request. They may not have known how to say it in Arabic and they did not ask their mothers to help them, or possibly, they were busy focusing on the conversation rather than the language. Even for Dunia, who had a limited ability to speak English, her child used English and Dunia spoke in Arabic and picked the key terms that her child said in English and repeated them while they were interacting.

4.4 Discussion

The mothers in this study demonstrated a positive attitude towards Arabic. All of them considered their ability to speak Arabic as an advantage with a strong desire to maintain it in their families and to raise their children to be competent in speaking it. Consistent with previous study findings (Bale, 2010; Ferguson, 2013; Gomaa, 2011; Al-Sahafi, 2015; Yazan & Ali, 2018) the main motive for maintaining the Arabic language among Arabic speaking parents is to practice Islam and to keep their Arabic identity. Although previous studies (e.g., Surrain, 2018) reported that some immigrant families believed that maintaining their home language might hold an economic opportunity for their children's future, none of the participants in this study made such a link. In contrast, they all reported that speaking English was important for their children's futures and careers opportunities.

However, consistent with Yu's (2010) finding, a positive attitude towards the minority language alone was not sufficient to maintain consistent use of that language at home or to resist children's use of English at home. This was in contrast to Yu's indication that Chinese parents did not make an effort to maintain their home language. In this study, the Arabic speaking mothers placed a different degree of effort and variety of management strategies to maintain Arabic use. However, not all of the Arabic mothers' efforts led children to use Arabic, as some of the children were speaking mainly in English.

In cases where mothers had a strict Arabic-only language policy and enforced it, children used more Arabic and less English in their interaction with their mothers. Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal (2001) support this, as they highlight the importance of consistent parents' language use in children's successful bilingual development. It is worth mentioning that none of those efforts resulted in making home a pure monolingual Arabic speaking context as some of the mothers wished. In contrast, in some cases where mothers placed a more flexible implicit language policy such as encouragement for Arabic language use or teaching exchange to ask children about Arabic translations, the children tended to use English to speak, even when their mothers were talking with them primarily in Arabic. While it was observed that whenever mothers used English at home their children responded in English, this was not the case for Arabic, as some children needed explicit instructions to use Arabic, despite the fact that their mothers were speaking mainly in Arabic.

Generally, it was noted that in homes where mothers applied a flexible language policy, the children tended to use English mainly and some Arabic inconsistently. On the other hand, mothers sometimes used English when interacting with their children regardless of their proficiency in English or their policy rules. For example, Noor, who adopted a restrictive policy of using Arabic only, switched to English occasionally when a communication

breakdown took place with her child. In addition to that, Dunia, who rated her English language skills as poor did use some English terms. As her child was using English frequently and the mother lacked proficiency in English it did not influence the child to use more Arabic and less English. Instead, the mother was adjusting her language by using English terms she picked up from her child's utterances to fulfil her child communicative preferences (Parada, 2013).

Clyne (2003) pointed out that using a minority language is a matter of need for the second generation when the first generation has a limited proficiency in the majority language. However, in this case, the mother's use of some English while interacting with her child, seems to encourage the child to continue speaking in English. The same pattern was reported by Luma, where she stated that the fact that her parents had a limited proficiency in English had negative consequences on her Arabic, as her father encouraged her do what he could not do, which was speaking English even at home. This is supported by Fillmore (1991), as he suggested the lack of proficiency in the majority language was not always associated with a positive influence on the minority language, as it may backfire. In this case, the father's lack of English led to a strong attitude and desire toward English, which decreased his children's use of Arabic.

All the mothers in this study (except Luma) considered Arabic to be their first language (and the vast majority consider it as their strongest language) and English as their second. However, as indicated in previous studies (Morales, 2015; Zhang et al., 2009), the children of immigrant families will most likely acquire the majority language as their strongest language, and this study's results indicate a similar pattern. Mothers reported that their children's use of English increased since their enrolment at kindergarten, which negatively affected the frequency of their use of Arabic at home. The risk of children losing their productive ability

in their home language was reported to start as early as kindergarten (Kan and Kohnert, 2005). The same finding was reported by Prevoo et al. (2011), in which they reported an increase in the use of the majority language and a decreased use of the minority language among Turkish children in the Netherlands between the ages of three and four due to the children's enrolment in kindergartens. Although, in this study, those children who are in families that forced Arabic language policy were using Arabic language actively and frequently, especially with their mothers, all of them were using some English with their siblings.

The findings suggest that mothers' beliefs and motives about maintaining the use of the Arabic language are not always reflected in children's active use of Arabic. There was a mismatch between what Arabic speaking mothers wanted in terms of their children's use of Arabic and the reality of children's preferences to use English. While all the mothers stated that Arabic was the main language spoken at home, the observations revealed that Arabic was the main language mothers used; however, some children in this study rarely used Arabic and their mothers switched to English frequently to communicate with them. In those cases, mothers seemed not to have a clear distinction between their children being able to understand Arabic and being able to express it. Because the mothers were using Arabic and the children understood, some mothers considered this situation as indicating that Arabic was the main language used by children even when the children mainly or only responded in English.

Some mothers such as May applied indirect strategies to encourage Arabic language use by mixing her child with another from an Arabic-speaking family. However, since the children came from families that spoke different Arabic dialects, this strategy, according to May, was not effective in maintaining Arabic, as both children found some difficulty in understanding

each other's dialects and used English because it was easier and the common language between them. Some mothers in this study forced an Arabic-only language policy at home. While it was observed that this policy did not eliminate the use of English at home since the participants' children used it frequently, especially with their siblings and sometimes with their mothers, the participants' children in those families were using Arabic actively and more frequently than other children where mothers did not enforce a language policy. However, such a parental strategy seems to be difficult to maintain as mothers needed to give many reminders to their children to align with it. In addition to that, even mothers occasionally found themselves in situations where they needed to use English terms when interacting with their children, and children used Arabic mainly when interacting with their mothers not their siblings. Finally, we can conclude that the strategy of restrictive use of an Arabic-only at home environment helped in increasing children's use of Arabic, but could not exclude the use of English at home, as both children and some mothers switched to English.

We believe this study adds to the literature of Arabic language use as a minority language in significant ways. First, it includes newly arrived families as well as second-generation immigrant families. Second, it includes interactional data as well as interviews with mothers to connect their beliefs and attitudes with their language practices. Third, instead of focusing on parents' language practices and management efforts alone, it acknowledges the active role of children in interactions.

5 Code-switching to Majority Language in a Minority Language Speaking Context: Findings from Arabic-speaking Mothers' Interaction with Their Preschool Children

5.1 Introduction

Code-switching is a natural linguistic phenomenon among bilingual speakers. Although there are many definitions and classifications of code-switching this chapter defines it as the use of two distinct languages at word level, utterance, or discourse (Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987; Lanza, 1997; McClure, 1981). Code-switching may take the form of lexical borrowing of single words from one language into another, which may be the common perception of code-switching. However, it is not just about lexical units. There are interactional and pragmatic aspects of one language which may be used when speaking a different language, such as topic change rules from (for example) Spanish being used when speaking English (Genesee et al., 2004; Gumperz, 1982). Code-switching has the potential to carry substantial socio-pragmatic meanings into another language, which might indicate the importance of certain values and identities (Gafaranga, 2005; Hua, 2008).

A model of the motivation for code-switching that still appears widely in the literature is that created by Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977). They saw three main grounds for code-switching, which they termed identity, power and transaction. Identity they saw as being about solidarity and equality, wherein code-switching was a way of identifying with the interactant by maximising the chance they will understand and be included. The role of code-switching in power they saw as a way of maintaining unequal relationships. Interactants code-switch to demonstrate their proficiency. Transaction they saw as appearing when simultaneous code-switching that includes both personal affinity and relative personal power. Myers-Scotton

(1993) suggested that a speaker's decision to code-switch should be aligned to a set of rights and obligations for the code-switching to be a meaningful strategy. This obligation includes acting according to the listener's expectations. It is common for bilinguals in different contexts to employ code-switching to achieve certain strategic goals such as social bonding, community belonging, situational marking, and belief highlighting (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Clyne, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 1993). This is applicable to children, as previous studies showed that code-switching was used sometimes as an identity marker by bilingual children when they switched from the majority language to minority language in a majority language speaking context (Vu et al., 2010).

The other side from the intention of the speaker is how code-switching is perceived the addressee. When a switch to a majority language takes place in a minority-language speaking context, it may be perceived negatively. It is common for minority-language speaking parents to have certain language practices and policies when aiming to maintain consistent use of their minority language, for example, exclusive use of the minority language at home (Hirsch, & Lee, 2018). Parents may therefore view code-switching to the majority language as an interference with the home language policy. Minority-speaking parents can employ a variety of language policies to maintain minority language use.

There are many reasons why individuals may have a strong desire to maintain their minority language. One of the main reasons is to preserve their identity. For example, as discussed in Chapter 4 Arabic speakers uphold their Arabic language as a fundamental foundation that carries their religious values and Arab identity (Al-Sahafi, 2015; Bale, 2010; Yazen and Ali, 2018). Although it is widely accepted that such strong motives may positively affect home language use (Portes & Hao, 2002; Hu, Torr & Whiteman, 2014; Surrain, 2018), there is a gap in our understanding of how those motives affect natural bilingualism markers, such as code-switching.

5.1.1 Code-switching studies in children

Previous scholars in early bilingualism believed that young children initially held one unified system for both languages (e.g., Redlinger & Park, 1980; Taeschner, 1983; Vihman, 1985; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978). They saw code-switching as evidence for the theory, as they reasoned that if young children have one system for both languages and are unable to differentiate between the two, they would tend to mix the codes. Redlinger and Park (1980) suggested that bilingual children reach language differentiation by passing through different stages. At an early stage, young bilingual children show high mixing between their languages and this indicates that they do not hold every language in a separate system. As children grow and their languages develop, they start to have a distinctive system for each language. Consequently, their rate of language mixing (another term for code-switching) decreases.

However, many researchers began to conclude that code-mixing was not sufficient evidence to support a 'unified system hypothesis'. Children's code-mixing is not a consistent phenomenon as some bilingual children code-mix occasionally, but otherwise use each language appropriately with different interlocutors (Genesee et al., 1996; Goodz, 1989). There is a large amount of evidence showing that children as young as two years old are able to choose which language they use and adjust their code-mixing to accommodate interlocutor's language (e.g., De Houwer, 1990; Genesee et al, 1996; Köppe, 1996). Many researchers have highlighted the fact that young children code-switch in a systematic way and are able to differentiate the two language systems, even if they do mix the codes (MacSwan, 1999; Meisel, 1994; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997; van Gelderen & MacSwan, 2008).

Those arguments have inspired many scholars to carry out further research in this area, and led many of them to conclude that young bilingual children have different systems for their languages. However, there is some transfer, or cross-linguistic influence, from one language

to another (e.g., Argyri & Sorace, 2007; Hacohen & Schaeffer, 2007). Ervin-Tripp and Reyes (2005) agree that early bilingual children can distinguish between languages and their linguistic choices are influenced by situational factors. They discovered that young children start code-switching by borrowing single words, and as their pragmatic skills grow their code-switching increases in complexity by adding interactional functions.

Other researchers have concluded that young bilingual children code-switch from one language to another to fill any lexical or grammatical gap in one language by using the other language's codes (Cantone, 2007; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997). In other words, children's code-switching from one language to another is a result of children being incompetent in one language and using code-switching to support their weaker language system (Bernardini & Schlyter, 2004). However, recent studies have opposed the claim that code-switching indicates a language incompetency. While children who are not competent in one language can use code-switching, it provides a tool that facilitates development in their weaker language (Yow et al., 2018). Moreover, code-switching provides opportunities for children to use their weaker language in what may be a complex structure of their strongest language (Bernardini & Schlyter, 2004). However, besides linguistic incompetence, pragmatic functions such as emphasising, narrating, or protesting have been identified by several researchers to be motivations for code-switching among young bilinguals (Genesee et al., 2004; Gumperz, 1982; McClure, 1981). Such pragmatic functions can be stimulated by situational changes such as settings or topic shift. Nicoladis and Genesee (1997) suggested that pragmatic code-switching is a natural process based on young bilingual children's pragmatic differentiation and their awareness of the social situations around them.

The parents of Arabic-English speaking children have been shown to have strong motivations to maintain Arabic language use in their family. However, we lack a great deal of information

about how such parental motivation may influence a natural phenomenon such as code-switching. We also lack information on the functions of code-switching in Arabic-English bilingual families. To address this issue, this study explored the functions and situations in which code-switching to the English language took place during natural interactions at home (a primarily Arabic speaking context) when ten children in the age range of three to five years old were interacting with their Arabic mothers in New Zealand.

This study has the following research questions: (1) Did bilingual Arabic-English speaking children with exposure to Arabic at home and to English at kindergarten exhibit code-switching when interacting with their mothers? If yes, in which situations did code-switching take place?. In other terms, what was happening at the time of code switching. (2) Did Arabic speaking mothers exhibit code-switching to English when interacting with their preschool children, if so, how did they use code-switching? And (3) How did mothers respond to their children code-switching to English?

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Data

Video recordings were made in the homes of the 10 bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children when interacting with their mothers. See Chapter 2, section 2.2, for more details about the participants and the procedure. Video recordings enabled not only the verbal language to be recorded but also body language, facial expressions, and contextual cues. These were essential in many cases to make sense of not only what the interactants were doing, but what they meant at the time of speaking.

5.2.2 Analysis

All segments in the video recordings that contained code-switched elements were examined. Contextual information, including the activities and situations were noted (e.g., child and mother playing together or sharing the same activity, chatting, mother and child doing separate activities). Each code-switch was analysed and interpreted in terms of its function. The different types of code-switches were also noted, such as words only, phrases, utterances, and larger units.

The literature contained a number of suggested functions that code-switching might have between parents and children. For example, Genesee et al., 2004; Gumperz, 1982; McClure, 1981 found code-switching functioned to emphasise a point, to protest, or to change a topic. De Houwer (1990) and Köppe (1996) found the function was sometimes practical and polite, in that it was to accommodate the interlocutor's language. Similarly, practical was the use found by a variety of studies that code-switching was done to fill any lexical or grammatical gap in one language by using the other (Cantone, 2007; Bernardini & Schlyter, 2004; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997). Gafaranga (2005) and Hua (2008) hypothesised that code-switching often functioned to indicate the importance of certain values and identities, which may appear in the text as emphasis or a change in topic but might also be an overall function from a variety of instances.

This information from the literature was used along with functions that were generated from examining the data independently. The initial finding was that mothers and children did not have the same set of functions for their code-switching, which is consistent with other studies such as Hurtado and Vega (2004). This process led to the generation of a set of functions for each group, which can be seen in tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.1

Code-switching Functions List (Children)

Code-switching Functions	
1.	**Switching to fill gaps (Cantone, 2007; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997):** Inserting an English word/phrase within an Arabic utterance and the child did not otherwise show evidence of having the item in Arabic
2.	**Switching to gain quick access (Zentella,1997):** Inserting an English word/phrase within an Arabic utterance but the child did show previous knowledge of the Arabic term. Interpreted as being an easier alternative.
3.	**Switching for emphasis (Köppe & Meisel,1995):** Stressing an English word or utterance within an Arabic exchange.
4.	**Switching to represent a familiar situation (Cheng, 2003):** Producing consecutive English utterances in the otherwise Arabic context. May be due to some activities only having been experienced in English**.**

Table 5.2

Code-switching Functions List (Mothers)

Code-switching Functions	
1.	**Establish/ Maintain contact ("conversational switching" Gumperz,1982):** Switched to English as a consequence of the child using English; "to decrease distance between her and the children "(Flores-Ferrán & Suh, 2015)
2.	**Clarification (Wei, & Milroy,1995):** Using English to clarify or explain Arabic terms or utterances
3.	**Lexical borrowing (Cheng, 2003):** Used when some words were more distinguishable in English due to Arabic dialectical differences.
4.	**Emphasis (Köppe & Meisel, 1995):** Used to highlight or stress information or orders

5.3 Results

Code-switching from Arabic to English occurred in nearly all of the mothers and all of the children. This is despite the fact that all the mothers indicated a clear preference for Arabic, and some of them had a monolingual Arabic language policy at home (see Chapter 4). Children showed a wide range of types of code-switching, such as whole English utterance/s

insertion, single English word insertion within an Arabic sentence, to the insertion of part English word such as English bound morphemes onto Arabic words. However, the functions and patterns of code-switching were different between mothers and their children.

5.3.1 Children's code-switching during child-mother interaction

Children showed variety of functions of code-switching when interacting with their Arabic-speaking mothers. Before looking into the results, it should be noted that children in this study had different amounts of exposure to English. While all of them received their main exposure to English through kindergarten, they differed in their age of enrolment and number of attending hours per week (see chapter 2, Table 2.2 for more information). This was reflected in children's functions of code-switching, as some children sometimes code-switched to English because English was more accessible to them than Arabic. Table 5.3 illustrates the functions of code-switching, and each of those functions will be discussed in the following section.

Table 5.3

Counts of Children's Code-switching Functions

Function	Ali	Amina	Dania	Ammar	Zeyad	Maya	Fatem	Basem	Zahra	Jasem	Total
Fill a gap	18	3	2	4	3	8	6	20	16	11	91
Represent situation	3	0	2	7	0	4	4	12	10	3	45
Quick access	34	0	0	0	0	2	23	5	9	7	80
Emphasis	0	0	4	6	0	4	2	6	5	0	27
Total	56	3	8	17	3	19	35	43	31	21	236

5.3.1.1 Fill a lexical gap

In this data, filling gaps in Arabic by switching to English was the most common code-switching function for children. All 10 children who participated in this study used this strategy. As the below examples show, children filled gaps and supported their Arabic by inserting English words or phrases they did not know in Arabic into Arabic utterances. Ali in the following example initiated a topic with his mother using Arabic but he twice inserted English to support his Arabic.

Example 1

1) Ali:؟ كوره foot ال نجيب عشان هادا افتح ماما

Mama open this so we bring the football? [literal]

Mama can I open this to bring the football? [English meaning]

2) Mother: لا احنا قلنا بره نلعب

No, we say we outside we play [literal]

No, we said we play (football) outside [English meaning]

3) Ali: I'll just checkلا اشوف

no, I see I'll just check [English meaning]

4) Mother: أي بنطلع احنا كلنا و شوفها

yes, we go outside all of us and check you it [Literal]

yes, you can check it when we go outside [English meaning]

Ali was trying ask for his mother's permission using Arabic. The result is a complex example of code-switching, wherein the lack of an Arabic word led to the use of an English word with Arabic grammar, creating a new compound word. He asked her if he could bring his football

using Arabic, but he did not know the Arabic word for football. So, he divided 'football' into two parts: the first part foot, he used the English term and he added the Arabic bound morpheme, which in Arabic grammar goes with that noun, and then he used the Arabic word for "ball". Thus, he combined the English term 'foot' with the Arabic term for ball "كوره" together and produced them in an Arabic sentence (line 1).

Lines 3 and 4 show an equal but different type and function of code-switching on the part of Ali. His mother rejected his request (in line 2) and in line 3 he tried to justify the request in Arabic, produced two Arabic words, but realized that he was not able to produce what he wanted to say precisely in Arabic and switched directly to English. This indicates a degree of metalinguistic skill in code-switching, as the child used English (in line 3) as a self-correction strategy to compensate for the limitation in his Arabic sentence structure.

Dania showed a simpler form of code-switching by inserting a specific lexical item in English when she did not know the item in Arabic (see example 2).

Example 2

1) Dania: بابا شراها من البقالة Yogurt هاد

   This yogurt, daddy bought this from the dairy shop [Literal]

   This is yogurt; daddy bought it from the dairy shop [English meaning]

2) Mother:بابا شراها من البقالة؟

   Daddy bought it from the dairy shop [English meaning]

3) Dania:أي

   Yes [English meaning]

5.3.1.2 Switching to gain quick access

This category was notable for being mainly used by the two children who had been enrolled in English-speaking kindergarten full time since they were six months old (34 and 23 instances respectively). They are therefore likely to have had more exposure to English than the other children in the study. Four of the 10 children showed no instances of this function in their code-switching, and the other 4 all had fewer than 10 instances. There were no measures made of English or Arabic proficiency of the children in this study, but it could be surmised that these two children may have equal or near-equal proficiency in their two languages, and this might account for their use of this function compared to the other children. This might be an interesting topic for a further study.

In this category, children showed evidence of having the ability to express the intended messages in both languages, Arabic and English. Fatem and Ali both used some expressions in both English and Arabic in the recordings for example, they used expressions like “wait a minute”, “I’ll show you” and “broken” occasionally in Arabic but several times using English. They used English not Arabic in the following examples 3 and 4, as English seemed to be more accessible to them, especially when they were speaking spontaneously.

Example 3

1) Mother: وش سويتي اليوم في المدرسة؟
   What do you the today at the school? [Literal]
   What have you done at school today? [English meaning]
2) Fatem: nothing

Example 4

1) Ali: Put it in

2) Mother: لا ما بنحطه
No, not we put it [Literal]
No, we won't put it in [English meaning]

3) Mother: روح الحمام
Go to the toilet

4) Ali: I'll read it

5) Mother: لا شكرا
No, thanks [Literal]
No need for that, thank you [English meaning]

In both examples, children code-switched to English to make requests or to reply to their mother's questions.

5.3.1.3 Switching for emphasis

Six of the 10 children showed this function in their code-switching. It was not very common even then, with between 2 and 6 instances per child, but this kind of emphasis may not be very high frequency in children's interactions with their mothers under normal circumstances, so the numbers may not hold much significance. In this category, children produced English words or utterances within Arabic exchange to emphasise an order or to highlight a statement, as the examples below show. Fatem conducts a request sequence with her mother entirely in Arabic until the repetition of "please" in English is used to emphasis her plea.

Example 5

1) Fatem: ماما جوعانة
   Mama hungry [Literal]
   Mama, I'm hungry [English meaning]

2) Mother: الحين يستوي الاكل
   Now be(ing) ready the food [Literal]
   Dinner, will be ready shortly [English meaning]

3) Fatem: االه بأخذ شيء ثاني
   Oh, will take something else [Literal]
   Oh, will eat something [English meaning]

4) Mother: حاجه خفيفة بس
   Something light just [Literal]
   Just if it is something light [English meaning]

5) Fatem: تمر ؟
   Dates?

6) Mother: ثلاث تمرات فقط
   Three dates only [Literal]
   Only three [English meaning]

7) Fatem: من هينا
   From here?

8) Mother: اكليهم
   Eat you them [Literal]
   Eat them [English meaning]

9) Fatem: واحد اثنين ثلاثة بس لقيت ثلاثة
   One, two, three just found me three [Literal]
   I just found three [English meaning]

10) Mother: انا قلت لك بس ثلاثة

I told me you just three [Literal]

I told you only three [English meaning]

11) Fatem: انتي قلتي بس اربع

You told me just four

12) Mother: لا قلت بس ثلاثة

No, said me just three [Literal]

No, I said just three [English meaning]

13) Fatem: please ماما بس واحد

Mama just one please [Literal]

Please mama just one more [English meaning]

14) Mother: لا

No

15) Fatem: please

16) Mother: لا انا قلت

No, I say me [Literal]

I said no [English meaning]

17) Fatem: please ماما

Mama please

18) Mother: ترا كلهم بشيلهم عنك

Or all of them will take them all from you [Literal]

I will take them all [English meaning]

19) Fatem: اوه

Oh (and started to eat them)

Maya used code-switching at utterance level to emphasise her intentions.

Example 6

1) Mother: ما ضبطت

Not work it [Literal]

It didn't work [English meaning] (mother referring to the jump)

2) Maya: I'll do it again (the child kept trying)

3) Maya: اوه ما قدرت (the child commented on her performance)

Oh, not could me [Literal]

Oh, I couldn't [English meaning]

4) Mother: طاح

Fell down [Literal]

It fell down [English meaning] (mother commenting on the rope)

5) Maya: I'll start again

6) Mother: أوه طاح عندي

Oh, fall down next me [Literal]

Oh, it fell next to me [English meaning]

In this example, the child used code-switching to put emphasis on two statements which are "I'll do it again" and "I'll start again". As the child was trying to do special moves with a jumping rope but could not achieve that, she highlighted that she did not give up as she kept trying.

5.3.1.4 Switching to represent familiar situation

In this category, children switched to English by producing consecutive English utterances that involved socio-pragmatic practices while they were doing certain activities. This function showed the greatest variation, with two children not using this function at all in their code-switching in this sample, and the remainder averaging around 6 examples each, up to a high of 12 uses. In this data, this category was mainly noticed in play activities where children

communicated with their playing partner (mothers), stated the playing roles and played in English. See example 7.

Example 7

1) Mother:نأخذ هذا تلفون ألو
   We take this telephone hello
2) Zahra: Hi
3) Mother: Hi
4) Zahra: What is your name?
5) Mother: My name is Rana
6) Zahra: Hi Rana, my name is Zahra
7) Mother: Hi Zahra
8) Zahra: Can you come?
9) Mother: Yes, I can come two minutes and I will be there, ok?
10) Zahra: Ok
11) Mother: Ok bye
12) Zahra: Bye

In this example, the child was doing a pretending play with her mother. The child was the caller so that gave her a chance to start and lead the conversation. The mother introduced the activity using Arabic but as the child was hooked into the play, she switched to English. In this example, it should be noted that the switch to English seems to result from the child's consistent exposure to playing using English in kindergarten. Therefore, when she is in the playing mood in an at home context, she would switch the whole register, which included code-switching to English.

5.3.2 Mothers' code-switching

As Table 5.4 shows, nine of the ten mothers in this study code-switched to English when they were interacting with their children. The amount of code-switching varied considerably, from zero to 31, with an average of 10. Two mothers were at the higher end, with 20 and 31 instances, and without them the remaining 8 mothers averaged only 6 instances each. The total was less than half the children's total, indicating that mothers were using less code-switching than their children, but it was still a reasonably common occurrence, given most mothers had wanted Arabic to be the language of home. As noted in tables 5.1 and 5.2, the mothers and children had different functions for their code-switching.

Table 5.4

Counts of Mothers' Code-switching functions

	Ali's Mother	Amina's Mother	Dania's Mother	Ammar's Mother	Zeyad's Mother	Maya's Mother	Fatem's Mother	Basem's Mother	Zahra's Mother	Jasem's Mother	Total
Establish/ Maintain contact	**6**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**10**	**14**	**1**	**40**
Clarification	**10**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**10**	**5**	**32**
Lexical borrowing	**4**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**5**	**21**
Emphasis	**0**	**1**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**11**
Total	**20**	**9**	**8**	**0**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**12**	**31**	**12**	**104**

5.3.2.1 Switching to establish or maintain contact

This section covers mothers' code-switching to English with the purpose of maintaining or establishing contact with their children. As Table 5.4 shows, this function was the most common one in mothers' code-switching, with 40 instances found. Even so, there was

considerable variation with three mothers showing no instances of this function. See example 8.

Example 8

(the mother and the child were playing a car race)

1) Mother: يلا هات هذول سريعين سيارات السباق

   Yalla bring those fast(s) cars race [Literal]

   Come on bring those fast race cars [English meaning]

2) Basem: أه wait mama

   Ok, wait mama

3) Mother: يلا واحد اثنين ثلاثة

   Yalla one...two...three [Literal]

   Come on one…two...three [English meaning]

4) Mother: أوه كمان مره باسم اسرع

   Oh, another time Basem faster [Literal]

   Oh, again you are faster [English meaning]

5) Basem: cheating انا(laughing)

   I'm cheating

6) Mother: ؟ cheating انت(laughed)

   Are you cheating?

7) Basem: أه

   Yes

8) Mother: أه منك

   Oh, dear

9) Mother: cheating كمان مره ما تعمل

   Another time not you do cheating [Literal]

   Next time don't cheat [English meaning]

10) Basem: Ok

11) Mother: Cheating انت

   You are cheating

12) Basem: (laugh)

13) Mother: انا لسه ماحكيت واحد اثنين ثلاثه يلا

   I still not say me one, two, three, go.

   I didn't say one, two, three, go.

In this example, both the mother and the child were playing together. The child was joking and laughing, thinking he had tricked his mother and the mother followed his scenario. As the child used code-switching in line 4 to highlight his trick, the mother used the same English terms her child used and used it several times to highlight her alignment. As the mother and the child were doing a joint play, the mother showed her solidarity by code-switching to align with the child's lead.

5.3.2.2 Switching for clarification

This was the second most common function of code-switching for mothers, but again with considerable variation. In this function, mothers used English terms or phrases to provide clarification or to clear any ambiguity that resulted from the mother's use of Arabic. In other

words, mothers used English as a strategy to enhance children's understanding. See example 9.

Example 9

(the mother asked the child to put dirty clothes in the washing bin)

1) Mother: تودينها السلة البنفسجية؟

   You take it the basket the purple? [Literal]

   Would you take it to the purple basket? [English meaning]

2) Dania: لا

   No

3) Dania: بينشف

   Will dry [Literal]

   It'll dry [English meaning]

4) Mother: لا مو بينشف هادا وصخ لازم اغسله ه

   No not will dry, this is dirt must I wash it [Literal]

   No, it won't dry, it's dirty I have to wash it [English meaning]

5) Dania: لا ينشف

   No, will dry [Literal]

   No, it will dry [English meaning]

6) Mother: هادا وصخ

   This is dirty

7) Mother: طالعي wet قومي فصخيه

   Get up you take you it off we look you [Literal]

   Take it off and look at it, it's wet [English meaning]

In example 9, the mother tried to explain to her child that her clothing was dirty and needed to be washed, but the child was not very convinced. They were both talking using Arabic, except when the mother code-switched by using the English term 'wet' in line 7. After several attempts to explain in Arabic, the mother used the English term to clarify the situation to her child.

In another example, the mother used code-switching at the beginning of the exchange to clarify the action for her child. See example 10.

Example 10

(In this example, the mother and her child were doing a clay craft together)

1) Mother: we mix it لازم (as the child added water to the clay)

   Must we mix it [Literal]

   We must mix it [English meaning]

2) Ali: You do it

3) Mother: لا لا اني ماباسويها انت سويها

   No no, me not will do it you do [Literal]

   No no, I won't do it you do it [English meaning]

4) Ali: (starts to do it)

5) Mother: ؟ب ال حقك اوكي thumb لا مو بصبعك هادا بالإبهام(the child did not hold the clay appropriately)

No, not by finger your this is by thumb by the thumb yours O.K? [Literal]

No, not with this finger use your thumb O.K? [English meaning]

6) Ali: (held it as his mother advised)

In the above example, the mother and the child were doing an activity together and the activity required some sort of urgency (because the clay would be hard to mould when it was cold). Therefore, as soon as the child started, his mother told him what to do using an English phrase. In addition to that, in line 5 she noticed the child needed to adjust the way he was holding the clay. So, the mother told him how to make the adjustment in Arabic, then she translated the Arabic term she thought the child might be unfamiliar with (thumb) to English.

5.3.2.3 Lexical borrowing

This category covers mothers' consistent borrowing of some English terms as they seem more distinguishable in English due to Arabic dialectical differences or different synonyms that can be used interchangeably for the same lexical item for example, "chips" and "movie".

Only six of the ten mothers showed this function of code-switching, and only to a maximum of 5 instances.

Example 11

1) Zahra: ماما
Mom

2) Mother: نعم ماما
Yes, mama

3) Zahra: ماما ماطوله
Mama not reach it [Literal]

Mom, I can't reach it [English meaning]

4) Mother: خلاص?
Ok?

5) Zahra: (yes gesture)

6) Mother: اخذي tissue يلا روحي نشفي
Yalla go you dry you tissue take you [Literal]

Ok, dry your hand. Take a tissue. [English meaning]

In the above example the mother and the child were interacting in Arabic. The only time the use of English took place was by the mother when she used the English term "tissue". This borrowing of specific English terms indicates that even for mothers, some vocabulary is more accessible in the English lexicon. They are bilinguals, and code-switching is a normal bilingual process.

5.3.2.4 Switching for emphasis

This was the least common function of code-switching for mothers, this function highlights the switching in which mothers used English for emphasis. See example 12.

Example 12

(the mother was removing a plaster from Dania's hand)

1) Mother:؟اح يعور صح
Oh (s) hurt right? [Literal]

Oh, it hurt? [English meaning]

2) Dania: أي
Yeah (moaning sound)

3) Mother:ماعلي sorry it's ok
(it's O.K in Arabic) sorry it's O.K

In this example, the mother wanted to comfort her child during an unpleasant action. The mother did this verbally by expressing some sympathy first in Arabic, then she put extra emphasis by switching to English.

5.3.3 What do Arabic speaking mothers do about their children's code-switching?

In this study, mothers did not deal with their children's code-switching in one consistent way. Their responses to their children's code-switching ranged from reminding children to speak

Arabic instead of English to replying to their children using English. This section describes the ways mothers managed or reacted to their children code switching to English and consider the wider perspective of where children's code switching to English took place.

It was common for mothers in this data when they were socialising and playing with their children to accept their children's code-switching and sometimes used the same code themselves. The mothers in those interactions were following their children's lead and not focusing on the details of which language children were using, as example 8 above illustrates. However, in some conversations, mothers were able to maintain the conversation without code-switching to English. In some cases, mothers used code-switching as a platform to teach their children the Arabic term (see example 13).

Example 13

1) Ali: Mommy, mommy
2) Mother: ها ماما

   Yes, mama
3) Ali: (holding his batman costume as request)
4) Mother: (put it on him)
5) Ali: Are you ready to see the muscles?
6) Ali: عنده هادا قوة

   Has this power [Literal]

   This has a power [English meaning]
7) Mother: عندك قوه؟

   Have you power?

Do you have a power?

8) Ali: how many muscles there شوف... شوف.. لا شوف

No look, look, look how many muscles there?

9) Mother: Muscles انت قلت قوه مو

You said power not muscles

10) Mother: ؟بالعربي muscles وش يعني

What means muscles by Arabic? [Literal]

What does muscles means in Arabic? [English meaning]

11) Ali: strong muscles

12) Mother: ؟بالعربي strong muscles أي وش يعني

O.K what means strong muscles in Arabic [Literal]

O.K what does strong muscles means in Arabic? [English meaning]

13) Ali: قوه

Power

14) Mother: يعني عضلات Muscles Power لا مو قوه هاديك

No, not power that is power, muscles, means muscles [Literal]

No, not power, it's muscles [English meaning]

15) Ali: عضلات(repeat it after his mother)

Muscles (repeat the Arabic term)

In this example, the child was excitedly talking about his batman costume and the muscles on the costume. The child used both Arabic and English to talk about it and the mother was responding to him using Arabic. However, the mother realised that the child was confused as

he was translating the English term "muscle" as the Arabic term "power". The mother taught the child the correct Arabic term for "muscle" and used the English term to clarify his misperception (in line 11). It was not uncommon for mothers to use their children's code-switching as an indicator of what they needed to teach them in Arabic (see example 14).

Example 14

1) Child: rain ال أجى بعدين قال بعدين

   Then said then come the rain

2) Mother: ؟ rain ال هوا ايش

   What is the rain?

3) Child: ها

   What?

4) Mother: ؟ بالعربي هو ايش

   What is it in Arabic?

5) Child: Umm rain, rain

6) Mother: مطر

   (says the Arabic name of rain مطر)

7) Child: عند جنب هون راحوا وبعدين

   And then went they here beside next

   And then they went next to

8) Mother: mushroom عند راحوا وبعدين الفطر

   And then went they next to (the mother said the Arabic term الفطر then the English)

Then, they went to the mushroom

The child was telling a story using Arabic but she code mixed to English for the term “rain”. The mother realized that the child may not know the Arabic term. Thus, resulted in a teaching exchange in which the mother taught the child a new Arabic term. Furthermore, in line 7 the child showed a sign of not knowing the term in both languages. The mother introduced the term using both languages to the child at the same time.

Nevertheless, in some cases mothers gave clear instructions and reminders for children to use Arabic, especially when children used English across consecutive exchanges (as in example 15). In example 15, the child used one English term into an Arabic sentence to fill lexical a gap. After that, he started code-switching to English in which his mother instructed him directly to use Arabic.

Example 15

1) Child: ؟ spiderال تبغا اشوف

   You want see the spider [Literal]

   Would you like to see the spider? [English meaning]

2) Mother: لا

   No

3) Child: لا؟

   No?

4) Child: is not is not close to you, is up is in roof لا هو

   No, it is it is not is not close to you, is up is in roof

5) Child: come

6) Mother: شكرا لا ما ابغا

   Thanks, no don't want [Literal]

   No, thanks [English meaning]

7) Child: He's kind of scary but but he's]

8) Mother:] أتكلم عربي

   You speak Arabic [Literal]

   Speak Arabic [English meaning]

The child started by asking a question in Arabic but used an English term (in line 1), after that he was trying to convince his mother using English. The mother did not agree with the child's request and did not like the child's use of English. She directly asked him to use Arabic. However, as the child knew his mother would not approve his request, he was not motivated to use Arabic and the conversation ended.

To sum up, the above-mentioned examples clarify that Arabic-speaking mothers dealt with their children's code-switching in different ways depending on the function of code-switching. Therefore, some mothers accepted it and used English as well when children were using it as a part of a playing activity to show solidarity with their children. In other situations, mothers realised that their children switched to English because of a lexical gap. Mothers took that as a learning opportunity to teach their children the Arabic translation in order to fill that specific gap. However, in some examples where children switched to English because they were spontaneous and English was more accessible to them than Arabic, their mothers instructed them to use Arabic.

5.4 Discussion

This study has explored how code-switching to English manifested at home in the Arabic-speaking context during child-mother interactions. It showed that, despite different language competencies, and mothers' overt policies and preferences for using Arabic, both children and their mothers code-switched to English. Consistent with previous studies among minority speaking children and/or families (e.g., Flores-Ferrán & Suh, 2015; Wang, 2019), code-switching was used strategically to achieve certain communicative goals.

However, code-switching was not used for the same functions by mothers and their children. This research has identified different functions for code-switching in mother-child interactions. Children's use of code-switching had a range of functions. First, it provided support to an Arabic exchange by filling lexical gaps using English. Children used English terms or phrases while speaking Arabic to compensate for a shortage in their Arabic repertoire. Second, code-switching to English was spontaneous for some children for whom English seemed to be more accessible than Arabic at certain times (Ervin-Tripp and Reyes, 2005; Smolak et al., 2020). Some children in this study, such as Ali, had a high and consistent exposure to English through enrolment in a full time, English-speaking kindergarten since infancy. Such exposure almost certainly had increased these children's proficiency in English and at least in some areas English would be their strongest language, therefore, it appears to be more accessible to them than Arabic. Third, some children switched to English to highlight or put some emphasis on statements, requests or other speech acts, as seen in example 5. In this example, the child used the English word "please" to put more emphasis on her request. Fourth, children code-switched to English as a part of representing an activity that is usually conducted in English.

Code-switching in play was not uncommon. Some children switched to English when they were playing with their mothers, which may be related to their socialisation in the particular playing activities which took place in the English-speaking context of kindergarten. Bauer et al. (2002) had also found that play activities could trigger code-switching in their case example of a two-to-three-year old German-English bilingual child. In their study, the child used mostly the language of the interlocutors, except in play, when English was chosen significantly more.

Mothers had different functions for their code-switching to the children. Some mothers borrowed some English vocabulary, but they generally seemed to use code-switching for the following functions. First, to maintain contact and show solidarity with their children by using the same expressions their children used in a shared activity. Second, to clarify some issues mothers used English terms or phrases in order to enhance their children's understanding of the wider idea. Third, mothers used English to highlight and put more emphasis on important statements.

Through this study data, mothers responded to their children's code switching in a variety of ways. First, in some cases mothers asked their children clearly to switch to Arabic. Second, mothers sometimes used children's code-switching to English as an opportunity to teach them the Arabic translation for that specific vocabulary item. This was noticed when children were using English vocabulary for items like colours, body parts or animals. Third, mothers accepted their children's code-switching and elaborated with them in conversation by introducing new English vocabulary or borrowing the same word the children used. Those occasions were most common when mothers were playing with their children and they welcomed their child's verbal input no matter what language they used, which would act to strengthen the social bond and enhance interaction.

Overall, we can conclude that while children commonly used code-switching into English to enhance their interaction in an Arabic-speaking context, mothers used English to enhance the quality of the interaction with their children by using code-switching to deepen their children's understanding or show alignment and solidarity with them. This relates well to the findings of previous studies indicating that code-switching in interaction has socio-pragmatic functions (Reyes, 2004; Vu et al., 2010).

6 Addressing Directive Acts to Children: Comparisons in Two Language Environments

6.1 Introduction

Directives are defined as speech acts addressed to a hearer in order to "make her/him do something" (Searle, 1976). This includes any act with directive illocutionary force and interpreted either by the speaker or the hearer as attempts to affect the behaviour of the hearer (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990). Searle's initial definition has been further developed by later scholars making finer distinctions about what constitutes directives, specifying the inclusion of such terms as prohibitions, invitations, offers, claims, intention statements, suggestions, permission giving, and threats, (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990; Sawyer, 1993).

Directives have been identified as one of the most frequent speech acts in family conversations (Ervin-Tripp, et al., 1990; Ellis, 1992). In schools, teachers rely on directives to achieve students' learning goals (Waring & Hruska, 2012), so contexts where adults and children are found together contain many directives. Generally, adults use them as tools to regulate children's behaviour (Goodwin 2006; Wingard, 2006). However, as discussed in chapter 1 section 1.3.3. Cross-linguistic differences in using directives might be challenging for bilinguals, who are exposed to two sets of socio-cultural rules when issuing or receiving the same directive act using two different languages. Lee (2010) in her study of 176 Cantonese speaking children from 7 to 12 years old in Hong Kong who were learning English at school found that understanding indirect refusals, compliments and complaint speech acts was a problem for them. Lee highlighted that these acts were usually delivered directly in Cantonese.

Chapter 6 – Addressing Directive Acts to Children: Comparisons in Two Language Environments

This present study focuses on children who are living in a majority-English speaking country and are acquiring Arabic as their home language and English as the majority language. This population of bilingual children develop two languages that differ in culture and context of use. To date, there is no published work that has looked at directives in Arabic speaking children. However, several studies have explored directive use by Arabic-speaking adults (Atawneh, 1991; Farahat, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012; Ghazzoul, 2019). There is a general agreement between these studies that there is a preference among native speakers of Arabic to use direct forms of directives. This does not imply that Arabic speakers do not use politeness markers, however, Arabic speakers rely more on semantic components by adding mitigation markers such as religious softeners and prayers (Al-Marrani, 2018). For example, in an Arabic-speaking context it is common for Arabic speakers to make a direct form polite by using an imperative and including a short prayer, such as "Allah jaħfðak., take this with you outside" which means "Allah protects you, take this with you outside". English speakers across varieties of English use different strategies to issue directives (Holmes et al.,2012). One of the common strategies to convey politeness in English is to use question form (Blum-Kulka, 1997). In English the same directive could be issued indirectly using a question form by saying something like "could you please take this with you outside?"

While it is reasonable to assume that native Arabic-speaking individuals living in an English-speaking country would use direct forms to issue directives to their children, we should also pay attention to the possibility of pragmatic transfer from English to Arabic. This possibility is supported by Atawneh (1991), as he compared requesting strategies of native speakers of Arabic, native speakers of English, Arabic-English bilinguals living in a majority-English speaking country and Arabic-English bilinguals living in a majority-Arabic speaking country. Atawneh suggests his study results indicated English pragmatic transfer in the bilingual

Arabic and English speakers' living in a context where English is the majority language but not in the bilingual Arabic and English speakers living in an Arabic-speaking country. Other studies have found that higher second language proficiency (Olshtain & Cohen, 1989; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993), and greater length of time in a second-language speaking community (Félix-Bradsefer, 2004) may increase pragmatic transfer.

In contrast, it is common for English language speakers to use indirect forms of speech to issue directives (Olson, 1980). The use of direct forms is expected to be more common with familiar interactors (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and has indeed been found in studies that looked at family members or teacher directives addressed to children in western cultures. For example, Halle and Shatz (1994) analysed the forms of directives used by British mothers with their children. They found that directives constituted about 25% of mothers direct speech to their children and direct forms like imperatives and prescriptive statements were used frequently by mothers. Brumark (2006) studied the use of directives in 20 Swedish families and reported that more than half of the directives produced by adults and children in those families were in direct forms, so it is common in languages other than English as well.

In another study in a kindergarten setting, Bertsch et al. (2009 analysed teachers' commands across three different age groups: toddlers, 3-4-year-olds and 4-6-year-olds, and found that teachers used a greater amount of direct and prohibitive commands to the older two age groups. They interpreted this finding as being a result of the older children being more responsible for their choices and needing more direct guidance to behave appropriately. However, Hu, Torr, Degotardi, & Han (2017) in a study of 56 early childhood teachers in Australia found that direct and explicit commands were a common directive style addressed to infants aged from birth to 2 years, so younger children were also likely in their study to receive direct requestives. Such findings illustrate that even among western culture

indirectness is not always the preferred way to issue directives. Directness in delivering directives is common in adult-child interaction.

Nevertheless, Blum-Kulka (1990) summarised that adult-child interaction is usually polite. Although they may often be direct, they are rich with mitigation markers e.g., using nicknames. While this seem to be applicable to different cultures, it does not imply that mitigations and directness are the same across different languages. In this study, the style of directives used by adults in two different languages (Arabic and English) and in two different contexts (home and kindergarten) are expected to be different. While in both settings it is likely that adults would use directives frequently, the form, frequency and the function of those directives is expected to vary. At this point however, we do not know in what way.

This study aims to partially fill the gap in the literature on directives used by and given to bilingual children by looking into mothers and teachers' directives to bilingual Arabic-English speaking children. The purpose of this study is to explore how mothers and teachers each using a different language in two different contexts (home and kindergarten) issue directives to nine bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children who range in age from three to five years old. This study focuses on describing directives addressed to those children, the adults chosen form, the use of mitigating strategies or any politeness markers in naturalistic interaction in both contexts, and the adults' reasons for the directives. Possible differences or similarities between teachers speaking English at kindergarten and mothers speaking Arabic at home in their use of various directives will be highlighted. Lastly, this study will shed some light on whether Arabic-speaking mothers may exhibit some degree of pragmatic transfer from English by using indirect forms when issuing directives to their children.

6.2 Method

This study's participants include nine children, nine Arabic speaking mothers and nine English-speaking teachers. Children were video recorded in two contexts: once interacting with their mother at home and then interacting with a teacher at kindergarten. For more details about participants and procedure, see Chapter 2, sections 2.2.

The 18 video recordings from home and kindergarten were transcribed and the data was analysed into speech acts. Transcripts included verbal speech acts and non-verbal behaviours with a clear communicative function and any important contextual factors.

6.2.1 Analysis

All speech acts which contained direct or indirect requestives, were included and considered as directives based on the adult illocutionary act. Fey's (1986) Socio-Conversational Analysis was used, see chapter 2 section 2.3 for more information. All action request acts (directives) by adults were further analysed into their clause form (imperatives, statements, or questions). In such analysis it is mandatory to consider the wider context in order to distinguish which particular speech act is operating. For example, if a teacher says to a child "you've got all the cars" it may be two different acts depending on the context and the intent of the teacher. The teacher may just be making a general comment and is not expecting any response from the child; hence it is a "comment" speech act, or ASCO. Alternatively, the teacher might be giving an indirect order to the child to not play with all the cars so as to give other children the opportunity to play with them, making this a requestive act (a request for action, or RQAC). Since the act is not in the words themselves, context and the preceding and following verbal and non-verbal signs are needed to distinguish between the two acts e.g., the researcher in the recording noticed that this is a popular toy in the kindergarten or one of the children requested one of the cars from the teacher.

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Directives from mothers in Arabic

Table 6.1 shows the total number of directives and their forms from each participant mother toward their children in Arabic. In this study data, 360 directive acts by mothers toward their children were identified, a mean of 40 per mother, with the range from 80 down to 10. The numbers partly depend on what was happening in the context; for example, a mother organising a child to do something like get ready for a meal may use a number of directives, whereas if a child is playing with their mother just commenting from time to time, there may be few directives. These recordings were naturalistic and therefore not standardised, and no conclusions can be drawn from the numbers in themselves. However, they provide a picture of the use of directives at that moment in time. Mothers used different forms of these directives, and this section will present each of those forms separately.

Table 6.1

Mothers' Directives Forms

Participants	Ali	Dana	Zahra	Ammar	Zeyad	Maya	Basem	Jasem	Amina	Total
Total number of directives	80	53	71	24	52	22	31	10	17	360
1-Directive Form										
a. Imperative	46	33	49	14	20	18	16	6	14	216
b. Statement	23	12	20	8	27	1	12	4	3	110
c. Question	11	8	2	2	5	3	3	0	0	34
2.a. Mitigation with imperative	24	11	10	4	4	3	6	2	0	64
2.b. Mitigation with statement	4	2	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	11

6.3.1.1 Imperatives in mothers' directives

In this study data, 216 of the total number of 360 directive acts by Arabic-speaking mothers (60%) used imperative forms, i.e. direct forms. Eight out of the nine participant mothers in this study used imperatives more than questions and statements to issue directives.

In those 216 imperatives forms, mothers used 64 mitigation markers with those directives, which means around 30% of the directives in Arabic contained mitigation markers. Mitigation markers came in a range of types, such as a pre-request, a justification or a diminutive. Diminutive frequently used by adults when interacting with children and it is usually formed by changing the morphology of the child's name (Eshreteh,2017). In some examples, mothers used more than one mitigation marker within the same directive (See example 1).

Example 1

(They are leaving the living room to go outside)

1) Mother: علوش البس الكروكس علوش ياالله
   (Diminutive name) wear the Crocs (Diminutive name) Yalla
   (Diminutive name) wear your slipper (Diminutive name) come on
2) Ali: O.K. wait a minute (he was busy collecting his toys to go outside)
3) Mother: أي wait a minute يصير ما حبيبي
   How wait a minute my love it cannot be
   My love it cannot wait
4) Mother: يلا علي قوم
   Yalla Ali get up
   Get up Ali
5) Ali: wait a minute

In example 1, the mother issued an order to the child, and the purpose of that order is related to the child's health (he was going outside barefoot and the weather was cold, so the mother

asked him to wear his slippers). The mother used imperatives a couple of times and used diminutives several times. At the beginning of the directive act (line 1) the mother used a diminutive twice; initially as a pre-request to soften the imperative request, then as a reminder when the child had not responded to the request. In line 4 the mother still used an imperative for the third time for the same directive, but instead of using a diminutive she used the child's real name in monotone speech. The repetition of the same request and elimination of a diminutive seems to be the mother's strategy to increase the degree of requirement for his compliance. This example illustrates that even with using an imperative as a form of directive, it can range in intensity by the use of mitigation markers.

However, in the example below, the mother used an imperative form without mitigation markers when giving her child (Zahra) a suggestion about Zahra's paintings (see example 2).

Example 2

(The child doing a painting and the mother sitting with her)

1) Mother: سوي ذي الحركة بجهة ثانيه (as the child intended to paint over a painted flower)
   تروح بعدين ال flower
   Do this move in other side go then the flower
   Paint on the other side or the flower will disappear
2) Zahra: No
3) Mother: شوفي جميله عدليها كذا لا تخربينه
   Look you, beautiful no ruin you it...change you it like that
   Look how beautiful it is, don't ruin it... change it like that
4) Zahra: No
5) Mother: شوفي جميله لاويه تبين تخربينها ؟
   Look you beautiful (2) why want you ruin you it?
   Look it's beautiful, why would you ruin it?
6) Zahra: لان

Because

7) Mother: لان تبين تسوينها mix

Because you want do you it mix

Because you would like it to be mixed

In example 2, the mother tried to direct the child using different forms of directives (imperative with justification in line 1, imperative and prohibitive in line 3, and question in line 5) in an activity where the child was taking the lead in and had the ownership. At the beginning of the extract (in lines 1 and 3) through the mother's use of imperatives, mother showed high entitlement and low contingency (Craven and Potter, 2010). She was telling the child what to do without acknowledging any barrier that may prevent the child's compliance. The child rejected her mother's suggestion. At the end of the example (line 6), after issuing the same directive using three different forms, the mother acknowledged a reason that prevented the child's compliance.

Some instances of more social play, where mothers engaged with their children in a variety of activities and played with them, also showed the use of directives. This was often when mothers were trying to teach their children how to play or to regulate the playing, and sometimes telling the child what to play (see example 3).

Example 3

1) Mother:؟ اسمعي اعملي خدعة بتعرفي

Listen you do you trick do you know

Do a trick, do you remember how?

2) Maya: اه

Yeah

3) Mother: اعملي خدعة من الخدعات الي بتعميليها انتي ورامي بتساوها

You do a trick from tricks that you do and Rami (her brother) together

Do one of the tricks that you do with Rami (her brother)

4) Maya: آه

   O.K

5) Mother: جيبي كرة صغيره من جوا وتعالي اعملي الخدعة

   Get you ball small from inside and come you do you the trick

   Go and get a small ball from inside and do the trick

6) Maya: اوكي

   O.K

In example 3, the mother used imperatives to deliver directives to her daughter. At the beginning (in line 1), the mother introduced her idea to her child and the child showed acceptance (line 2). After that, the mother clarified, gave more details (line 3) and told her daughter how to execute the idea (in line 3). Those three different directive acts were issued using imperative forms for different functions (telling the child what to do, clarification and how to do it). The mother's wider aim was to give the child the lead in an activity that the child enjoyed in a fun and interactive atmosphere, as before the mother's suggestion the child was playing alone. Then, the mother tried to engage her in a joint interactive activity in which the child was performing and the mother commenting.

6.3.1.2 Statements in mothers' directives

Statements were the second most common form of directive after imperatives. The only exception was Zeyad's mother who used more statements than imperatives in issuing directives (see Table 6.1).

Example 4 shows how Zeyad's mother used statements to form directives while playing with her child.

Example 4

1) Zeyad: لا لا مابيصير

   No, no, not will happen

   Oh no, it doesn't work (could not put the car in the track)

2) Mother: خلها تروح عند صديقتها الطيارة

   Let you it goes to friend her the airplane

   Let it go next to her friend the airplane (as the mom points to the direction in which the car should follow)

3) Zeyad: لاطب ثواني

   No, ok seconds

   No, ok wait a second (with hesitation to follow his mother's suggestion)

4) Mother: شوف لا لا بدها تدخل

   No, no, it will enter look

   No, it will work look (as the mother puts it in the right track)

5) Zeyad: هههه

   Laugh (as the mother puts it correctly and the toy worked)

In example 4 the child was playing with his toy and he struggled to get his toy in, so his mother helped him by giving him directives as a sort of guidance. The child was showing frustration, as he could not figure out how to play with his toy. His mother tried to help him by issuing a statement directive (in line 2). However, the child showed some hesitation and his mother insisted using another statement directive (in line 4). The mother's directive worked as the child figured out how to play with it and showed signs of happiness as he was laughing.

In contrast to example 4, in which the mother used statements to help the child achieve desired results, in example 5 the mother used this form to remind her child (Basem) about a familiar rule about not making a mess and cleaning up.

Example 5

1) Mother: بس حوسه يكفي تجيب العاب

   Enough mess enough you bring toys

   That enough, no need to bring more toys (the child was bringing toys from the playroom into the living room)

2) Basem: انا بدي اجيب العاب بعد

   I want bring toys more

   I want to bring some more toys.

3) Mother: ليش بدك تجيبهم كلهم?

   Why want you bring them all?

   Why do you want to bring them all?

4) Basem: عشان العب

   So, I play

   So, I can play

5) Mother: ترتبهم حا

   Will you arrange them?

   You will have to clean them up.

In this example, the mother used a statement directive without mitigation markers (in line 1), directing Basem to stop bringing his toys to the living room. Basem challenged his mother by issuing a direct statement that he wanted to bring more toys. His mother asked for clarification for his action (line 3), and he replied because he wants to play with them. Then, the mother concluded with another statement directive (you will clean them up), which was a middle way between the child's desire and the mother's earlier directive.

6.3.1.3 Questions in mothers' directives

It is consistent across the nine Arabic speaking mothers in this data that questions were the least used form to issue directives. Example 6 shows how one of the mothers used questions to form a directive in Arabic.

Example 6

1) Mother: شو رايك تلونهم ؟ بيصيرو جميلين
   What opinion yours you colour those all they will look all nice all
   What is your opinion about colouring them? They will look nice.
2) Zeyad: اوكي
   O.K
3) Mother: مو بقلم الرصاص لونه بشع خذ لك لون من هناك
   Not with the pencil colour it ugly take for you colour from there
   Not with pencil it is ugly, take a colouring pen from there
4) Zeyad: (takes colouring pen and starts colouring)

In example 6, the mother issued a directive to the child using an open-ended question equivalent in English to "what is your opinion about...?" (in line 1). The mother was directing the child to colour his drawing and commented on how nice the drawing would look if he complied. Zeyad agreed, and he was ready to start colouring. The mother immediately issued another direct form of directive using an imperative and told Zeyad not to use pencil but to use crayons (line 3). In this example, the mother issued two different directives. In the first directive, the mother used a question form to introduce the idea, and in the second directive she used an imperative to direct the child in how to execute it.

Mothers also used questions as a directive to challenge the child to stop an activity or behaviour (see example 7).

Example 7

1) Mother: علوشي ممكن نروح نبدل؟

   (diminutive name) can we go we change?

   Can we go and change?

2) Ali: أي

   Yes

3) Mother: ياالله

   Yallah

In this example the mother used a yes/no question with the Arabic word (ممكن) which is pronounced using English as /mumkin/. This word in Arabic indicates possibility and translates to a "can" question in English. However, in Arabic it is usually used in a formal interaction to make requests (Atawneh,1991), and its use here seems to that the mother was trying to make indirect request. The mother also used pluralisation as a mitigation marker to indicate in-group identity. So, she said in line 1 of example 7 Can we go…? instead of can you…?

In some cases, mothers used questions, mainly intonation and yes/no questions to propose an action and confirmed with children their acceptance (see example 8).

Example 8

1) Mother: احط لك على الطاولة تأكل؟

   I put you on the table you eat

   Will you eat it at the table?

2) Jasem: (nods his head)

This is an indirect directive, by using a question form, instead of the imperative 'eat it at the table'.

6.3.2 Directives from teachers in English

Table 6.2 shows the total number of directives and their forms in English the teachers. In this study data, 368 directive acts by teachers toward the participant children were identified, a mean of 41 per teacher, with the range from 77 down to 17. Table 6.2 demonstrates that those directives acts were distributed across three forms and every teacher used a variety of forms to issue directives.

Table 6.2

Teachers' Directives Forms

Participant	Ali	Dana	Zahra	Ammar	Zeyad	Maya	Basem	Jasem	Amina	Total
Total numbers of directives	19	41	47	52	23	17	77	49	41	368
1-Directive form										
a. Imperative	7	23	14	11	5	1	11	21	15	107
b. Statement	4	9	11	16	7	5	29	17	11	109
c. Question	8	9	22	25	11	11	37	13	15	148
2. Mitigation markers	0	5	3	0	6	0	4	10	1	29

English-speaking teachers used different forms of directives in a relatively systematic way to deliver particular functions. As the below examples show, imperatives were used mainly to provide immediate instructions to children for actions that required their immediate response e.g., "put some glue here". Statements were used to give a hint or as a reminder about the rules e.g., "it is clean up time". However, questions were the main platform for teachers' directives, particularly modal verb questions. The teachers' use of questions to issue directives ranged from hints such as "do you have two cars?" to a clear hedged request "could you please give one to your friend?"

6.3.2.1 Imperatives in teachers' directives

Although the total number of teachers' directive forms were relatively close, imperatives were the least used forms to issue directives. One of the most common uses of imperatives in this data was to call the children's attention, usually using the phrase "look…" (See example 9).

Example 9

1) Teacher: Oh, look what we found here (points to sticker on the floor)
2) Ali: Yay (took sticker from the floor)

In example 9, the teacher found a sticker that had dropped on the floor and that sticker could be used in the child's craft. Therefore, the teacher directed the child's attention to that sticker by using an imperative. However, this is still an indirect act, as the direct act would have been "pick up that sticker". The imperative "look" is a request for attention rather than a request for an action, hence the imperative form does not indicate directness in this case.

Teachers also used imperatives to provide immediate instructions to children during play activities, especially when children were struggling to figure out how to complete the activity (see example 10).

Example 10

1) Teacher: Put your hand over here, use your hand and pull it back. (The teacher points to a button in the toy)
2) Basem: (doing what the teacher asked)
3) Teacher: It's hard (helping the child by putting her hand over the child's hand and pulling the button)
4) Basem: Yeah.
5) Teacher: Tight.

6) Teacher: Pull it right back.
7) Basem: (move the cars)
8) Teacher: One, two, three. Drive your cars. Maybe use two hands.
9) Basem: (put both hands together) (laughter) (as the toy worked)
10) Teacher: Woo. (the car jumped)

In example 10, the teacher and the child were engaged together in doing a challenging task where the teacher gave multiple imperative directives to help them achieve their goal. In line 8, the teacher offered a suggestion with the use of the modal "maybe", another indirect form of directive. This seems to be offering the initiative back to the child, and the teacher becomes more of an audience and reacts to the child's action, as in turn 10.

6.3.2.2 Statements in teachers' directives

Teachers used statements for a variety of directive functions. In some cases, teachers used statements before an activity to instruct children on how to start the activity or how to perform the main action, often with considerable use of the grammar of modality as in "have to" and "gonna" (both early modals) (see example 11).

Example 11

1) Teacher: You have to be very gentle and peel it off like that. You're gonna have to use your fingers, fingernails and peel it off like that.
2) Amira: (follows the teacher's instruction)
3) Teacher: That's it, good job. There we go.

In example 11, the teacher was instructing a child on how to remove a sticker. A direct way to do it would have been "be gentle" "peel it off like that", "use your fingernails", all imperative forms.

Statements were often also used indirectly, commonly called hints or embedded directives (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Brumark, 2006). An example of a that is a teacher putting a piece of puzzle in front of the child and saying "one more doggie" (instead of "put this piece in the puzzle"). Huls and van Wijk (2012) suggest embedded directives "formally, they give hearer the option to ignore the directive function, although this would be rather bizarre" (p.87). An example of embedded directive is a teacher putting a plastic fruit in front of the child and saying "This one needs cutting too, it's a kiwifruit", rather than saying "cut this one too" – to say it "needs" an action is another indirect directive. Moreover, teachers frequently used "I want..." or "I need..." phrases to issue indirect directives such as "I need two more pieces of Sellotape on this part" and "I need some help doing the puzzle". Even in more complex and urgent matters such as solving conflict between children, teachers used declarative directives to solve conflict (see example 12).

Example 12

1) Child: Vroom. It's roaring (as he is playing happily with a car and showing it to his teacher)
2) Teacher: It's roaring, what sound does a car make?
3) Child: It makes vroom, vroom.
4) Yells loudly as a child came quietly and took the car
5) Teacher: It's all right, it's all right, nothing is gonna happen, he just wants to have a look at the cars. We have to learn to share remember?
6) Child: Yeah.
7) Teacher: So, we can see you've got three cars, so you can share with your friends.
8) PC: Yeah.
9) Teacher: Okay, so next time we are gonna share with our friends.

In example 12, the child was upset, as his car was taken and the teacher tried to calm him and gave him some assurance when she directed the child about the desired behaviour (sharing) by

using a statement with mitigation (a justification, "you've got three cars") and confirmed a future directive with a statement (line 9).

6.3.2.3 Questions in teachers' directives

This study's results show that questions were the most commonly used directive form by teachers. Teachers used different syntactical forms of questions to deliver directives to children, including wh- questions, yes/no questions, tag questions, elliptical and intonation questions. Not all those forms were used equally, as yes/no questions with modals (can, could, would, may, etc.) were predominant. While questions used for directives are considered indirect (Brown & Levinson, 1987), this data showed a wide variety of teachers' questions forming directives, which ranged in explicitness from hints to hedged requests (see example 13).

Example 13

1) Teacher: How are you gonna fix it?
2) Maya: Like that
3) Teacher: Yeah
4) Teacher: Does it go in that way?
5) Maya: No, it goes in this way. (puts it the right way)

In example 13, the child was making a tower with blocks and she was trying to put the blocks upside down, so instead of the teacher telling her directly that she was holding it the wrong way, she used a hint in the form of a yes/no question.

Not all directive questions were the teacher's preferred responses (see examples 14 & 15). In example 14, the child was holding blocks and exploring them, however, a few seconds before that she was doing a puzzle with her teacher. The teacher wanted to terminate the puzzle activity and wanted the child to clean up the puzzle pieces, so she used a question to deliver a

directive (in line 1 – "do you want to …?"). However, it appeared that the child interpreted the question literally and said no. This is the risk of indirect forms, as children can frequently take questions literally rather than interpret them for their speech act, especially when younger. In this case, the teacher then asked her a clarification question (in line 2), and the child looked confused as she showed dysfluencies. Then the teacher interrupted the child and made a statement that she was going to another place. The teacher's illocutionary force was for the child to clean up, as they were terminating the activity; however, this was not clear to the child. It is an example of miscommunication due to the pragmatic force of an utterance, or its speech act, not being interpreted correctly, due to its indirect form.

Example 14

1) Teacher: Okay. Dana, do you want to put the puzzle away?
2) Dana: No.
3) Teacher: Do you want to keep doing the puzzle?
4) Dana: Umm [I
5) Techer: [I'm going to go up to the sandpit.
6) Dana: I want to (not clear). (The teacher goes and the child follows her)

In contrast, in example 15 the teacher used a question as an indirect directive, but then added an explanatory comment, which made their expectation very clear to the child.

Example 15

1) Teacher: Shall we play with one last thing? and then I think you can go and play with your friends.
2) Jasem: (the child picked last toy to play with)
3) Teacher: (At the end of the activity) Do you think you could help me put the things away? Because the bell is ringing. The bell is ringing.
4) Jasem: (put the toys in the box)

In examples 14 and 15, the teachers gave indirect directives through yes/no questions (line 1 in example 14 and line 3 in example 15). However, the teacher in example 15 used a directive through a yes/no question with an added explanatory element (in line 1) to prepare the child. She also used modals "shall we", "I think", and "can" as part of the linguistic resources to deliver a directive.

6.4 Discussion

This study has presented data from two different contexts involving two different languages. The results of this study show that directives issued by mothers using Arabic were not the same as directives issued by teachers using English. The variations are about how and why these directives were expressed, and both relate to the language and context in which they occurred. Mothers and teachers issued directives to children for a variety of reasons, including regulating an activity, regulating the child's behaviour, maintaining the child's health and wellbeing, and socialising with the child. Some of those directives are immediate regulators (Brumark, 2006) which require immediate compliance from the child, e.g., "wear your shoes now", or have a sense of urgency "put your juice in the table before you spill it".

As hypothesised, one of the main differences between the English-speaking teachers' directives and the Arabic-speaking mothers' directives lay in directness. While teachers frequently used questions to form directives, mothers used questions infrequently. Such a difference is related to the linguistic system of each language. English has a rich modal system that can be used easily as a hedging tool to form an indirect request (Holmes et al.,2012). The teachers in this study used this modal system in questions frequently to deliver directives. In contrast, the modals that could be used for modifying requests are limited in Arabic and would be too formal to use in home interaction (Atawneh,1991). However, they were not entirely missing in this data. When questions were used as directives in Arabic,

mothers used the term /mumkin/ which translates to "possible", which is a modal element, in English. This form is indirect and equivalent to the modal verb in English but writers about Arabic state that it indicates a degree of formality and distance between the hearer and listener (Atawneh, 1991). This obviously not the case in mother-child interaction. It is possible therefore that its use by some mothers in this data might indicate a pragmatic transfer from English to Arabic. More data would be needed to explore this possibility.

Since the mothers in this study are bilingual to different degrees and have been living in an English-speaking context, pragmatic transfer is certainly a possibility. But in this example, it is negative, because the equivalent translation to the form in Arabic has the cultural message of placing distance between the child and the mother, which is not aligned with socio-cultural rules in Arabic (Tawalbeh and Al-Oqaily, 2012). As Table 6.1 indicates, questions were mostly used by Noor, Ali's mother. Both Noor and her child Ali have the most consistent exposure to English when compared to other participants (see participants information in Chapter 2 for more details). The amount of their exposure to English might have resulted in Noor's greater use of questions than the other participant mothers to form directives.

Consistent with previous studies findings in the use of Arabic directives in adults' interactions, this study found that imperatives with mitigation markers were the most common form of mothers' directives when addressing their children. Arabic speakers use mitigation markers as a hedging system that makes directives more polite by softening the tone of the imperative form (Atawneh, 1991; Farahat, 2009; Morkus, 2014). The Arabic-speaking mothers might not have modified directive forms when interacting with their children, but they did adjust the mitigation markers. This is noted in the frequent use of diminutive names by mothers when addressing their children. Eshreteh (2017) suggests that a diminutive is used heavily in Arabic adult-child interaction and the absence of them when

issuing orders to children might indicate a sense of intensity or harshness. It has been reported in the literature that the use of direct forms of directives is common among parents when addressing children (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Bhimji, 2005; & Brumark, 2006). In this study, mothers' use of imperatives ranged from restrictive directives that required a child's immediate response (as in example 1) to more flexible directives in which mothers used imperatives as forms of suggestion when playing with their children (examples 2 and 3). Although imperatives indicate directness, in this context it did not always indicate children's obligation to comply, as sometimes imperatives as used by mothers had the pragmatic force of suggestions.

While in some cases mothers chose imperatives strategically to deliver distinct messages to their children, such as stressing the urgency of the directive acts, in other cases they were used as a common form to deliver straightforward messages to children. The key differences to distinguishing between the two types are embedded in the context and associated with the directive act. In agreement with previous studies, mothers' directness was not considered face threatening to their children (Brumark, 2006). The data presented demonstrates imperatives as a frequent linguistic choice by Arabic speaking mothers to deliver directives to children for a variety of functions in different contexts. While imperatives are considered as the most direct form of directives (Lakoff, 1977), in Arabic culture it also implies closeness and interdependence, which is applicable to the mother-child interaction (Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Al-Marrani, 2018). In contrast, in the kindergarten data imperatives were the least chosen form used by teachers to issue directives.

Although this finding is aligned with Brown & Levinson's politeness theory, it is not consistent with the Australian study by Hu, Torr, Degotardi, & Han (2017) in which they found the imperative form a "direct and nonsuggestive type" as the most frequent form used

by early childhood educators when issuing directives to infants. Such inconsistency could be explained by considering two differences between their study and this study. First, data collection took place when the educators were interacting with a group of infants, not during one-to-one interaction. Second, there was a difference in age group, as this present study focused on kindergarten children. Very young children may be more likely to respond to the literal meaning of an indirect directive, so it may be that the early childhood educators in the Australian study had found that direct forms were more effective for children as young as their sample.

The context and the nature of the activity are important in determining the social meaning of the directive in linguistic choices (Girolametto et al., 2000). Although in both settings mothers and teachers were interacting with children one to one, the context was different. At kindergarten, the environment was more structured, as children were sitting with their teachers interacting and doing shared activities together during the entire recording. At home the children were moving around without a frame of what they could do. It could be argued that this required mothers to frequently use directives to regulate their children's behaviour and to apply some structure. However, we may argue here that the influence of context is partial, as it may affect some of the directive forms, but not all of them. To clarify that, teachers and mothers used statements to deliver directives in a relatively similar pattern and frequency. In both contexts, statements were used in a middle range between imperatives and questions and were mainly used to regulate an activity or state the rules for their children, or to give them some hints.

7 Bilingual Arabic and English-speaking Children's Responses to Directives in Two Contexts

7.1 Introduction

The literature suggests that indirect acts can make responding to directives problematic, i.e., the speakers' utterances do not exactly correspond to their intentions. An indirect act means that the hearer needs to figure out the intention of the speaker to respond appropriately. For example, if a speaker says something like, "It feels cold", their expectation may be that the hearer will close the window, especially if they were in the hearer's house and the speaker did not want to impose by closing the window themselves.

Indirect speech acts are often part of the politeness systems, although they have varying roles across cultures. Many studies using or applying Brown & Levinson's politeness analysis have been of English-speaking contexts, and in western hemisphere cultures. Those studies consistently reported a preference for speakers to use indirect acts when issuing directives to avoid a face threat (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983; Searle, 1975). However, what is considered a face threatening act in one culture might not be in another (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1991; Wolfson, 1989), so the use of indirectness may vary in non-western cultures (Matsumoto, 1989; Ide, 1989). Different cultures apply different strategies to minimize any imposition caused by the directive speech act, according their politeness systems (Yule, 1996).

This could present a challenge for bilingual individuals because the linguistic and socio-pragmatic rules in issuing and responding to directives may differ across their two languages. The form of directives may vary from one language to another and from one context to another within the same language. Bilinguals need to know how to respond to directives

within each language's socio-pragmatic rules. As directives figure frequently in child-adult interaction (Ervin-Tripp, et al., 1990; Ellis, 1992; Brumark, 2006), many young bilingual children might be exposed to different sets of directives in each language, and they need to respond to them efficiently.

Chapter 6 reported on the directives addressed to bilingual children and confirmed that Arabic and English bilingual children received different sets of directives in each language. Monolingual English-speaking children by the age of five are expected to start following Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness system by increasing politeness markers in correlation with the costs of demand (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990). However, there is very little information on how bilingual children understand and respond to different speech acts in their two languages. One study was that of Lee (2010), who looked at pragmatic comprehension in seven-year-old Cantonese children who were learning English as a second language. She found they understood direct speech acts but found some challenges in comprehending indirect speech acts, in particular, refusals, complaints and compliments. In her study, Lee observed speech acts in two languages that differed in their politeness system. Cantonese speakers focus on group-dominant values (Gu, 1990; Kong, 1998). In this example however, the children's home language was the dominant language of the society. In the Arabic-English bilinguals in this present study, the school language is the socially dominant one, and this may change the situation. Generally, a lack of awareness of sociocultural conventions and norms of one language may lead to depending on sociocultural conventions of the other language, which has the potential to cause pragmatic failure, and violate sociocultural rules and be considered impolite.

This chapter will address this issue by studying bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children's responses to directives in their home language (Arabic) and the majority language (English) . The literature indicates that in an English-language speakers tend to rely on indirectness in issuing directives, while among Arabic speakers there is a preference to use direct forms (Atawneh, 1991; Farahat, 2009; Al-Marrani & Sazalie, 2010; Tawalbeh & Al-Oqaily, 2012; Ghazzoul, 2019), and this was supported by the data in Chapter 6, wherein the Arabic-speaking mothers frequently used direct directives through imperatives contrasted to the English-speaking teachers who relied on modal verb questions to deliver indirect directives. However, the directives themselves are only one side of the interaction, and the other side is how the children responded to each set of directives and whether certain forms of directives would elicit particular responses.

Indirectness is not widely used by Arabic speakers to issue requestive speech acts (directives), but it is a common form for expressing refusals to directives (Nelson et al., 2002; Morkus, 2014). In terms of mother-child interaction, this implies that the mother would issue a direct form of directive when addressing her child, however, if the child wants to respond with a refusal act the socio-pragmatic rules mandate an indirect form. In contrast to the English-speaking context where the teacher issues directives indirectly and if the child chooses to respond with refusal the expectation is to express it indirectly. This indirectness in refusal responses indicates a pragmatic overlap between the two languages (Arabic and English), as in both languages, indirectness is the preferred form for a refusal act. For example, if a mother using Arabic language issued a directive using imperative form to her child like "wash your hands" or a teacher issued the same directive to a child using question form in English "could you wash your hands?". If the child does not want to do the directive, usually it won't be accepted by mother or teacher that the child responds with direct refusal by saying something like "no, I do not want to do that". Probably, the child may respond with

something like" well, it is not dirty" or "I already washed my hands this morning". Such indirect refusal might be the response for both forms, the question form and the imperative form. Using both languages, responding with direct refusal may lead the adult to escalate or insist in the directive. It is not clear if this pragmatic overlap would affect how these bilingual children would express their refusal when responding to adults' directives in each context of language use. In other words, does the indirectness in refusal responses take place more frequently in the context where directives are issued indirectly, or is there no difference between the two contexts, as bilingual children are aware of the socio-pragmatic preferences of the speakers?

Earlier researchers identified directives as the most frequent speech act in family conversations (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990; Ellis, 1992). Brumark (2006) supported previous study findings where parents tended to use more directives with younger children during dinnertime, as he proposed that younger children needed more guidance, therefore, the directives were used to deliver guidance in routine activities and reminded the children about mealtime rules. However, this is not limited to family settings, as children receive many directives in both settings at home and at school (Halle & Shatz, 1994; Waring & Hruska, 2012; Moore, 2013). In a school setting, teachers need to ensure groups of children's safety and wellbeing and that necessitates directive use as a major way to convey clear messages. Therefore, utterances like "Push your chair forward" or "Take that out of your mouth please" are common among teachers' directives (Girolametto et al., 2000). In both settings, teachers and parents' expectations from children are to show compliance with their directives (Matheson & Shriver, 2005; Dix et al., 2007). Such expectations might explain why children's non-compliance is one of the main reasons parents to seek professional help for managing their children's behaviour (Chamberlain & Smith, 2003).

Chapter 7 – Bilingual Arabic and English-speaking Children's Responses to Directives in Two Contexts

Compliance is greatly valued in a school setting as well and is viewed as a fundamental part of children's social and academic development (Austin & Agar, 2005). In both settings (home and school) it has been reported that compliance is the preferred response to adults' directives (Austin & Agar, 2005; Craven and Potter, 2010). Moreover, Kent (2012) studied children's responses to parents' directives during mealtime and specified that embodied non-verbal immediate compliance is the preferred response to parents' directives. Failure to comply with adults' directives sometimes leads to escalation. Craven and Potter (2010) analysed mealtime directives, which were issued by parents to young children who were in the age range of three to eight, based on entitlement and contingency. They found that non-compliance with parents' directives led to parents repeating their directives with an upgraded form that involved low contingency by not acknowledging the child's right to resist and high entitlement by strictly setting expectations on the child to comply. Kent (2012) added that children's resistance to their parents' directives has the capacity to create conflict and open dispute between parents and children.

Children show a variety of ways to express their resistance to their parents' directives, which Burke & Kuczynski (2018) listed as including assertive refusal, arguing, ignoring, displaying a negative attitude, and negotiation. The literature has also outlined a variety of strategies for teachers and parents to use in order to deal with a child's non-compliance. Those strategies include praise, a positive nonverbal response, a reprimand, and negative nonverbal response (Austin & Agar, 2005; Matheson & Shriver, 2005; Owen et al., 2012).

This chapter addresses the following questions: (1) How did the children respond to directives issued using Arabic by their mothers and using English by their teachers? (2) Are the differences in languages and contexts influencing children's responses? (3) How do

children use each language express refusal of a directive? (4) What do the children's responses to their mothers and teachers' directives indicate?

7.2 Methods

This study analysed naturalistic data of the responses of nine bilingual three-to-five-year-old Arabic and English-speaking children growing up in New Zealand to directives issued by mothers at home (as an Arabic speaking context) and by teachers in kindergarten (as an English-speaking context). Based on previous findings (see Chapter 3), we know that home is the main source of exposure to Arabic and kindergarten is the main source of exposure to English for these children.

The video recordings and transcripts that were used in Chapter 6 were used in this study. This time the analysis focused on children's responses to adults' directives in both contexts. All directive speech acts identified children's responses to those directive acts and were analysed and coded according to the types of responses identified. These types of responses emerged through understanding and reviewing children's responses, generating initial codes, developing initial categories, applying and modifying them and presenting the final categories. This resulted in three main categories of response: verbal responses, non-verbal responses, and lack of response.

7.3 Results

In both settings (home and kindergarten), children responded to their mothers and teachers' directives in a variety of ways. Those ways were categorised into the following three broad themes: verbal, non-verbal, and lack of response. Each one of those themes were further analysed, and Table 7.1 shows the amount of every responses type used by every participant child in both settings. In Tables 7.1 & 7.2 M stands for responding to the mother and T for responding to the teacher.

Table 7.1

The Amount and Types of Directives and Responses

Participant	Ali		Dana		Zahra		Ammar		Zeyad		Maya		Basem		Jasem		Amina		Total	
	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T
Directives	80	19	53	41	71	47	24	52	52	23	22	17	31	77	10	49	17	41	360	368
Verbal responses	17	7	21	19	13	8	14	7	32	1	16	6	14	43	3	0	3	3	135	94
%	*21*	*37*	*40*	*46*	*18*	*17*	*58*	*13*	*62*	*4*	*73*	*35*	*45*	*56*	*30*	*0*	*18*	*7*	*37*	*25*
Non-verbal response	30	8	20	15	45	35	9	33	10	17	5	6	11	24	6	25	5	32	141	195
%	*38*	*42*	*38*	*37*	*64*	*74*	*38*	*63*	*19*	*74*	*23*	*35*	*35*	*31*	*60*	*51*	*29*	*78*	*39*	*54*
Lack of response	33	4	12	7	13	4	1	12	10	5	1	5	6	10	1	24	9	6	86	77
%	*41*	*21*	*22*	*17*	*18*	*9*	*4*	*24*	*19*	*22*	*4*	*30*	*20*	*13*	*10*	*49*	*53*	*15*	*24*	*21*

Table 7.1 shows that the proportions of verbal and non-verbal responses were relatively close when children were responding to their mothers. However, the proportion of non-verbal responses were more with teachers (as the totals show). Also, children gave no response to approximately quarter of mothers' and teachers' directives, with 24% and 21% respectively.

7.3.1 Children's verbal responses to directives

Children in both settings used different syntactical forms of verbal responses to mothers and teachers' directives, covering the major clause types of statements, questions and imperatives, and minor clauses. This study chose to use Herring's (2016) system and only give a syntactical major category to grammatically complete utterances. Those which were not complete were categorised as minors, and further sub-categorised into single words, sentence fragments and interjections. Table 7.2 shows the total number of every verbal response used by each child in response to mothers and teachers' directives.

Table 7.2

Total of Children's Verbal Responses to Mothers and Teachers' Directives

Name	Ali		Dana		Zahra		Ammar		Zeyad		Maya		Basem		Jasem		Amina		Total	
	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T
Verbal responses	17	7	21	19	13	8	14	7	32	1	16	6	14	43	3	0	3	3	135	94
Statement	5	2	7	4	3	1	2	0	9	0	4	0	4	6	1	0	0	0	35 ***26%***	13 ***14%***
Question	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	5 ***4%***	2 ***2%***
Imperative	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	4 ***3%***	2 ***2%***
Minors	9	5	10	15	10	7	12	7	24	1	12	6	9	33	1	0	3	3	90 ***67%***	77 **82%**
1-Single word	7	4	8	11	9	2	10	3	6	1	5	4	5	21	0	0	3	3	52 **58%**	49 ***64%***
2-Sentence fragment	1	0	2	4	0	3	1	4	5	0	2	2	1	10	0	0	0	0	13 ***14%***	23 ***30%***
3-Interjection	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	13	0	5	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	25 ***28%***	5 ***6%***

Table 7.2 shows that children in this study mostly responded to their mothers' and teachers' directives with minors, specifically single words. Table 7.3 focuses on the single word category responses, most commonly a form of "yes" or "no", hence classified as agreements or refusals to the directive. In English this could be such utterances as "yes", "ok", "no", "nup", and in Arabic "اي"/ee/, "لا"/la/, "زين"/zain/.

Table 7.3

Total of Children's Single Word Agreement and Refusal to Mothers and Teachers' Directives

	Ali		Dana		Zahra		Ammar		Zeyad		Maya		Basem		Jasem		Amina		Total	
	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T
Single words	7	4	8	11	9	2	10	3	6	1	5	4	5	21	0	0	3	3	52	49
Agreement	6	4	3	11	2	2	1	3	3	1	5	3	0	19	0	0	0	3	20 ***38%***	46 ***94%***
Refusal	1	0	5	1	7	0	9	0	2	0	0	1	5	2	0	0	3	0	32 ***62%***	3 ***6%***

7.3.1.1 Children's verbal responses to mothers' directives

In this study data, a single word response was the most commonly used verbal form, as the total values in Table 7.2 show. Single word responses were used repeatedly by the children in this study to indicate agreement or refusal when responding to mothers' directives. Mothers mostly used imperative form to issue directives (see table 6.1, chapter 6). Table 7.3 indicates that children expressed their refusals frequently in direct forms using single words when responding to their mothers'directives. An example is seen below example 1, as Ammar responded to his mother's directive by using a single word utterance to indicate his refusal.

Example 1

1) Mother: تخلص تأكل الكستر بعملك حليب بشاي

You finish you eat the custard will do me milk with tea

First finish your custard then I'll make for you milk tea

2) Ammar: لا لا

No, no

However, extracting one response to one directive fails to show the way that directives and responses to directives followed a pattern of negotiation, in which multiple directives and multiple types of responses to them made up a whole mother-child interaction. In the full extract below, mother starts by requesting information from Ammar, and he requests something he wants which mother puts a condition onto. Her insistence on the condition then results in an agreement (line 8). These sequences are very common in this data.

Extract 1

1) Mother: ايش فيك؟

What in you?

What's wrong with you?

2) Ammar: انا بدي انا بدي

I want I want

3) Mother: بدك ايش؟

   Want you what?

   What do you want?

4) Ammar: حليب بشاي

   Milk with tea

5) Mother: تخلص تأكل الكستر بعملك حليب بشاي

   You finish you eat the custard will do me milk with tea

   First finish your custard then I'll make for you milk tea

6) Ammar: لا لا

   No, no

7) Mother: خلاص ما في حليب بشاي

   So no in milk with tea

   Ok, so no milk tea

8) Ammar: O.K O.K انا أكل

   Ok, Ok I'm eating

9) Mother: طيب

   O.K

In a similar example, Ali used a single word utterance to express his refusal to his mother's directive.

Example 2

1)Mother: قول ياالله ياالله قوم

   Ya Allah get up say YaAllah

   Come on get up say Ya Allah

2)Ali: لا

   No (continued doing his craft)

As commonly happens in mother-child interactions, a noncompliance response was followed by further forms of the directive from mother. In this example, mother's strategy was to deal with her child's resistance indirectly by embedding the same directive order into a joint

playful activity. Ali's response after his single word refusal and mother's continuing directives were mostly nonverbal. See the full extract

Extract 2

1) Mother: قول ياالله ياالله قوم

   Ya Allah get up say YaAllah

   Come on get up say Ya Allah

2) Ali: لا

   No (continued doing his craft)

3) Mother: مابتسوي عدل,هادي ما تكفي

   This not enough not will work properly

   The dough is not big enough, it won't work

4) Ali: (continued playing)

5) Mother: خلاص قوم خل نغسل

   Enough get up let's we wash

   That's enough, get up and let's wash

6) Ali: (ignores his mother's request and continues)

7) Mother: نسوي سباق؟

   We do race?

   Shall we do a race?

8) Mother: ياالله قوم

   Yallah get up

   Come on, get up

9) Ali: (gets up and starts running)

In extract 2, the mother wanted to end the ongoing activity and expressed that by using a direct statement form. However, the child replied directly and immediately by using a one-word utterance to refuse his mother's directive. Then the mother issued three different forms of directives to break the child's resistance and to promote his compliance after refusal (in

line 2). First, she produced a statement that the craft would not work; however, the child ignored that and continued the activity. The second form of directive was more direct, as the mother used an imperative; however, still the child ignored it. In the last attempt, the mother presented a new embedded directive using a question form and that new directive eventually led the child to comply with his mother's directive. This example highlights that the same directive can be presented in different ways and children's responses to each form may vary. Furthermore, children's compliance can be a multistep process and the strategic change of the directive form is one important element in that process.

In contrast to the above two examples, the example below shows that the child (Maya) used verbal responses to highlight her compliance with her mother's directive.

Extract 3

1) Mother:فين القصة تبعت الي كان نايم الي بيظل نايم؟
   Where the story for the one sleeping will stay sleeping?
   Where is (story title)?
2) Maya:اها راح اجيبها
   Aha go get me it
   Aha, I will get it
3) Mother:اممم بس بدك تحكيها بالعربي
   Umm just want you you tell it story by the Arabic
   Umm, but you need to tell it using Arabic
4) Maya: O.K

In the above example the child was excited and happy to continue sharing and telling stories with her mother. Before the exchanges in extract 3, Maya was reading a story using English. As soon as she finished, her mother preferred that Maya tell another story using Arabic; therefore, she directed her to do so indirectly by asking her about a specific Arabic story that

she wanted Maya to tell. The mother delivered an indirect form of a directive by using a question and the child responded directly and verbally that she would bring the Arabic story (in line 2). After that her mother used a more direct and explicit form to direct the child to tell the story in Arabic. The child responded with a one-word utterance to express her agreement to comply with the given directive.

7.3.1.2 Children's verbal responses to teachers' directives

Children used different forms of verbal responses to obtain different functions when responding to their teachers' directives using English language. Those different forms are illustrated in Table 7.2 and the functions of children's responses included: highlighting agreement, request clarification and showing hesitation. Highlighting agreement seen when children comply with the given directive and mark their compliance with a verbal response like "O.K.". Request clarification noticed when the given directive was not clear to the child, so the child asks questions like "what?" to clarify. Showing hesitation was seen when the given directive seems not align with the child's desire. So, the child delays the response and reply verbally by saying something like "Umm", "but...".

Similarly, to children's verbal responses to their mothers' directives, the use of a single word was the most common verbal response to teachers' directives as well. However, a distinctive difference between the use of single words when responding to mothers and teachers' directives is that children in this data used them frequently to express refusal when responding to their mothers' directives (e.g., extracts 1 and 2). However, across this data, the use of single words to express direct refusal to teachers' directives took place only once (see extract 4).

Extract 4

1) Teacher: Rubble, where's Rubble? (teacher was looking for a puzzle piece)

2) Basem: Where is he gone?
3) Teacher: I think he's gonna fit
4) Teacher: Have a look? (teacher gives Basem a piece of puzzle to put in)
5) Basem: No
6) Teacher: Are you sure?
7) Basem: No
8) Teacher: Does that one go there? Maybe like that? (the teacher tries to put it in)

In the above example, the teacher and Basem were doing a puzzle together. The teacher issued an indirect order to Basem to put a piece into the puzzle (in line 4). However, Basem responded with a single utterance to refuse the teacher's order. The teacher asked him again to give him another opportunity to reconsider, but he responded with "no" (in line 7). It was not clear if Basem in line 7 meant no, "I changed my mind and would like to put the piece" or he meant, "No, I still do not want to put it". Clearly, this is what the teacher perceived, so she did the required action instead of him.

In another situation, the same child used verbal responses to show hesitation (see extract 5).

Extract 5

1) Teacher: Can we give someone else a turn with that while we do the puzzle?
2) Basem: (looks at the car and the teacher)
3) Teacher: Can you give Jayden a turn with the cars now? And then we do our puzzle? Yeah? He'll bring it back, he's just gonna have a turn.
4) Basem: Wait a minute
5) Teacher: Wait a minute?
6) Teacher: Okay, can he have a turn with one of the cars while we do the puzzle? Yeah?
7) Basem: Do the puzzle.
8) Teacher: you want to give Jayden a turn?

9) Basem: (gives the car)
10) Teacher: Okay, good boy

When looking at the entire recording of extract 5 and considering the whole context, it becomes clear that Basem has a special interest in playing with cars. During the recording, (before extract 5) one of the children took one of the cars that Basem was playing with and this resulted in a conflict, which needed the teacher's intervention. This is crucial to understanding why the teacher used multiple forms for the same directive (to pass the car to another child). She first used an indirect question (in line 1), but Basem did not respond. In line 3, she used two questions and one statement. Basem responded with an imperative, as he asked the teacher to wait a minute (in line 4). After that, he complied with the teacher's directive as he gave the car to the other boy. Although the child did not like the teacher directive (as he wanted to keep the car), he did not respond to the teacher directive with a direct refusal like "no". This could be related to teacher indirectness and the assurance she gave when issuing the directive.

The next extract shows Maya using verbal responses to an indirect directive from the teacher (line 1). She requested clarification (line 2) and then non-verbally followed the directive.

Extract 6

1) Teacher: you could put the same clothes you've got on, on her
2) Maya: Like that? (while pointing to her pants)
3) Teacher: Yeah, she needs black bottoms.
4) Maya: (put it on the doll)

7.3.2 Children's non-verbal responses to directives

As Table 7.1 shows, non-verbal responses were used frequently by children to respond to their mothers and teachers' directives. The category of non-verbal responses includes children's use of gesture and responding to directives by actions. Gestures as responses included head nod, head shake and pointing. In this study, such response was coded as a non-verbal response. One common non-verbal response is embodied compliance, in which the child responds immediately to the given directive by performing the required action without a verbal component (Kent, 2012). Actions involved the child complying with a directive by doing what was asked e.g., putting in a puzzle piece or handing over a toy. Table 7.1 indicates that non-verbal responses were very common, especially in English in the context of the kindergarten, with 54% of children's responses being in this form. Directives are mostly requests for actions, hence compliance is appropriately expressed by the nonverbal act of action. Nevertheless, the ratios of verbal to nonverbal responses children made to directive es was different in the Arabic vs the English-speaking contexts.

7.3.2.1 Non-verbal responses to mothers' directives

It is common for mothers to issue directives by requesting to stop an ongoing behaviour such as 'don't jump' or reminding children about some rules e.g., "finish your plate". Overall, those kinds of directives do not require children to respond verbally, and the action is sufficient (see extract 7, line 2, 5 and 9).

Extract 7

1) Mother:هذا الي يفوز حطوا هون
   This, which wins put you it here
   Put the winning cars here
2) Child: (put the cars where his mother told him)
3) Child: انتي lost ماما

Mother lost you

Mother, you lost (laugh)

4) Mother: يلا اختار واحد ثاني

Yalla chose another one

Come on chose another one

5) Child: (takes another car)

6) Mother: وانا شو بدي

And me what want I

Which one I want?

7) Mother: هاي

This

This one

8) Mother:واحد اثنين ثلاثه

One. Two. Three

9) Child: (laughs, his car won)

10) Mother: اووه خسرت

Oh, lost me

Oh, I lost

In extract 7, the mother and her child were playing the child's favourite game. Although the mother joined the activity as a playing partner, she issued directives in direct forms to organise the activity (in lines 1 and 4). The child provided an immediate and non-verbal response to his mother's directives by performing the actions his mother requested.

Gestures were another type of non-verbal response. An example can be seen in extract 8.

Extract 8

1) Mother: يلا روحي نشفي

Yalla go you dry you

Come on dry

2) Zahra: (looks around unsure what to do)
3) Mother: نشفي ايدك

   Dry you hands yours

   Dry your hands
4) Zahra: (puts her hands together as gesture of drying her hands)
5) Mother: اهي ماما اهي الفوطة

   This (diminutive name), this the towel

   There it is (diminutive name), there the towel (points to the towel)
6) Zahra: (takes the towel and dried her hands)

As was common in the Arabic context, the mother used a direct form (an imperative) for her directive act. Although this request in Arabic was direct, the child appeared to not understand what her mother wanted her to do, but she did not verbally request clarification. Mother inferred the problem and provided the further direction, which resulted in a compliant non-verbal action. It is possible that direct directives make the cause of a child's noncompliance more obvious, hence lead to less verbal negotiation. This data is not sufficient to confirm this point or otherwise, but it may provide a direction for further study.

7.3.2.2 Non-verbal responses to teachers' directives

Children used non-verbal responses frequently to directives in English at kindergarten, as Table 7.1 indicates, with 54% of their responses in this category. Extract 9 illustrates how Zahra used immediate actions to fulfil her teacher's directives while performing a joint activity (line 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13).

Extract 9

1) Teacher: Can I get you to put that where my finger is? Right there?
2) Zahra: (Put the tape)
3) Teacher: Excellent
4) Teacher: Now I need two more, one over here and one over here.

5) Zahra: (Put more tapes in the places teacher highlighted)
6) Teacher: Can you grab some more?
7) Zahra: (brought more)
8) Teacher: Okay…Okay
9) Zahra: (Stops)
10) Teacher: Now pull it down.
11) Zahra: (Pulled it)
12) Teacher: That's it.
13) Zahra: (Stops)
14) Teacher: That's it, awesome.

Zahra and her teacher were wrapping a gift for the child to take home for her mother. The teacher was issuing directives using a variety of grammatical forms, most of them indirect (in lines 1, 4 and 6) and one direct using an imperative (line 10). The child was excited to accomplish the task; she was following the teacher's consecutive directives with high enthusiasm by responding immediately and doing the actions as her teacher asked. On the other hand, the teacher was commenting (lines 8 and 12) and appraising the child's responses (lines 3 and 14).

There was a pattern in the interaction as follows: teacher's directive, child's immediate non-verbal compliance, then teacher's comment or appraisal. This is close to the discourse identified as being typical of the classroom, otherwise known as the I-R-E (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) exchange (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). This was originally outlined in terms of requests for information on the part of the teacher (such as "what is 2 plus 2?" – (child) "four" – (teacher) "very good"), whereas in this kindergarten example, the teacher was making requests for action, and the "Response" part of the pattern could therefore be an action. In this study's data embodied compliance was a result of directives, which needed the children's immediate response in an ongoing activity. Those responses were commonly used

by children, and when they were engaged in an activity with their teachers and the directives were centred within the activity, children responded quickly without hesitation, even when the directives were in indirect forms.

However, similar to children's embodied responses to their mothers' directives, on some occasions the children did not respond with the action of a given directive. An example of a response categorised as a hesitation is shown by Dana in the extract below. In this case, the teacher has given a very indirect request for an action, as her question appears to be a request for information in the form of a yes/no question (lines 1 and 3). When the teacher makes an indirect request for action that is more like a suggestion hence closer to a direct request for action (line 5) Dana then complies with the action required.

Extract 10

1) Teacher: Are they the right way?
2) Dana: (looked at them)
3) Teacher: Are they the right way?
4) Dana: (looks at the car and the teacher)
5) Teacher: Do you need to turn them round? So, the front is going out here? (points to where it is supposed to be)
6) Dana: (fixed them)

7.3.3 Lack of response

The children sometimes did not respond to the directives in either Arabic or English, given by their mothers or their teachers. The data indicated two possible functions of a lack of response, one problematic to the pragmatic intent and one not. In the first case, children sometimes seemed to ignore a directive if they were busy doing something else or possibly as a way to resist a directive they did not want to comply with. In the second case, the context of the directive was such that no response was needed. Therefore, children neither complied

nor resisted adults' directives, instead their responses were neutral. Further details about these two types will be presented below.

7.3.3.1 Ignoring a directive

Children may indicate initial refusal or unacceptance of the given directive by ignoring it or giving no response but also no indications of nonverbal requests for clarification, as in extract 8 above. As the extract 11 illustrates below, Maya did not respond to the teacher's directives and was busy doing another activity, and this was analysed as "ignoring".

The teacher initially presented the directive in the form of a "want" question (in line 1) and Maya looked but did not respond to the teacher. Then, the teacher then issued a compound directive where she used a statement and a question and Maya responded verbally, although it was not clear.

Throughout this extract, the teacher used a combination of indirect forms, mainly questions and statements to elicit Maya's compliance. Although Maya's initial response was ignoring the directive, which indicates initial unacceptance to the proposed directive, at the end she responded with a single word of agreement to indicate her compliance with the teacher's request.

Extract 11

1) Teacher: Do you wanna come and try something else?
2) Maya: (Not responding verbally but looking at the teacher)
3) Teacher: We've got a box of cool toys over there. Do you wanna go and have a look?
4) Maya: (Says something not clear)
5) Teacher: You wanna play with that? (the teacher pointing to the blocks)
6) Maya: (No response)

7) Teacher: Because I saw you over by the dolls this morning, and there are some really cool plates and things to feed dolls with in the box.

8) Maya: (Not looking and continues playing with blocks)

9) Teacher: I'll get the box. I'll be right back.

10) Teacher: (Put the box beside her)

11) Maya: (Continues playing with the blocks then looking at the new box)

12) Maya: I play with this (referring to the blocks).

13) Teacher: What would you like to do?

14) Maya: I wanna to play with that again (still playing with the blocks).

15) Teacher: You wanna to play with that again?

16) Teacher: We can play with them again.

17) Maya: I don't know how to play with it.

18) Maya: I go like this. A little bit. Taller. (she plays with the blocks and talks to herself)

19) Teacher: (Puts the toys beside Maya while she is still playing with the blocks)

20) Teacher: Do you like puzzles (as she takes the puzzle from the box)?

21) Maya: No (the teacher returns the puzzles to the box and continues looking for other toys)

22) Teacher: Oh look, we've got people we can dress.

23) Teacher: Do you want to dress somebody?

24) Maya: (Looking quickly and continues to do the blocks)

25) Teacher: Would you like to help me dress her? When you're finished?

26) Maya: Yeah.

In extract 11, we can see that ignoring was part of Maya's response the teacher's directive. This kind of response indicated resistance, however, the teacher continued presenting the same directive in a variety of forms. The child's response shifted from ignoring to verbal agreement.

In the extract below (extract 12) Ali's mother issued a direct directive in Arabic via an imperative, but Ali ignored it.

Extract 12

1) Ali: box باجيب ال

   Will I bring the box?

   I'll bring the box

2) Mother: بتجيب الكرتون؟

   Will you bring the box?

3) Ali: (Nods his head)

4) Mother: بس تفصخ الكروكس قبل ماتدخل

   Just you (ing) take off the slipper before will you (ing) enter

   Just take off your slipper before you go there

5) Ali: (ignores his mother's request and goes with his slipper)

6) Mother: (did not notice as she was busy with something else)

These examples show that children may ignore an adult directive in either language, and in this data it is unlikely to be a language or cultural issue given there was little difference in the two languages contexts of the occurrence of children ignoring a directive.

7.3.3.2 Neutral responses

On some occasions mothers and teachers were issuing directives to children while the speaker (the adult) or the recipient child was doing the requested action (see extract 13). Additionally, mothers sometimes issued multiple, consecutive directives, which did not elicit any form of response from the child (see extract 14). It could be argued that these are therefore not functioning as directives, because they are not a speech act that can result in an appropriate response from the child. They are included here because they occurred sufficiently often in the data to perhaps influence how compliant the child might appear to be.

Extract 13

1) Jasem: (trying to figure out how to play with a new toy)
2) Teacher: Have a try Jasem
3) Jasem: (explores the toy, put one piece in with hesitation)
4) Teacher: Put it on and turn it around
5) Jasem: (puts the car and presses the button and the car jumps and both laughed)
6) Teacher: That's it. Well done, I like the way you moved out of the way a bit, that was a good idea.

In extract 13, the child was trying to figure out how that specific game worked. He looked like he had an idea but was not sure about it as he showed some hesitation. Although the teacher in this example issued two directives (in lines 2 & 4), those directives did not target the child's compliance since the child was already doing the actions. Instead, they were encouraging the child to continue to do what he was doing to give him some confidence and not giving up because the toy did not seem familiar. Therefore, it looks like the teacher's desired response was for the child to continue the action he started, and instead of telling him directly to continue exploring she told him what he was supposed to do, even though he was doing it. The same was applicable to mothers when they issued directives but did not seem to anticipate responses (see extract 14).

Extract 14

1) Ali: (Turn on the game and tries to put his playdough)
2) Mother: ليس فتحتها؟

   Why open (you it)?

   Why did you open it?
3) Mother: طفيها

   Turn off (you it)

   Turn it off (the mother turned it off directly)

The mother in this extract issued two directives to the child (in lines 2& 3). First, the mother delivered the directive indirectly through question form, but did not wait for the child to respond, as she followed by re-issuing the directive in a direct form through an imperative while doing the directive by herself. In this example, the mother seemed in a rush and was disrupted by the game's noise, so she did the requested action by herself and gave the directive at the same time. It seems that she was not aiming for the child to comply with her directive. However, she may issue the directive to highlight to the child that this is not the suitable time to turn the game on. The mother in this example issued a directive but did not target immediate compliance.

7.4 Discussion

The first aim of this study was to explain how bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children responded to directives addressed to them in an Arabic-speaking context by mothers at home and in an English-speaking context by teachers at kindergarten. As expected, the data presented here revealed that children responded to their mothers and teachers' directives by verbal responses, non-verbal responses or by not responding.

Children's verbal responses to adults' directives included single word responses, fragmented sentences and interjections. Verbal responses served several functions such as confirming compliance (e.g., yeah, while doing the requested directive); indicating the need for clarification; or expressing hesitation or refusal. In this study data, the children rarely used direct refusals (e.g., no) in English to express their resistance to teachers' directives, but this was not the case in Arabic, as children used a direct refusal "no" to respond to some of their mothers' directives. It cannot be argued definitively that this is a difference in the languages, as it may be a function of social distance, mothers versus teachers. However, it was interesting to note in this data that a direct refusal of a child to their teacher's directives took

place three times. Two of them were made by two of the youngest children who were enrolled in the kindergarten for less than six months. Those two examples might indicate that the children had still not grasped the socio-pragmatic rules of refusals in an English-speaking context. However, children's resistance was revealed through hesitation to following their teachers' directives, which was indirect and more embedded within the context. Ignoring the given directive, not responding immediately, or responding with verbal phrases that would delay the required action (e.g., pretending not to know, "which toy?" to buy some time) appeared to be more indirect forms of resistance to directives. However, such responses were not the final response of the given directive order, as in this data teachers readdressed children by using different forms or introduced a statement that justified or encouraged children's compliance.

One of the main differences between children's responses across the two languages and contexts was delaying their verbal responses to indicate resistance. Previous studies on Arabic-speaking adults indicates the use of an indirect form to express refusal (Nelson et al., 2002; Morkus, 2014). However, this study shows that children were selective about when to apply indirectness, as it was more common when children interacted with teachers using English and limited when the interaction was using Arabic with mothers. Such differences could be explained by considering different factors. First, indirect forms to issue directives through questions were heavily used to deliver directives in English, however, in Arabic the directives were delivered mainly through direct forms (see Chapter 6). Therefore, children's responses might be a reflection of the given directive.

To illustrate, if a teacher said to a child "would you mind giving your friend a turn?" and the child did not want to he said something like "wait a minute" to play with it more, as was the case in extract 5. However, if the mother issued a direct directive like "give the toy to your

friend" it seemed likely that the child would say no if he did not want to, as in extract 3. Second, the use of indirect forms in English through questions provided teachers with tools to ask preparatory questions or high probability questions, prior to issuing directives, whenever the teacher expected some sort of incompliance or to promote children's compliance. This strategy was reported to be effective in promoting compliance (Austin & Agar, 2005). Third, social distance may impact on children's expressions of refusal acts, as they were more sensitive when interacting with teachers by using more indirect responses with less-familiar speakers and direct acts with more familiar speakers (Baroni & Axia, 1989; Chang & Ren, 2020).

In both contexts, children commonly responded to adults' directives non-verbally by directly performing the required action as per adults' directives. Such responses in both settings were frequently associated with shared activities between mothers and children, or teachers and children. In those activities, adults were joining children in a one-to-one basis while doing a child-chosen activity such as playing a game or doing a craft. The adults functioned in those activities as playing partners, or as facilitators to help children achieve their desired outcomes, therefore, children's full compliance when responding to adults' directives is anticipated in those activities. In kindergarten, it was noticed that whenever teachers issued directives that required actions and children did not hold pre-existing issues about it, they would fulfil it non-verbally by performing the action. As those responses indicate children's compliance, they are welcomed and encouraged by teachers. Not all non-verbal responses were immediate, as sometimes children showed signs through their facial expressions of needing teachers' clarification, which resulted in a slight delay, but still led to their non-verbal compliance.

Children in both contexts sometimes did not respond to adults' directives. As mentioned before, a lack of response sometimes indicated a child's hesitation or resistance. In other cases, children did not respond to an adult's directive because the adults' directives failed to meet felicitous conditions, as explained by Searle (1969). For example, in extract 13 the teacher's requestive act did not meet the propositional content, as the teacher's requested act was not a future act because the child was already doing it. Even the directive in extract 14 did not align with the felicitous conditions, specifically the preparatory condition, as the mother was conducting the requested act herself, instead of giving the child the chance to perform the requested act.

8 Conclusion

To address the central aim of the thesis by investigating the pragmatic rules in a bilingual context of Arabic-English speaking children living in New Zealand, I needed to take a wider view by exploring areas that could affect pragmatics in bilingual contexts. As mentioned in the introduction, this included collecting some preliminary information about the Arabic-speaking community in New Zealand, understanding issues related to Arabic as a minority language, and the language-learning environment of bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children in New Zealand. This led to this thesis contributing to the field of bilingual language development in the following ways.

First, it shed light on some contextual, cultural and linguistic factors that affect the pragmatics of bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children. Second, the interrelationship and interconnection of different factors that can affect the language learning environment of these children growing up in New Zealand provided a better understanding of the Arabic language among this community. Thus, some of these factors can also be reflected in other minority speaking communities. Third, the implications of the findings can assist professionals and Arabic-speaking parents in understanding language use and the aspects of pragmatics among minority Arabic-speaking children.

The next section will discuss these implications from the two collections of this thesis. The first collection involves studies that looked into bilingualism among children in Arabic-speaking families, specifically the language-learning environment and aspects of home language use. The second collection involves studies that looked at the aspects of pragmatics, specifically directives in a bilingual context.

8.1 Bilingualism among Children in Arabic-speaking Families

8.1.1 Implications for parents

Some of the findings can help Arabic speaking parents to set some realistic goals about their children's proficiency in the Arabic language and their use of English. The results showed that some of the participants' parents in this thesis (see Chapter 4) were demanding their children use Arabic only at home. However, the demands to use only Arabic upon bilingual children could be challenging for them, especially when considering that some children used code-switching to English to compensate for their lack of knowledge in Arabic. Such demands may lead to children's frustrations and/or tensions in the child/parent relationship, simply because parents demand something that is beyond the child's current ability and adds pressure on the child, while parents place themselves in a stressful situation about their children's linguistic choices.

Sharifzadh (1998) described Middle Eastern families, which involves Arabic parents, as high in demand, control and warmth. Although it has been a long time since this statement was made, it might not be applicable to today's Arabic parents. Such a statement may indicate the possibility of parents holding a high expectation for their children to be proficient in the Arabic language. The findings of this thesis reveal a mismatch between what Arabic-speaking mothers want in terms of their children's use of Arabic and the reality of their children's use or preference to use English. Therefore, this mismatch may create frustration, because mothers can be disappointed that their children are not meeting their expectations in terms of Arabic language proficiency.

This thesis sets some grounds by highlighting that a pure Arabic monolingual speaking context for bilinguals is not a natural linguistic context that parents can create by enforcing a home policy of using the Arabic language only. In addition to that, exposure to a minority

language in a home context alone is not sufficient for children to develop strong skills in spoken and written forms of Arabic**.** Therefore, I advocate for Arabic-speaking parents to encourage Arabic language use at home, but with the expectations and acceptance that their children might use English, and that they do not view the use of English as an invasion of an Arabic language policy. Instead, parents need to recognise that some of their children's code-switching to English is due to linguistic gaps in their Arabic, so rather than dealing with that as a threat it should be viewed as a bridge to teach children the Arabic translation.

In addition to that, Arabic parents can provide more opportunities for children to obtain exposure to the use of the Arabic language such as enrolling children at Arabic weekend school, organising playdates with other Arabic children who speak similar Arabic dialects, use of technology to maintain the use of Arabic e.g., watching Arabic T.V programs or video calls to keep children connected and communicating with their larger families who may live overseas. Overall, the approach should shift from focusing on moments of code-switching to English in an Arabic-speaking context to providing more opportunities for children to use the Arabic language. This approach might maintain a positive experience toward children's bilingualism and in minimising possible tensions.

8.1.2 Implications for professionals

Some of the findings in this thesis are important for professionals such as speech language therapists (SLTs) and early educators to take into consideration when working with bilingual Arabic-English speaking children. The first point to consider is that not all Arabic-speaking parents in New Zealand can speak English fluently (see Chapter 3 for more details). This indicates that some Arabic children may first encounter English as the language of interaction at kindergarten or when they begin primary school. This may create a language barrier and affect the child's performance and interaction in a majority English-speaking context,

especially in the first year of the child's enrolment. For SLTs, this might affect the validity of a home programme and generalisation of therapy goals that are in English by providing a clear demonstration and explanation to the mother and, if possible, training her about every therapy goal may help to close such a gap. Using interpreters alone does not seem to be enough, as the mother might be able to understand most of the SLT input but not demonstrate it.

Arabic parents tend to be instructive (Dwairy, 2010), so SLTs need to explain some techniques for parents to stimulate their children's language. Techniques like asking open-ended questions, sentence expansion or extension are not widely appreciated among Arabs. Second, as Arabic children may start kindergarten with stronger Arabic and then start to show some patterns of shifting to the majority language, it is important for teachers and SLTs to consider including some linguistic practices to promote the use of the Arabic language. This may include the child telling a story using the Arabic language (Goodrich & Lonigan, 2018).

8.2 Implications of Studying the Aspects of Pragmatics

This thesis concluded that kindergarten-age bilingual Arabic-English speaking children in New Zealand received two different sets of pragmatic rules, particularly in directives in each context where they get most of their exposure to both languages – Arabic at home and English at kindergarten. As mentioned earlier, the children received direct forms of directives using the Arabic language and indirect forms using the English language, which placed some implications in both contexts. This section presents the possible implications about the effect of directive forms in each context of language use – Arabic at home and English at kindergarten.

8.2.1 Implications based on the English language-speaking context

This thesis has shown that teachers frequently used questions to issue directives; however, children may not perceive those questions as directives instead they may treat them as real questions where the teacher asks about the child's wants or preference. This was seen in example 14 in Chapter 6, where the teacher issued a directive-using question and the child said "no", not as a refusal but rather the child misunderstood and thought the teacher was asking about her wants. Such incidents lead to communication breakdowns between the child and the teacher. It could be an overwhelming situation for a child who started to attend kindergarten and found that the home language was not the same at kindergarten and could not distinguish clearly between what they need to do versus what they need to answer. Such dilemmas might put bilingual children under distress and affect their mainstreaming in the new environment.

On the teachers' side, the lack of knowledge about the commonly used form to issue directives in Arabic could result in negative consequences. Teachers may be aware of the language barriers for children who start kindergarten and their first language not being English. However, if the child shows some basic knowledge and ability to communicate basic needs, the teacher may assume that they are able to understand simple directive orders. Without prior knowledge of socio-pragmatic differences between the two languages, teachers might treat communication failure as a refusal response or resistance to comply with the given directive. Therefore, teachers' awareness of such differences between Arabic and English can help them to modify the forms when they issue directives with these children so as to communicate more effectively with them, especially newly enrolled children.

Overall, it can be concluded that understanding bilingual minority speaking children's pragmatics can decrease communication breakdown and facilitate children's mainstreaming in the majority-speaking context, which eventually affects bilingual children's wellbeing.

8.2.2 Implications based on the Arabic-speaking context

In this section, I would like to reflect on how this finding of pragmatic differences between Arabic and English affected me as an Arabic-speaking mother of two bilingual Arabic-English speaking children.

On a personal level, I made a connection between this finding and what my son told me, which I mentioned in the preface "why you always tell us to do things?" It made me wonder, oh, did he mean that I am being very instructive and my communication style is a one-way channel where I give the orders and expect them to follow. To do myself justice I used mitigation markers whenever I have time or the order is not urgent, but perhaps that was not enough. To reflect on this and test that assumption I began to issue indirect directives. To be honest, it was not easy at the beginning, simply because I speak Arabic at home and I do not have the grammatical structure in Arabic, as it is in English. Due to that, I began practicing intentional pragmatic transfer from English to Arabic, not because English was my strongest language but because it was my children's current strongest language and it seemed like they found Arabic pragmatic rules a bit face threatening.

I started to say things like "If I was you, I would put my PJ because I think it's more comfortable". Although it is longer than saying, "wear your PJ", it showed better results. Because they either complied or replied by explaining their reasons and if they ignored my directive it gave me space to repeat it by using another form without being upset that my children did not follow my direct simple directive. After that trial, I concluded that changing the forms of my directives was an effective strategy to smooth the given directive, avoid potential conflict and for me as a parent to deal with their undesired responses. Although using direct orders with mitigation markers (which was common in this study data) smoothed the directives, it did not deliver the other two benefits that were mentioned.

I am not suggesting that all Arabic-speaking mothers should switch their directive forms to indirect forms, but simply sharing my experience with my two children who currently live in an English-speaking country with English as their strongest language. My awareness of the pragmatic differences led me to try some modifications of directive forms, which resulted in a positive change.

8.3 Recommendations for Future Studies

This thesis, with its five studies, have presented insights into some aspects of pragmatics and the language-learning environment among bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children growing up in New Zealand. Based on the understandings from the findings of this study, there are several recommendations for future research.

First, this thesis has explored some pragmatic aspects of bilingual Arabic-English speaking children living in a New Zealand context where the Arabic language is a minority language spoken by a relatively small community. Conducting future research of children's pragmatics in other contexts, where the Arabic-speaking community is a large and longstanding community and Arabic is supported in school curriculums, would provide a deeper understanding into the context and its role in bilingual pragmatic development. Second, conducting pragmatic studies among bilingual Arabic-English speaking children in a context where Arabic is the majority and/or the official language, will expand the horizon of pragmatics in bilingual children and reveal information about the contextual roles in children's pragmatics of both languages.

In addition to that, this thesis explored some features of code-switching, adults' directives to children using both languages, and children's responses to the adults' directives. Some of the implications as suggested in the previous section should be studied. Moreover, future studies should investigate more speech acts that are sensitive to the cultural, linguistics and contexts

of each language use. While more studies in different contexts and features of pragmatics in bilingual Arabic and English-speaking children is needed, there is a great need to investigate pragmatic development in monolingual Arabic children of various ages. Such studies would highlight some basic missing information about Arabic language development, in general, and bilingual acquisition, in particular. Those studies would establish referential norms that are lacking in the developmental Arabic language research.

8.4 Limitations

One of the limitations of this thesis is related to the survey. The survey aimed to gather information about the Arabic community in New Zealand. Although the participants of this survey originally came from 14 different countries, those from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq were the majority of the participants. However, the Saudi participants were higher than other groups. This might be due to several factors.

To start with, surveys are not as common in Arabic countries as they are in New Zealand. Kadri (2009) highlighted that Arabs are not accustomed to filling in surveys. However, 27% of the survey participants were students and about 70% of the student participants came from Saudi, so being a student might positively influence perception and willingness to participate in surveys. This is parallel with the New Zealand Ministry of Education (2016) where they state that Saudi students are the largest group of Arabic students in New Zealand. Another aspect is that Arabs rely on personal relations and word of mouth (Khamis-Dakwar & Khattab, 2014). This was observed during the survey distribution, which was distributed through three main stages: stage one using “WhatsApp” groups; stage two using Facebook pages designed for Arab groups; and stage three using Twitter accounts. Stage one gathered the largest number of participants compared to stages two and three. In stage one, personal relationships were a major factor, as the invitation was received from a friend. However, in

stages two and three the invitation was received through open pages in Facebook and Twitter accounts, and there was no personal connection. This may result in the survey responses not including a wide variety of Arabic-speaking families in New Zealand. Therefore, the survey sample cannot be considered as a representative of the Arab speaking population in New Zealand. Due to the limited information about the Arab population in New Zealand, the survey sample was not compared to previous data to note any differences.

Regarding home and kindergarten recordings, the issue is the content and role differences between the two contexts, and how they may have the potential to alter pragmatic functions like the use of directives. This limitation can be addressed in future studies by adding a control group, where monolingual children and directives across the two contexts are included, along with the bilingual. This might help sort out what is language vs what is context and role. Home recordings among Arab families or video recording data of Arabic-speaking mothers are not an easy task in data collection, because Arabic families are reluctant to agree to this for religious and/or cultural consideration. However, even though in this thesis no direct approach was used to recruit participants, some participants' mothers were recruited through word of mouth by some community members who are respected and trustworthy in the view of the participants. While this is a common method to recruit participants in minority-speaking communities, it fails to include community members who speak the language but are not socially active. Other participants' mothers chose to participate because they were concerned about their children's Arabic language acquisition. They viewed this thesis as a way to help in collecting information about Arabic language development, therefore, they agreed to participate in this thesis. Such attitudes may imply that there is a bias in the findings, simply because it reflects the attitudes and motives of those who are advocating for Arabic language maintenance, not the average Arabic-speaking community members. The participants in this thesis mostly are first generation immigrants,

Arabic language use and home language practices might be presented differently among second or third generation immigrants. It is important to note an additional restriction is that I was only able to include Arabic speaking families who live in Auckland. Since this thesis was focused on children's language learning environments, the language learning environments might be different for children in Arabic speaking families who live in other cities in New Zealand.

9 Appendices

9.1 1. Ethics Approvals

Research Office
Post–Award Support Services

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Level 10, 49 Symonds Street
Telephone: 64 9 373 7599
Extension: 83711
Facsimile: 64 9 373 7432

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE (UAHPEC)

25-Aug-2017

MEMORANDUM TO:

Dr Linda Hand
Psychology

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 019687): Approved with comment

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your study entitled **Bilingualism in children with Arabic-speaking parents in New Zealand.**

Ethics approval was given for a period of three years with the following comment(s):

1. The committee would like to thank the applicants for a well written application.

2. Please clarify how the PIS will be provided to potential participants as there is a link to the survey in the advertisement, and the information at the beginning of the survey does not correspond to the PIS and lacks some essential information such as the researcher contact information.

3. Advertisement:
Please include the approval wording at the bottom of the advertisement. This should read: "Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on ..... for three years. Reference Number...."

4. Survey:
a. Please ensure that you use the facility of the online survey app for collecting and sending to the researcher any contact information (such as an email address for sending a report) separately from the survey data. State clearly within the PIS that contact information will be collected and stored separately form the survey data.
b. Please note that the option to request a final report, which the PIS says will be on p1 of the survey document, is not actually provided.
c. Please ensure that the UAHPEC approval statement also appears at the end of the introductory material or the end of the survey itself.

5. Please ensure the new UoA logo is used on the questionnaire. This can be supplied by your faculty/departmental administrator.

The expiry date for this approval is 25-Aug-2020.

Appendices

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to UAHPEC for further consideration.

If you have obtained funding other than from UniServices, send a copy of this approval letter to the Activations team in the Research Office, at ro-awards@auckland.ac.nz. For UniServices contracts, send a copy of the approval letter to the Contract Manager, UniServices.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals if you wish to do so. Contact should be made through the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

Please quote Protocol number **019687** on all communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

UAHPEC Administrators
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c. Head of Department / School, Psychology
Mrs Zainab Aldawood
Dr Elaine Ballard

Additional information:

1. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets, Consent Forms and/or advertisements, giving the dates of approval and the reference number. This needs to be completed, before you use them or send them out to your participants.

2. At the end of three years, or if the study is completed before the expiry, you are requested to advise the Committee of its completion.

3. Should you require an extension or need to make any changes to the project, please complete the online Amendment Request form associated with this approval number giving full details along with revised documentation. If requested before the current approval expires, an extension may be granted for a further three years, after which time you must submit a new application.

Appendices

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Post–Award Support Services

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Level 10, 49 Symonds Street
Telephone: 64 9 373 7599
Extension: 83711
Facsimile: 64 9 373 7432
ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE (UAHPEC)

27-Jul-2018

MEMORANDUM TO:

Dr Linda Hand
Psychology

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 019473): Approved with comment

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your study entitled **Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children.**

Ethics approval was given for a period of three years with the following comment(s):

1. The committee would like to thank the applicants for a well written application.

The expiry date for this approval is 27-Jul-2021.

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to UAHPEC for further consideration.

If you have obtained funding other than from UniServices, send a copy of this approval letter to the Activations team in the Research Office, at ro-awards@auckland.ac.nz. For UniServices contracts, send a copy of the approval letter to the Contract Manager, UniServices.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals if you wish to do so. Contact should be made through the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

Please quote Protocol number **019473** on all communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

UAHPEC Administrators

Appendices

University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c. Head of Department / School, Psychology
Mrs Zainab Aldawood
Dr Elaine Ballard

Additional information:

1. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets, Consent Forms and/or advertisements, giving the dates of approval and the reference number. This needs to be completed, before you use them or send them out to your participants.

2. At the end of three years, or if the study is completed before the expiry, you are requested to advise the Committee of its completion.

3. Should you require an extension or need to make any changes to the project, please complete the online Amendment Request form associated with this approval number giving full details along with revised documentation. If requested before the current approval expires, an extension may be granted for a further three years, after which time you must submit a new application.

Appendices

PO Box 6033
Wellesley Street
Auckland 1141

Tel 09 373 5635
Email info@aka.org.nz
www.aka.org.nz

05/11/2018

Zainab Aldawood

Zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Dear Zainab,

Thank you for submitting your app ication to undertake research within AKA kindergartens.

It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Auckland Kindergarten Association Research Access and Ethics Committee, to approve your research application: *Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic- English speaking children.*

We wish you all the best with your project.

As your research is of interest to the Auckland Kindergarten Association, we would appreciate being provided with a copy of your findings at the end of your research, as stated in your application. We would also be extremely interested in hearing a 'work in progress' talk as discussed by email.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely

Suzie Harris
Early Language Specialist
(On behalf of the AKA Research Access and Ethics Committee)

9.2 Participants Information Sheets

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY
Speech Science
Building 721, Tamaki Campus
261 Morrin Road, Glen Innes
Auckland, New Zealand
Phone 09 373 7599 extn. 88735

Participant Information Sheet

Name of researcher: Zainab Aldawood

Name of Supervisors: Linda Hand and Elaine Ballard

Name of Study: A Survey of Arabic speaking families in NZ

Introduction

My name is Zainab Aldawood and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. My supervisors are Dr. Linda Hand and Dr. Elaine Ballard. As part of my degree I will be undertaking a survey of Arabic speaking families in New Zealand.

Project

This survey is part of a project on the languages children in Arabic children are exposed to while growing up in New Zealand. There is a very little information about this and your participation in this survey will help us to collect basic information about language exposure for these children.

Invitation and Process

The survey is open to parents of children who have exposure to Arabic and English languages in New Zealand. You may receive the invitation to participate in the survey from a friend or come across it through social media. The survey is available in both languages Arabic and English, you can choose your preferred language to conduct the survey. It will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete it.

Participation is voluntary

Participation is voluntary; you do not have to take part. If you do take part, you do not have to answer all the questions. Please note, however, that your responses cannot be withdrawn from the study after you have completed the survey

Data Storage, Retention, Destruction and Future Use

All recordings and hard copies of data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet at the Tamaki Campus of the University of Auckland. Electronic versions will be stored on the researchers' password protected computers and will be backed up and stored on the University of Auckland server. All data will be kept securely on the completion of the current project for the purpose of any future follow up projects in this area of research.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The survey is anonymous, we are very careful to make sure your privacy is protected. No responses will be identifiable to any individual person, no IP addresses or other identifying information will be gathered. If we write up this data, nobody will know who has answered the survey. If you do answer the survey questions, we take this as meaning you have agreed to take part in the research under the terms that have been outlined here.

If you would like a report on the survey after it has been analysed, you can request that in the online survey. You will need to provide contact information, but if you do it will be collected and stored separately from the survey data, so I will not know which responses to the survey have come from you.

What you can do now

If you are willing to participate in this survey, please open the survey's link and answer the questions you are comfortable with. If you have any queries or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this survey, you may wish to contact me or my supervisors Dr Linda Hand or Dr Elaine Ballard.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering this invitation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information.

Regards

Zainab Aldawood
PhD Student researcher
zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Project supervisors:
Dr. Linda Hand
School of Psychology
The University of Auckland
Tel: +64 +9 373 7599 x88735
Email: l.hand@auckland.ac.nz
Dr. Elaine Ballard
School of Psychology
The University of Auckland
Tel: (09) 373 7599 ext. 87502
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Head of the School of Psychology (Acting)
Professor Ian James Kirk
School of Psychology
The University of Auckland
Tel: +64 9 923 8524
Email: i.kirk@auckland.ac.nz

For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact: The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, at the University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Tel. 09 373 7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

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Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

School of Psychology
Speech Science
Building 721, Tamaki Campus
261 Morrin Road, Glen Innes
Auckland, New Zealand
Phone 09 373 7599extn. 86886

Participant Information Sheet – Caregiver

Project: Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children

Name of researcher: Zainab Aldawood

Name of Supervisors: Linda Hand and Elaine Ballard

Introduction

My name is Zainab Aldawood and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. I am writing to invite you to be involved in a research project about how Arabic and English speaking children use language.

Many children are exposed to two languages, and might be bilingual or multilingual. But their language development is less well understood than children who speak one language. If we are to provide the best services for children who are bilingual, and particularly with Arabic and English in NZ, we need to understand better how their languages develop.

What does this study involve?

The study will involve young children, between 3 and 5 years of age, their caregiver (e.g. mother, or father, or other adult family member), and a preschool staff member. We want children who have mainly Arabic spoken at home, and mainly English spoken at the preschool the child attends.

We want a recording of the child and adult interacting or talking, as they normally would, doing normal everyday things. We want to see what the child's natural language is like in their two languages.

The video recordings will be analysed for the child's uses of communication skills, and to see if they are different in their different languages.

We also want to talk to the adults concerned, caregiver and preschool staff member, about language and their experience of it, at a different time to the recording. This talk will also be recorded.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You and your child do not have to take part, and there will be no consequences if you choose not to. We give our assurance that your participation or non-participation in this study will have no effect on your relationship with the University, and the preschool will be asked to assure that it will not affect your relationship with them. Even

two weeks after your participation and any data you may have provided will be withdrawn from the study and destroyed or deleted, and there will be no consequences of any kind for you.

Data Storage, Retention, Destruction and Future Use

We keep all data that involves you or your child secure. All hard copies of data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Auckland. Electronic material will be stored on the researchers' password protected computers and will be backed up and stored on the University of Auckland server. No one will have access to the data except the researchers named in this document, and possibly a transcriber who will be asked to sign a confidentiality document which will ensure they do not disclose any information to anyone outside the researchers and do not keep any copies of any recordings or documents.

All data will be kept securely on the completion of the current project for a period of 10 years and then destroyed. If you provided your contact information, it will be collected and stored separately from the survey data, and destroyed (along with the consent form) after 6 years.

Data gathered in this study will be used to write a PhD thesis, and to produce papers and presentations for academic conferences and journals. No participants will be named nor identifying details provided in these documents except by express permission.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

We will take care to make sure your privacy is protected. Names or other identifying details will not be recorded on any documents except the consent forms, which will be stored separately to the data. Where necessary, pseudonyms or codes will be used to keep information clearly related to a participant. Only the researchers may hear the recordings and see the written data.

However, as the number of Arabic speaking families is relatively small in New Zealand, others who know your community may be able to guess at the identity of participants. This means that although the research team will do their best to preserve confidentiality of participants, it cannot be guaranteed.

What you can do now

If you are willing to participate in this research, please fill in and sign the consent form.

If you have any queries or concerns regarding this study, you may wish to contact me or my supervisors, Dr Linda Hand or Dr Elaine Ballard.

As a token of appreciation of your participation in the research, you will receive a $20 grocery voucher.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering this invitation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information.

Regards

Zainab Aldawood
PhD Student researcher
zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Appendices

Supervisors:
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Dr. Elaine Ballard, Speech Science
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The Head of the School of Psychology is:
Professor Suzanne Purdy
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Tel: +64 9 3737902
Email: sc.purdy@auckland.ac.nz

For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact:
The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, at the University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Tel. 09 373 7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on July 27, 2018 for three years. Reference Number 019473

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Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

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Speech Science
Building 721, Tamaki Campus
261 Morrin Road, Glen Innes
Auckland, New Zealand
Phone 09 373 7599extn. 86886

Participant Information Sheet – Preschool staff member

Project: Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children

Name of researcher: Zainab Aldawood

Name of Supervisors: Linda Hand and Elaine Ballard

Introduction

My name is Zainab Aldawood and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. I am writing to invite you to be involved in a research project about how bilingual Arabic and English speaking children use language. Many children are bilingual, but their language development is less well understood than that of monolingual children. If we are to provide the best services for bilingual children in NZ, we need to understand better how their languages develop.

What does this study involve?

The study will involve children who have exposure to Arabic and English, range in age from three to five years and live in New Zealand. There will be a recording of the child interacting at home with the caregiver (probably in Arabic) for around an hour. Then another recording of the same child interacting in an English-speaking environment for the same period of time, and we have chosen a pre-school and an English-speaking preschool staff member as a person for the child to interact with. This is where your involvement might be. We have asked the preschool for permission to co duct this study on their premises and with one of their employees, and they have agreed to this.

The video recordings will be transcribed and analysed to chart the child's uses of communication skills, and to see if they are different in their different languages. They will also be compared with the data on monolingual children in the literature.

Participation is voluntary

Participation is voluntary; you do not have to take part, and there will be no consequences from the University or your employers if you do not wish to take part. Even if you do agree to take part, you can choose to withdraw from the study for any reason, and you do not have to give a reason, up to two weeks after your participation and any data you may have provided will be withdrawn from the study and destroyed or deleted, and there will be no consequences of any kind for you.

area of research. If you provided your contact information, it will be collected and stored separately from the survey data, and destroyed after 6 years.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

We are very careful to make sure your privacy is protected. No responses will be identifiable to any individual person, and no identifying information will be gathered reported in any findings or to any person other than those named in this letter. If we write up this data, nobody will know who has participated. Only the researchers may hear the recordings and see the written data. It is not anticipated that you or the child will experience any discomfort or distress from participating in this research.

What you can do now

If you are willing to participate in this research, please fill in and sign the consent form. If you have any queries or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may wish to contact me or my supervisors, Dr Linda Hand or Dr Elaine Ballard.

As a token of appreciation of your participation in the research, you will receive a $20 grocery voucher.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering this invitation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information.

Regards

Zainab Aldawood
PhD Student researcher
zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

My supervisors:
Dr. Linda Hand, Speech Science
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The Head of the School of Psychology is:
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For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact:
The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, at the University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Tel. 09 373 7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

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New Zealand

Speech Science
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Phone 09 373 7599extn. 86886

Information Letter for Preschools

Research Project: Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children

Name of researcher: **Zainab Aldawood**

Name of Supervisors: Linda Hand and Elaine Ballard

Kia ora

My name is Zainab Aldawood and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland under the supervision of Dr. Linda Hand and Dr. Elaine Ballard. As part of my degree I will be undertaking a study about how preschool bilingual Arabic and English speaking children use language.

What the study will involve at preschool

I am writing to request permission to conduct part of my research study at your preschool facility. The study will involve about a one hour video recording of a child from a bilingual Arabic-English background in interaction with his or her preschool staff member in English. (The same child will also be videorecorded at home in Arabic). The aim is to get a naturalistic recording; no special activities, resources or skills will be needed. It may be necessary to try to ensure a quieter space for recording to be successful, but otherwise it should record as normal a day as possible. We will also want to talk to the preschool staff member about the child and the bilingual situation, and this may be on a different occasion if desired.

We have a number of families who are already participating in the project. However we would also like to provide you with some pamphlets to give or make available to other families who may be appropriate for this research. You are free to refuse this if you would prefer not to.

What the study would need from you

In order to conduct this research in your facility, we need your permission. We also need your permission to approach your preschool staff to see if one would be willing to participate, and for you to allow them the time and space in the preschool to carry out the recording. We will need to pass on to them your assurance that there will be no consequences for them if they agree, or do not agree, to take part. Participation by staff is entirely voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks involved.

Confidentiality of participants and data

Consent forms for the child's participation are completed by the caregiver. These forms and those of the preschool participants will be the only documents where participants are named or identifying details included; all other documents or data will be de-identified and codes used to keep track of them. This will include names or identifying details of the preschool or yourself. The data will be transcribed and analysed by the researcher, and only those named in this letter will have access to the original data. The results will be used to produce a PhD thesis, and may be used for presentations and publications in academic contexts, e.g. conferences and professional journals. Data will be kept for 10 years in secure locations (locked filing cabinets and secure servers) at the University of Auckland, and then destroyed by deleting or shredding. Named documents (consent forms) will be destroyed after 6 years.

What the study will give you

There is no direct benefit for you or your preschool by participating in this research, other than the knowledge that you are part of advancing understanding of an important area of children's development. However you are most welcome to have a summary of the findings of the project when it is completed (see box on the consent form attached). If you would like a certificate of thanks to the preschool for helping this research to put up on your wall or noticeboard, we would be very happy to provide one.

What you can do now

If you agree, kindly sign the consent form attached. If you have any further questions, before or after signing the form, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Your approval to conduct this study would be greatly appreciated. Thank you for considering this request.

Regards

Zainab Aldawood
PhD Student researcher
zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

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For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact:

Appendices

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, at the University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Tel. 09 373 7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on July 27, 2018 for three years. Reference Number 019473

Appendices

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ورقة معلومات المشاركة - مقدم الرعاية

المشروع: الجوانب البراغماتية للُّغة عند الأطفال الناطقين باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية

الباحثة: زينب الداوود
المشرفتين: ليندا هاند وإلين بالارد

المقدمة
اسمي زينب الداوود وأنا طالبة دكتوراه في جامعة أوكلاند. أكتب إليكم لأدعوكم للمشاركة في مشروع بحثي حول كيفية استخدام الأطفال الناطقين بالعربية والإنجليزية للغة.

يتعرض العديد من الأطفال للغتين ، وقد يكونوا ثنائي اللغة أو متعددي اللغات. لكن تطور لغتهم غير مفهوم بشكل جيد بالمقارنة مع الأطفال الذين يتحدثون لغة واحدة فقط. إذا أردنا توفير أفضل الخدمات للأطفال الذين يتحدثون لغتين ، وبالأخص العربية والإنجليزية في نيوزيلندا ، فإننا بحاجة إلى فهم أفضل لكيفية تطور لغاتهم.

ماذا تتضمن هذه الدراسة؟

ستشمل الدراسة الأطفال الصغار ، الذين تتراوح أعمارهم بين 3 و 5 سنوات ، ومقدم الرعاية (على سبيل المثال الأم ، أو الأب ، أو أي فرد آخر من أفراد الأسرة البالغين) ، وموظف ما من قبل الروضة. نبحث عن الأطفال الذين يتحدثون اللغة العربية بشكل رئيسي في المنزل ، ويتحدثون الإنجليزية بشكل رئيسي في الروضة التي يحضرها الطفل.

نريد تسجيل فيديو للطفل والبالغ اثناء التفاعل أو التحدث ، كما يفعلون عادة ، بالأشياء اليومية المعتادة عادية. نريد أن نرى ما هي طبيعة لغة الطفل الأم بالنسبة للغة الأخرى.

يجب أن يكون كل تسجيل حوالي ساعة تقريبا.

سيتم تحليل تسجيلات الفيديو اعتمادا على استخدام الطفل لمهارات الاتصال ، ومعرفة ما إذا كانت مختلفة في لغاتهم المختلفة. كما نود التحدث إلى البالغين المعنيين ومقدمي الرعاية والموظفين في مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة ، حول اللغة وتجربتها، في وقت مختلف عن تسجيل الفيديو. سيتم تسجيل هذا الحديث ، وسوف يستغرق حوالي نصف ساعة.

المشاركة تطوعية

لأي سبب من الأسباب ، وليس عليك أن تعطي سببًا ، حتى بعد أسبوعين من مشاركتك وأي بيانات قد تكون قدمتها سيتم سحبها من الدراسة وتدميرها أو حذفها ، ولن تكون هناك أي نتائج سلبية من أي نوع بالنسبة لك.

تخزين البيانات والاحتفاظ بها والتخلص منها والاستخدام المستقبلي

نحن نحتفظ بجميع البيانات التي تشملك أنت أو طفلك آمنًة. سيتم تخزين جميع النسخ المطبوعة من البيانات التي تم جمعها في خزانة مقفلة في جامعة أوكلاند. سيتم تخزين المواد الإلكترونية على أجهزة الكمبيوتر المحمية بكلمة مرور الباحثين وسيتم نسخها احتياطيًا وتخزينها على سيرفر جامعة أوكلاند. لن يتمكن أي شخص من الوصول إلى البيانات باستثناء الباحثين الذين تم تسميتهم في هذا المستند ، وربما أحد محولي المستندات الذين سيطلب منهم التوقيع على وثيقة تضمن أنهم لن يكشفوا عن أي معلومات لأي شخص خارج الباحثين ولا يحتفظون بأي نسخ أي تسجيلات أو وثائق.

سيتم الاحتفاظ بجميع البيانات بشكل آمن عند الانتهاء من المشروع الحالي لمدة 10 سنوات ثم يتم إتلافها. إذا قمت بتقديم معلومات الاتصال الخاصة بك ، فسيتم جمعها وتخزينها بشكل منفصل عن بيانات المسح ، وتدميرها (إلى جانب نموذج الموافقة) بعد 6 سنوات.
سيتم استخدام البيانات التي تم جمعها في هذه الدراسة لكتابة أطروحة الدكتوراه ، وكتابة المقالات والعروض للمؤتمرات الأكاديمية والمجلات العلمية. لن يتم تسمية أي مشارك أو تحديد التفاصيل الواردة في هذه الوثائق إلا بإذن صريح.

عدم الكشف عن الهوية والسرية

سنحرص على التأكد من حماية خصوصيتك. لن يتم تسجيل الأسماء أو التفاصيل التعريفية الأخرى على أي مستندات باستثناء نماذج الموافقة ، والتي سيتم تخزينها بشكل منفصل عن البيانات. عند الضرورة ، سيتم استخدام الأسماء المستعارة أو الأكواد للحفاظ على المعلومات المرتبطة بشكل واضح عن المشارك. فقط الباحثون مسمح لهم بالاستماع او مشاهدة التسجيلات او قراءة البيانات المكتوبة.

ومع ذلك ، نظرًا لأن عدد العائلات الناطقة بالعربية صغير نسبيًا في نيوزيلندا ، قد يتمكن آخرون ممن يعرفون مجتمعك من تخمين هوية المشاركين. وهذا يعني أنه على الرغم من أن فريق البحث سيبذل قصارى جهده للحفاظ على سرية المشاركين ، إلا أنه لا يمكن ضمانه.

ما يمكنك القيام به الآن

إذا كنت على استعداد للمشاركة في هذا البحث ، يرجى ملء استمارة الموافقة والتوقيع عليها.
إذا كان لديك أي استفسارات أو مخاوف بشأن هذه الدراسة ،يمكنك الاتصال بي أو المشرفين على دراستي ، الدكتورة ليندا اليد أو الدكتورة إيلين بالارد.
كدليل على تقدير مشاركتك في البحث ، ستحصل على قسيمة سوبرماركت بقيمة 20 دولارًا.

نشكرك على قراءة ورقة المعلومات هذه والنظر في هذه الدعوة. لا تتردد في الاتصال بي إذا كنت تحتاج إلى مزيد من المعلومات.

مع تحياتي
زينب الداوو دطالبة دكتوراه
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Appendices

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لأي مخاوف تتعلق بالمسائل الأخلاقية ، يمكنك الاتصال بـ:
الرئيس ، لجنة أخلاقيات المشاركين في جامعة أوكلاند ، في جامعة أوكلاند ، مكتب الأبحاث ،
Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Tel. 09 373 7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on July 27, 2018 for three years. Reference Number 019473

9.3 Survey

Thank you very much for your interest in our survey!

This survey is part of a project about how children who are exposed to two languages; Arabic and English, use their languages. There is a very little information about this and your participation in this survey will help us in collecting basic information about language exposure for children in NZ. Your responses are important and your time would be greatly appreciated.

The survey will take you approximately five to ten minutes to complete.

Do you have a child who is exposed to both Arabic and English? If yes, this survey is for you.

Information obtained from this survey will be used in research towards a PhD at the University of Auckland.

We are very careful to make sure your privacy is protected. No responses will be identifiable to any individual person. If we write up this data, nobody will know who has answered the survey. If you do take part, you do not have to answer all the questions. Please note, however, that your responses cannot be withdrawn from the study after you have completed the survey.

If you do answer the survey questions, we take this as meaning you have agreed to take part in the research under the terms that have been outlined here.

Once again, thank you very much for your time and interest in reading about our survey.

If you have any questions or queries about this survey you are welcome to contact Zainab Aldawood (zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz) or her supervisors in Speech Science (Linda Hand l.hand@auckland.ac.nz or Elaine Ballard e.ballard@auckland.ac.nz).

If you would like further details about the project, please click here

Q1. Would you like to receive a summary of the survey findings?

- ❍ Yes (please provide your email address or your preferred contact information)

  _____

- ❍ No

Q2. Which country do you come from? (this may be where you were born or where your family originally comes from).

Q3. Which country does your spouse come from? (this may be where they were born or where their family originally comes from).

Q4. What was your primary reason for moving to New Zealand?
- ❑ Study (1)
- ❑ Work (2)
- ❑ Live permanently (3)
- ❑ Refugee (4)
- ❑ Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q5. How many years have you been in New Zealand?

Q6. How much longer do you think you be in New Zealand?
- ❑ Less than 5 years (1)
- ❑ Between 5 and 10 years (2)
- ❑ I will live here permanently (3)
- ❑ Other, please specify (4) _____

Q7. What languages can you speak or understand?

Q8. What languages can your spouse can speak or understand?

Q9. What is your first language? (the language you spoke most when you were a child).
- ❑ Arabic (1)
- ❑ English (2)
- ❑ Other, please specify (3) _____

Q10. What is your spouse's first language? (the language they spoke most when they were a child)
- ❑ Arabic (1)
- ❑ English (2)
- ❑ Other, please specify (3) _____

Q11. What is your strongest language now?
- ❑ Arabic (1)
- ❑ English (2)
- ❑ Equal (3)
- ❑ Other, please specify (4) _____

Q12. What is your spouse's strongest language now?
- ❑ Arabic (1)
- ❑ English (2)
- ❑ Equal (3)
- ❑ Other, please specify (4) _____

Q13. How good do you think your spoken Arabic language is now?
- ❑ Excellent (Understand almost everything. Very comfortable expressing myself in Arabic in all situations) (5)
- ❑ Very good (Can understand and use Arabic adequately for work and most other situations) (4)
- ❑ Good (Good understanding and can express myself on many topics) (3)
- ❑ Fair (Some understanding and can say simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (No understanding or speaking ability) (1)

Q14. How good do you think your spouse’s spoken Arabic language is now?
- ❑ Excellent (Understand almost everything. Very comfortable expressing him/herself in Arabic in all situations) (5)
- ❑ Very good (Can understand and use Arabic adequately for work and most other situations) (4)
- ❑ Good (Good understanding and can express him/herself on many topics) (3)
- ❑ Fair (Some understanding and can say simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (No understanding or speaking ability) (1)

Q15. How good do you think your spoken English language is now?
- ❑ Excellent (Understand almost everything. Very comfortable expressing myself in English in all situations) (5)
- ❑ Very good (Can understand and use English adequately for work and most other situations) (4)
- ❑ Good (Good understanding and can express myself on many topics) (3)
- ❑ Fair (Some understanding and can say simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (No understanding or speaking ability) (1)

Q16. How good do you think your spouse's spoken English language is now?
- ❑ Excellent (Understand almost everything. Very comfortable expressing him/herself in English in all situations) (5)
- ❑ Very good (Can understand and use English adequately for work and most other situations) (4)
- ❑ Good (Good understanding and can express him/herself on many topics) (3)
- ❑ Fair (Some understanding and can say simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (No understanding or speaking ability) (1)

Q17. How well do you read and write in the Arabic language?
- ❑ Excellent (I can read long, complex books and write long passages) (5)
- ❑ Very good (I Can read simple books or newspapers and write short passages with good grammar) (4)
- ❑ Good (I can read passages or letters and write passages with some grammar mistakes) (3)
- ❑ Fair (I can read and write words or simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (I cannot read or write Arabic) (1)

Q18. How well does your spouse read and write in the Arabic language?
- ❑ Excellent (he/she can read long, complex books and write long passages) (5)
- ❑ Very good (he/she Can read simple books or newspapers and write short passages with good grammar) (4)
- ❑ Good (he/she can read passages or letters and write passages with some grammar mistakes) (3)
- ❑ Fair (he/she can read and write words or simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (he/she cannot read or write Arabic) (1)

Q19. How well do you read and write in the English language?
- ❑ Excellent (I can read long, complex books and write long passages) (5)
- ❑ Very good (I Can read simple books or newspapers and write short passages with good grammar) (4)
- ❑ Good (I can read passages or letters and write passages with some grammar mistakes) (3)
- ❑ Fair (I can read and write words or simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (I cannot read or write Arabic) (1)

Q20. How well does your spouse read and write in the English language?
- ❑ Excellent (he/she can read long, complex books and write long passages) (5)
- ❑ Very good (he/she Can read simple books or newspapers and write short passages with good grammar) (4)
- ❑ Good (he/she can read passages or letters and write passages with some grammar mistakes) (3)
- ❑ Fair (he/she can read and write words or simple sentences) (2)
- ❑ Poor (he/she cannot read or write Arabic) (1)

Q21. Are there other adults living in your home (other than you and your spouse)?
- ❑ No (1)
- ❑ Yes, how many? (2) _____

Appendices

.شكرًا لموافقتك على المشاركة في استطلاع الرأي

.يرجى نشر الإعلان التالي على صفحة الفيسبوك الخاصة بك أو إرساله إلى مجموعتك

الأهالي الأعزاء

هذه دعوة للمشاركة في دراسة استقصائية تهدف إلى جمع معلومات عن تطور اللغة لدى أطفال العوائل الناطقة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في نيوزيلندا. المعلومات في هذا المجال نادرة جدا , لذا سنبدأ في جمع بعض المعلومات الأساسية كجزء من دراسة .دكتوراه هنا في جامعة أوكلاند

هذا الاستطلاع يخصك اذا كانت عائلتك في نيوزلاندا تتحدث اللغتين العربية و الانجليزية .. سيستغرق اكمال الاستطلاع حوالي 5-10 دقائق

مشاركتك طوعية تماما مع المحافظة على سرية معلوماتك و هويتك. يمكنك التوقف في أي وقت أو ترك بعض الأسئلة دون إجابة .إذا كنت ترغب في ذلك

يمكنك بدء الاستطلاع بالنقر على الرابط التالي

https://auckland.au1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9ohqCqNkaTXsHXL

.إذا كنت تعرف عوائل أخرى تتحدث اللغتين العربية و الانجليزية في نيوزلاندا ، يرجى توجيه هذه الدعوة لهم أيضا

مع الشكر الجزيل على الدعم و المشاركة

زينب الداود

Zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

طالبة دكتوراه، جامعة أوكلاند

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ورقة معلومات المشارك - الوالدين / مقدمي الرعاية

مسح للأسر الناطقة باللغة العربية في نيوزيلندا

لمقدمة

أنا اسمي زينب الداوود وأنا طالبة دكتوراه في جامعة أوكلاند. أدرس تحت إشراف الدكتوره ليندا هاند والدكتورة الين بالارد. وكجزء من شهادتي سأجري دراسة استقصائية للأسر الناطقة بالعربية في نيوزيلندا..

المشروع

هذا المسح هو جزء من مشروع حول كيفية استخدام اللغه عند أطفال العوائل الناطقة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في نيوزلاندا.. ليست هناك الكثير من المراجع بهذا الشأن و مشاركتكم في هذا المسح سوف تساعدنا في جمع بعض المعلومات الأساسية حول اكتساب اللغة للأطفال عند هذه الفئة من الأطفال.

الفئة المستهدفة

هذا الاستبيان مخصص لذوي الأطفال الناطقين باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في نيوزيلندا. قد تتلقى دعوة للمشاركة في الاستطلاع من صديق أو من خلال وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي .. يتوفر الاستطلاع باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، يمكنك اختيار لغتك المفضلة لإجراء الاستطلاع. وسوف يستغرق حوالي 5-10 دقائق لإكمال ذلك..

المشاركة أختيارية

يمكنك أختيار المشاركة أو عدمها وفق رغبتك. في حال مشاركتك يمكنك تجاهل السؤال الذي لاترغب في الإجابة عليه.. تجدر الإشارة إلى أنه لا يمكن سحب أو الغاء ردودك من الدراسة بعد إكمال الاستبيان.

تخزين البيانات والاحتفاظ بها واستخدامها في المستقبل و التخلص منها

سيتم تخزين جميع التسجيلات والنسخ المطبوعة من البيانات التي تم جمعها في خزانة مقفلة في الحرم الجامعي تاماكي من جامعة أوكلاند. سيتم تخزين النسخ الإلكترونية على أجهزة الكمبيوتر المحمية بكلمة مرور الباحثين وسيتم احتياطيا تخزينها في جامعة أوكلاند. سيتم الاحتفاظ بجميع البيانات بشكل آمن عند الانتهاء من المشروع الحالي لغرض أي مشاريع تابعة في المستقبل في هذا المجال.

عدم الكشف عن هويتك والسرية

نحن حريصون جدا على حماية خصوصيتك . لن يتم تحديد أي ردود لأي فرد، ولن يتم جمع أي عناوين أو معلومات تعريف أخرى. هوية المشاركين في المسح ستكون مجهولة . إذا أجبت عن أسئلة الاستطلاع، فإننا نعتبر فهذا يعني أنك وافقت على المشاركة في البحث بموجب الشروط التي تم توضيحها هنا..

ما يمكنك القيام به الآن

إذا كنت على استعداد للمشاركة في هذا الاستطلاع، يرجى فتح رابط المسح والإجابة على الأسئلة التي لا مانع لديك من الإجابة عليها. إذا كان لديك أي استفسارات أو مخاوف بشأن حقوقك كمشارك في هذا المسح، قد ترغب في الاتصال بي أو بي أحد المشرفين الدكتوره ليندا هاند أو الدكتورة إلين بالارد.

Appendices

نشكرك على قراءة ورقة المعلومات هذه والنظر في هذه الدعوة. لا تتردد في الاتصال بي إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مزيد من المعلومات.

مع تحياتي

لأي مخاوف بشأن المسائل الأخلاقية للبحث يمكنك الاتصال برئيس لجنة أخلاقيات المشاركين في الأبحاث ، في جامعة أوكلاند، مكتب البحوث، حقيبة خاصة 92019، أوكلاند 1142. هاتف. 09 373 7599 إكست. 83711. البريد الإلكتروني:

ro-ethics@auckland.ac.n

موافق من جامعة أوكلاند المشاركون في لجنة الأخلاق الإنسانية ... لمدة 3 سنوات

شكرا جزيلا لاهتمامك في استبياننا!

هذا الاستبيان هو جزء من مشروع حول كيفية استخدام اللغة عند الأطفال الناطقين باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية. هناك عدد قليل جدا من الدراسات عن هذه الفئة. مساهمتك ستساعد في جمع المعلومات عن هؤلاء الأطفال في أوكلاند.

Appendices

مشاركتك جزء من وقتك موضع تقدير كبير لدينا.. سيستغرق الاستبيان ما يقارب من خمس إلى عشر دقائق لإكماله.

اذا كان لديك طفل يتحدث اللغة العربية والإنجليزية، فهذا الاستبيان يخصك ...

نحن حريصون جدا على حماية خصوصيتك . لن يكون هناك طريقة لتتبع أو معرفة معلوماتك . سيتم استخدام المعلومات التي تم الحصول عليها من هذا الاستبيان كجزء من أطروحة الدكتوراه في جامعة أوكلاند. أثناء إجابتك على الأسئلة، يمكنك تجاهل أي سؤال لا ترغب في إجابته وأكمال الاستبيان. يرجى ملاحظة أنه لا يمكن سحب ردودك من الدراسة بعد الانتهاء من الاستبيان. إذا أجبت على أسئلة الاستبيان، فإننا نتخذ هذا الأمر كموافقة على المشاركة في البحث بموجب الشروط التي تم توضيحها في المعلومات.

إذا كانت لديك أي أسئلة أو استفسارات، يرجى الاتصال على

زينب الداوود

zald445@aucklanduni.ac.nz

أو المشرفين عليها:

ليندا هاند

l.hand@auckland.ac.nz

أو

إلين بالارد

e.ballard@auckland .ac.nz.

هل ترغب في الحصول على ملخص لنتائج هذا الاستطلاع؟
نعم، يرجى تقديم عنوان بريدك الإلكتروني أو معلومات الاتصال المفضلة لديك _____

لا

ما هو موطنك الاصلي؟ (هذا ربما حيث ولدت أو حيث نشأت)

ما هو موطن زوجك الاصلي؟ (هذا ربما حيث ولد أو حيث نشأ)

ما هو سببك الرئيسي للانتقال إلى نيوزيلندا؟
دراسة
عمل
العيش بشكل دائم

لجوء

أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

كم سنة مضت على اقامتك في نيوزيلندا؟

كم سنة أخرى تنوي الاقامة في نيوزيلندا؟
أقل من 5 سنوات
بين 5 إلى 10 سنوات
سأعيش هنا بشكل دائم
أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

ما هي اللغات التي يمكنك التحدث بها أو فهمها؟

ما هي اللغات التي يمكن لزوجك أن يتكلمها أو يفهمها؟

ما هي لغتك الأولى؟ (اللغة التي تحدثت عنها أكثر عندما كنت طفلا)؟
العربية
الإنجليزية
أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

ما هي اللغة الأولى لزوجك؟ (اللغة التي تحدث بها أكثر عندما كان طفلا)؟
العربية
الإنجليزية
أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

ما هي لغتك الأقوى الآن؟
العربية
الإنجليزية
متساويتان
أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

ما هي أقوى لغة لزوجك الآن؟
العربية
الإنجليزية
متساويتان
أخرى، يرجى تحديد _____

كيف تقييمي لغتك العربية الآن؟
ضعيفة (لا افهمها و لا استطيع تحدثها)
مقبولة (أستطيع فهم بعض التعبيرات و قول بعض الجمل البسيطة)
جيدة (أستطيع فهم بعض المحادثات ويمكنني التعبير عن نفسي في العديد من المواضيع)
جيدة جدا (يمكنني فهم واستخدام اللغة العربية في اغلب الحالات بشكل مريح)
ممتازة (أستطيع فهم كل شيء تقريبا و أعبر عن نفسي باللغة العربية في جميع الحالات)

كيف تُقييمي لغة زوجك العربية الآن؟
ضعيفة (لا يفهمها و لا يستطيع تحدثها)
مقبولة (يستطيع فهم بعض التعبيرات و قول بعض الجمل البسيطة)
جيدة (يستطيع فهم بعض المحادثات ويمكنه التعبير عن نفسه في العديد من المواضيع)
جيدة جدا (يمكنه فهم واستخدام اللغة العربية في اغلب الحالات بشكل مريح)
ممتازة (يستطيع فهم كل شيء تقريبا و يعبر عن نفسه باللغة العربية في جميع الحالات)

كيف تقييمي لغتك الأنجليزيه الآن؟
ضعيفة (لا افهمها و لا استطيع تحدثها)
مقبولة (أستطيع فهم بعض التعبيرات و قول بعض الجمل البسيطة)
جيدة (أستطيع فهم بعض المحادثات ويمكنني التعبير عن نفسي في العديد من المواضيع)
جيدة جدا (يمكنني فهم واستخدام اللغة الأنجليزيه في اغلب الحالات بشكل مريح)
ممتازة (أستطيع فهم كل شيء تقريبا و أعبر عن نفسي باللغة الأنجليزيه في جميع الحالات)

كيف تُقييمي لغة زوجك الأنجليزيه الآن؟
ضعيفة (لا يفهمها و لا يستطيع تحدثها)
مقبولة (يستطيع فهم بعض التعبيرات و قول بعض الجمل البسيطة)
جيدة (يستطيع فهم بعض المحادثات ويمكنه التعبير عن نفسه في العديد من المواضيع)
جيدة جدا (يمكنه فهم واستخدام اللغة الأنجليزيه في اغلب الحالات بشكل مريح)
ممتازة (يستطيع فهم كل شيء تقريبا و يعبر عن نفسه باللغة الأنجليزيه في جميع الحالات)

كيف تُقيم قرائتك وكتابتك باللغة العربية؟
ضعيفة (لا أستطيع قراءة أو كتابة العربية)
مقبولة (أستطيع قراءة وكتابة كلمات منفردة أو جمل بسيطة)
جيدة (أستطيع قراءة المواضيع القصيرة وكتابة بعض المواضيع القصيرة)
جيدة جدا (أستطيع قراءة بعض الكتب أو الصحف والكتابة مع مراعاة قواعد اللغة جيدا)
ممتاز (أستطيع قراءة الكتب المعقدة و الطويلة وكتابة آي موضوع بأسهاب)

كيف تُقيم قراءة وكتابة زوجك باللغة العربية؟
ضعيفة (لا يستطيع قراءة أو كتابة العربية)
مقبولة (يستطيع قراءة وكتابة كلمات منفردة أو جمل بسيطة)
جيدة (يستطيع قراءة المواضيع القصيرة وكتابة بعض المواضيع القصيرة)
جيدة جدا (يستطيع قراءة بعض الكتب أو الصحف والكتابة مع مراعاة قواعد اللغة جيدا)
ممتاز (يستطيع قراءة الكتب المعقدة و الطويلة وكتابة آي موضوع بأسهاب)

كيف تُقيم قرائتك وكتابتك باللغة الانجليزية؟
ضعيفة (لا أستطيع قراءة أو كتابة الأنجليزيه)
مقبولة (أستطيع قراءة وكتابة كلمات منفردة أو جمل بسيطة)
جيدة (أستطيع قراءة المواضيع القصيرة وكتابة بعض المواضيع القصيرة)
جيدة جدا (أستطيع قراءة بعض الكتب أو الصحف والكتابة مع مراعاة قواعد اللغة جيدا)
ممتاز (أستطيع قراءة الكتب المعقدة و الطويلة وكتابة آي موضوع بأسهاب)

كيف تُقيم قراءة وكتابة زوجك باللغة الأنجليزيه؟
ضعيفة (لا يستطيع قراءة أو كتابة العربية)
مقبولة (يستطيع قراءة وكتابة كلمات منفردة أو جمل بسيطة)
جيدة (يستطيع قراءة المواضيع القصيرة وكتابة بعض المواضيع القصيرة)
جيدة جدا (يستطيع قراءة بعض الكتب أو الصحف والكتابة مع مراعاة قواعد اللغة جيدا)
ممتاز (يستطيع قراءة الكتب المعقدة و الطويلة وكتابة آي موضوع بأسهاب)

Appendices

هل هناك أشخاص راشدون آخرون يعيشون في منزلك (بخلاف أنت وزوجك)؟
لا
نعم، كم عددهم؟ _____

ما هو مستواك التعليمي؟
الابتدائي

المتوسط

الثانوي
درجة البكالوريوس
دراسات العليا

ما هو مستواك التعليمي؟
الابتدائي

المتوسط

الثانوي
درجة البكالوريوس
دراسات العليا

ما هي مهنتك؟

ما هي مهنة زوجك؟

كم عدد الأطفال في منزلك؟

يرجى ملء المعلومات أدناه
في العمودين الأخيرين، قد تشمل الخيارات الخاصة بك المدرسة، مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة، المنزل، تجمعات العائلة أو الأصدقاء، مدرسة خاصة لتدريس اللغة العربية، أو أي أماكن أخرى ذات صلة .
العمر (1) الجنس (2) مسقط رأس (3) أين يتعرض طفلك للغة العربية؟ (4) أين يتعرض طفلك للغة الإنجليزية؟ (5)
الطفل 1 (1)
الطفل 2 (2)
الطفل 3 (3)
الطفل 4 (4)
الطفل 5 (5)

9.4 Interview Schedule

Caregiver/Parent Interview Schedule

Research Project: Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children

Thank you for participating in this research project. I would like to start by asking you a few questions about you and your family, and about some language issues. You don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to, and that will be fine. Feel free to ask me any questions you might have about the project at any time as well.

1. Which country do you come from? (This may be where you were born or where your family originally comes from). How strongly do you identify as being from that country?

2. Which country does your spouse come from? (This may be where they were born or where their family originally comes from).

3. How many years have you been in New Zealand?

4. If you feel comfortable talking about it – and it is fine if you don't – can you tell me a little about why you came to NZ? And how long you expect to be here? How comfortable do you feel in NZ these days?

5. Tell me about your children. How old are they, and where were they born?

6. Tell me about your Arabic. What dialect or dialects do you speak? How good do you think your Arabic is? Where did you learn it? How about reading and writing in Arabic?

7. Where did you go to school? What language(s) did they use at school when you were there?

8. Where did you learn English? How good do you think your English language is now? What was it like when you first came?

9. How well do you think you understand English? How well do you think you speak English?

10. Do you speak or understand any other languages? What ones? How do you come to know this/these? What about the rest of your family – do they have any other languages?

11. What about your spouse/partner's Arabic. What dialect or dialects do they speak? How good do you think their Arabic is? Where did they learn it? How about their reading and writing in Arabic?

now? How well do you think he/she understands English? How good do you think their spoken Arabic language is now? How much Arabic do you think they understand? (target child focus)

14. What language(s) do you speak at home? (With your partner? With your children? What languages do they speak with one another at home?) Do you ever mix the Arabic and the English? Do other people do that? What do you think about it? Does anything bother you about your children's use of the languages?

15. Does your child go to a preschool of some sort? If yes, how many hours per week? How long have they been going to preschool? How well do they get on there? What about any other schools or classes – e.g. Arabic Sunday school?

16. How important is the Arabic language to you? What would you like to see your children achieving in Arabic in the future? Why is it important?

17. How important is the English language to you? What would you like to see your children achieving in English in the future? Why is it important?

18. Do you have any concerns about your children's language – in Arabic? In English??

19. Do you have any other concerns about your child?

That is the end of my questions I think. Is there anything else you would like to add or ask about, on the topic of Arabic-English bilingualism? Or of how it has been for you living in NZ?

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on July 27 , 2018 for three years. Reference Number 019473

Appendices

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Phone 09 373 7599extn. 86886

Preschool Staff Interview Schedule

Research Project: Pragmatic aspects of language in bilingual Arabic-English speaking children

Thank you for participating in this research project. I would like to start by asking you a few questions about the child and yourself, and about some language issues. At the end, or any time, you might like to ask me any questions you have about the project.

1. What is your role in the preschool? Do you have a qualification for this role? Tell me about it.

2. What's the best part about being a (role)? What's the least good part?

3. How long have you worked in this preschool? How long have you worked in the field?

4. How many preschool staff are working here?

5. How frequently do you meet (the participant child)? e.g. daily (every weekday), one to two times a week or at least three times a week?

6. How often do you have a 1:1 conversation or interaction with (the participant child)? (e.g., if needed, Very often, in a daily activity, weekly, occasionally or rarely?). What's that like?

7. Tell me about (the participant child's) English language skills. How well do you think s/he understands English? How well do you think s/he speaks English?

8. Does s/he speak any Arabic at preschool? Does s/he ever mix Arabic and English? how do people respond when s/he does this?

9. Tell me about (the participant child's) playing. Do you think s/he plays like most of her/his age peers in the preschool? What things does s/he seem to enjoy doing most?

10. Do you think s/he gets on well with peers in the preschool? Do you see her/him talking with other children much?

11. Do you have any concerns about (the participant child's) language – in English? Any concerns about this child or whanau generally?

That is the end of my questions. Is there anything else you would like to add or ask me about?

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