Use of code-switching in inter-generational and intra-generational communication in Greek (Cypriot dialect) and English.

Marilena Onisiforou

May 2017

Acknowledgments

This work was submitted as a final year Dissertation to the Department of Linguistic and English Language, University of Manchester, in May 2017. I would like to thank my dissertation supervisor Professor Yaron Matras for all his guidance and helpful feedback for which I am so very grateful, without him this dissertation would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my family and friends for supporting me throughout this process and to everyone who kindly participated in this study.

Table of Contents

List of tables

Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning
[**]	Name of person or specific location
/	Interruption or repair
[laughter]	Laughter

Abstract

This study examines the motivations to code-switch in inter-generational and intra-generational communication between Greek-Cypriots in a North London community. This study also explores whether the experiences of migration and previously cited generational language patterns might influence the language choices of these individuals. Three conversations were recorded where bilinguals discussed their experiences of migration and living as British Cypriots. A qualitative approach was employed for the analysis of this data and the conversations were analysed in their entirety, and it was found that the personal histories of migration and generational patterns were not deterministic of each individual's language choices and future studies should consider in greater detail the notion of 'super-diversity'. Language maintenance and 'transnationalism' factors such as Greek supplementary schools and frequent contact with Cyprus were found to potentially account for the continued use of the Greek language across generations.. A conversational and sequential analysis was undertaken for analysing and interpreting the motivations as well as the meanings created by code-switching. This analysis finds three main motivations to code-switch and these were for accommodating purposes, topics of discussion and potentially filling a lexical gap.

1. Introduction

1.1 Aims and motivations for the study

The language-contact phenomenon of code-switching is one of the most common practices amongst bilinguals. Code-switching can be defined as "the alternation of languages within a conversation" (Matras 2009:101). I decided to explore this topic of code-switching within the Greek-Cypriot community of North London because I am a British born Greek-Cypriot and a member of this community. Growing up bilingual, code-switching has heavily featured in my everyday language use as well as that of the people around me.

My initial focus for the study was to explore the motivations of bilinguals from the same and different generations to code-switch in conversation. Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) also conducted her research on a Greek-Cypriot migrant community based in London. Her research focused on language maintenance and general features of bilingual speech, including code-switching and linguistic interference. On delving a bit deeper in my research, I began to wonder what actually influenced speaker's language choices in conversations. On reading Schmid's (2002) study of German Jews that migrated to Anglophone countries I became most intrigued by the links she made between speakers' experiences of migration (such as trauma, age of migration and language history) and their subsequent linguistic attitudes. Drawing inspiration from both the above studies, I will aim to investigate, whether a possible link can be identified between personal biographies and language choices and what possibly motivates the speakers to code-switch. Further studies involved in the analysis suggest generalised generational patterns of language shift for various generations of speakers (Garcia & Diaz, 1992) that may influence the language choices of individuals. The main literature on language maintenance and code-switching does not often combine these topics with questions of personal histories and language choices, especially regarding this particular

community. Thus, I will attempt to fill this gap by finding connections between these various topic areas.

I will be taking a qualitative approach for this study. I will be recording and analysing conversation-based data from members of this particular community and I will be examining these conversations holistically to identify conversational patterns and language choices, as well as evaluating the content of their discussions on their personal histories. I will also be undertaking a conversational and sequential analysis when interpreting the motivations and meaningfulness of code-switching.

1.2 The community

Currently Greek is considered to be one of the largest linguistic minorities in London and there are 31,306 individuals residing there who consider Greek to be their main language, comprising 1.8% of the population living in London (Census, 2011). Many of the first generation speakers in this community today came to England in two migration waves. The first wave being around the late 1950s and early 1960s, where migrants came seeking better economic stability and work opportunities. The second wave being post 1974 after the Turkish invasion of the island of Cyprus where migrants were forced to leave their homes and emigrated unwillingly in large quantities as refugees.

According to the Cyprus Educational Mission UK (2017), there are currently over 70 Greek schools across the United Kingdom, 30 of which are in the Greater London area. Most Greek-Cypriot children growing up in London attend one of these Greek supplementary schools usually at least twice a week, in the evenings and at weekends. At these schools, children learn the Standard Modern Greek language, as well as the culture, history and

geography of Greece and Cyprus and they are also able to take formal examinations such as GCSEs and A-levels in the Modern Greek language. Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) describes these supplementary schools as forming part of a conscious effort within the Greek-Cypriot community in London to reduce the effects of a generational gap on their language and culture.

Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) also explains that within this Greek-Cypriot migrant community three different languages are used: English, Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect. Standard Modern Greek is the official language that is used as the written standard and in official and formal situations as in publishing and education (including Greek supplementary schools). The Greek-Cypriot dialect is used in everyday language and more informal conversations. The Greek-Cypriot dialect mainly differs from Standard Modern Greek phonologically and lexically, and to a lesser extent morphologically and syntactically (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 2001). It should be noted that throughout this paper I refer to the language used by members of this community as Greek and not Greek-Cypriot, despite dialectal features being shown.

2. Literature review

In this chapter I explore the relevant definitions of my study and review previous studies that form the basis of my research.

2.1 Bilingualism and code-switching

2.1.1 Bilingualism

The concept of bilingualism is rather abstract, making it difficult to agree on an exact definition. There have been various definitions proposed in the literature, each differing on the importance of proficiency. Li Wei (2000:16) simply describes a bilingual as an individual that "can function in both languages in conversational interaction". Clyne (1967:20) is more specific in his study of post-war migrants from German speaking countries and regards a bilingual as "a person who understands and speaks two languages, both of which he has acquired by natural experience rather than by school learning". It is often cited in the literature that most bilinguals have a 'dominant' and a 'secondary' language (Clyne, 1967), where a dominant language is a language used with greater proficiency and greater frequency. These types of bilinguals are often referred to as 'unbalanced' bilinguals, while those that are equally competent in using both languages are known as 'balanced' bilinguals.

In many studies of bilingual speech communities resulting from circumstances of migration, there is often an important distinction made between bilinguals. There are those that are born monolingual and due to circumstances of migration become bilingual, there are children that are born into these bilingual situations and there are those that are "second language learners" (Clyne 1967:124). This research paper analyses the language choices and manifestations of code-switching mainly from the former two of these types, and will be referred to as first generation speakers and second generation speakers of Greek.

It is a widely held view within language contact studies, that the bilingual does not maintain two separate language systems but one complex communicative repertoire (Matras, 2009). This complex repertoire consists of linguistic structures that are at the bilingual's disposal at all times. A bilingual must select those forms that are context-appropriate (Matras, 2009:4). In a bilingual context, Grosjean (2001) claims that bilinguals operate in the 'bilingual mode'. This differs from a 'monolingual speech mode' where bilinguals deactivate one language, although not fully, and activate only the language of conversation. The 'bilingual mode' involves employing a 'base language' and calling upon the other language at various times in the conversation, often being manifested as code-switching.

2.1.2 Code-switching

Traditionally, code-switching, as well as bilingualism, was heavily stigmatised and was viewed as 'language corruption' (Matras, 2009:101). The use of code-switching was believed to indicate insufficient knowledge in one of the two languages used. However, more recent studies have supported the antithesis. Further research has described its use as 'rule governed' and as requiring a high level of competence in both languages (Poplack, 1980; Christodoulou-Pipis, 1991) and that code-switching is an additional conversational resource that bilinguals possess (Gumperz, 1982).

Poplack (1980) also states that there are various types of code-switches that can manifest in the language use of bilinguals. In her study of bilinguals in a Puerto Rican community she proposes a distinction between tag-switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential switching. Tag-switching, which she refers to as 'emblematic' switching is the switching of a word or phrase to an otherwise monolingual sentence. This type of switching is often, but not always, found to be used by 'unbalanced' bilinguals that are less competent in one of the languages. Intra-sentential code-switching is the alternation of languages within a sentence or

clause. The third type she describes is inter-sentential switching and this is the alternation of languages between sentences. This type of code-switching could occur between two different speakers in a conversation. For example, if one person uses language A and the other uses and responds in language B in the same conversational interaction.

Recent literature within this field has claimed that these various code-switches display a meaningful and "skilled manipulation of overlapping sections of two (or more) grammars" (Li Wei 2000:17). Interpreting the alternation of two languages ultimately shows that "language mixing is multilayered and can serve various purposes even in the same conversation"(Matras, 2009:101).

2.2 Factors influencing language choice

2.2.1 Personal experiences of migration

Monika Schmid's (2002) study of German Jews that migrated to Anglophone countries explores first language attrition and maintenance in relation to issues of identity. Language attrition can be defined as "the gradual loss of a language by an individual" (Schmid, 2002:7). By using a corpus of autobiographical interviews given by individuals who left between the time the Nazis came to power and the start of World War II, Schmid highlights the significance of a speaker's attitude in language attrition and language maintenance by analysing morphosyntactic features of language, as well as 'errors' in free spoken discourse. She explores how the vicious exclusion that these German Jews experienced from their society and culture evoked a conflicting sense of identity, which ultimately influenced their attitudes towards the German language. Schmid goes on to suggest that a correlation exists between an individual's attitude and how comfortable they felt using the German language. She argues that the individual's perception of themselves and their identity, determines the effects of first language attrition and language maintenance. She therefore claims that

language attrition of the individual is influenced by how they wish to be perceived, but she simultaneously notes in the case of long-term emigrants the "full range of the repertoire is still there" and that if the speaker so chooses "proficiency can be reactivated" (Schmid 2002:192). Schmid also highlights the importance of attitudes, not just in availing first generation speakers of their full linguistic repertoires, but also in second language learning.

Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) also highlights how an attitude towards a language and the group that uses it determines a speaker's choice. In supporting this claim, she also cites Grosjean (1982) who explains that migrant children often elect to not speak their mother tongue if it is associated with a stigmatised minority, in order to assimilate and fit in with the majority group. Further to this, in Clyne's (1967) study of German speaking immigrants in Australia after World War II, he finds younger migrants trying to 'assimilate' and adjust to the majority language community and suggests that this was perhaps due to a desire not to be viewed as 'different' by the community as indeed their parents were. Both Schmid (2002) and Clyne's (1967) studies explore speaker attitudes towards a minority language during a time in which these immigrants spoke a language from a country that most of the world was at war with, and where being identified as a German speaker would have evoked suspicion and mistrust.

In addition to the above assertions regarding attitudes as being determined by personal experiences of migration, Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) also highlights the age of arrival as an important factor when analysing language choices. She suggests that those who arrived before the age of eleven years old experienced less difficulty in acquiring English, and this could be due to attending an English school from an early age and feeling the need to adjust to being English so that they were not viewed as outsiders by their new society. On the other hand, it was reported that those who arrived when they were much older found learning

English more challenging and as suggested by Matras (2009:68) this is due to "the considerable loss of learning flexibility that sets in with puberty". It could be suggested that the difficulty in acquiring English may also impact a speaker's attitude towards this second language, as well as their confidence communicating comfortably in it.

2.2.2 Generational patterns

In her study of Greek-Cypriot immigrants, Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) describes that language loss and language shift often go hand in hand. She describes a typical generational pattern among immigrants, although she argues that different immigrant patterns may exist due to language maintenance factors. She argues that the first generation speakers born in their original country are bilingual with their minority language being the dominant of the two. Second generation speakers are also bilingual with either language potentially being dominant. Third generation speakers are bilingual with a dominant majority language. Fourth generation speakers are monolingual, only speaking the majority language.

Another generational pattern promoted by Garcia & Diaz (1992:14) is known as the "three generation shift". In their study of immigrant groups in the United States, Garcia & Diaz also find that the first generation remain speaking their native language whilst it is the second generation that begins the shift to the majority language. They state that the third generation usually completes this shift from the minority language to the majority one. As can be seen, Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) description of the generational pattern differs slightly as it suggests that there is one more generation before the language shift is complete. This perhaps suggests that language maintenance exerts an influence on the transmission of a language across generations.

However, it has been suggested that even within the groupings of individuals into generations of speakers different patterns manifest. Rumbaut (2004) and Portes and Rivas (2011) claim that language use of children that migrated from a young age, usually aged five or younger resembled that of children born in the host country. This is due to the fact that these children were almost entirely socialised in their host country, and did not receive any formal education in the language of their original country. Clyne (1967:26) further reinforces this notion by describing children that migrated before the age of eleven as "linguistically more similar" to the second-generation speakers of the host country. On the other hand, those who arrived during their adolescent years are regarded as being closer to adult immigrants than second-generation speakers born in the host country. When considering language choices in my study, it might be hypothesised that first generation speakers who migrated during early childhood may show a preference for English over Greek, and those who migrated as adolescents or older may have a preference for Greek over English as they "lack the plasticity of young migrants" (Rumbaut 2004:1167). It appears that differences in language choices can be found intra-generationally and this suggests that it is important not to overgeneralise language choices regarding the generations in which speakers belong.

2.2.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance can be described as the continued use of a language in some or all domains of a speaker, group of speakers or speech community's life whilst competing with a majority language (Pauwels, 2004). Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001:93) describe this as the co-existence of languages "in a fairly stable relationship". In Schmid's (2002) study she discusses attitudes and experiences that influence the language maintenance of the individual, however, although not incorporated into her study, language maintenance could also occur

with a group of individuals and their transmission of a language possibly from one generation to the next.

Fishman (1991:113) states that "intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue" and language maintenance facilitate one another. This can be understood by explaining that maintenance is the continued use of the language, and without maintenance of a language it is unlikely that the language will be passed on to future generations. Many researchers also take this view, including Christodoulou-Pipis (1991), that language maintenance, to some degree, plays a part in attempting to bridge the language gap between generations.

By adapting a list from Conklin and Lourie (1983), Baker (2011) suggests that there are three main factors that encourage the maintenance of a language amongst immigrants. The first of these factors involve political, social and demographic factors, which requires many speakers living closely together, being able to travel to the original country often and identifying with the ethnic group rather than the majority language community. The second of these factors refers to cultural aspects of the community, which includes the attendance of 'mother-tongue institutions' such as schools and community organizations. These two factors are supported by Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) in her study of Greek-Cypriots in Britain. She states that Greek supplementary schools and frequent contact with Cyprus, whether it be through travel or writing letters (this study was conducted before Internet or Wi-Fi access) contributes to maintaining the Greek language within this community. The third factors Baker (2011) promotes are of a linguistic nature where he emphasises the importance of the minority language being standardised as well as having international status.

2.3 Motivations to code-switch

One of the ways in which language choices manifest in conversation is through the use of code-switching. Once it has been established that a speaker is comfortable using their full linguistic repertoire in a bilingual context, the motivations to code-switch can be further explored.

2.3.1 Linguistic gap

According to Christodoulou-Pipis (1991), the reason for code-switching that bilinguals are most conscious of is the filling of a 'linguistic gap'. This could include the switching of a single lexical item or even a phrase. The need to fill a 'linguistic gap' arises from either a lack of memory or a lack of competence in the language of conversation (Auer, 1995). The use of code-switching to fill a 'linguistic gap in the repertoires of bilinguals is often preceded by silence or hesitation showing uncertainty, or in attempting to recall an item from their linguistic repertoires they are preceded by a pause (Mahsain, 2015).

It has previously been cited that code-switching manifests in the speech of 'unbalanced' bilinguals from a lack of competence in one of the two languages. This type of code-switching serves what is called a 'referential function' (Appel & Musken, 1987). It should also be made clear however, that code-switching also performs a 'referential function' when a bilingual does know an item in both languages but elects to use the language most appropriate for a given topic.

In a study of Puerto Ricans in the United States, Pedraza (1978) identified three modes of communication, English-speaking, Spanish-speaking and code-switching. He stated that many of the motivations for the code-switches in his study were due to individuals lacking a

'full command' of either English or Spanish. However, there have been many studies to counter this claim such as Lance's (1975) study of Mexicans in the United States. He found that information such as numbers, which were code-switched in conversations were actually known in both languages and that code-switching in this sense does not indicate a lack of competence in one language.

2.3.2 Accommodation theory

Accommodation theory, first manifested as Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), and later evolved to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles et al., 1991). It proposes that speakers alter the way in which they communicate both verbally and non-verbally in an interaction, depending on the situation, content and participants. Speakers may adjust their speech to converge or diverge from the speech of their interlocutors (Giles & Smith, 1979). Convergence is the adaptation of an individual's speech to resemble that of their interlocutors, thereby suggesting a positive attitude towards their interlocutor as well as a shared social group, whereas divergence is the distancing of speech from that of an interlocutor's.

Schmid's (2002) findings, to an extent, support this notion proposed by Giles & Smith (1979) that a speaker's use of language might be used to converge to others and indicate how they wish to be perceived. For example, if one wishes to be a part of a particular speech community, they may accommodate their language to that used by the community, however if one wishes to disassociate themselves from a community they will do the opposite and adapt their language to differ from a member of that community. This appears to be the case in Poplack's (1980) study of Puerto Ricans living in New York, where intra-sentential switching was used to signal in-group membership, whilst non-group membership was

indicated by emblematic or tag-switching. A further compelling finding of this study showed that in one of the networks observed, group members, including those that were English-dominant or bilingual, generally accommodate their language to that of the older, Spanish-dominant speakers by speaking in Spanish. This encompasses accommodation theory in an intergenerational setting and may suggest that in my study a younger generation may adapt their language to that of an older generation speaker.

2.4 Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis is an approach within the study of social interaction, which was developed by Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Conversation analysis investigates spoken discourse; with the intention of understanding how individuals manage their interactions (Paltridge, 2012). It is fundamentally used to examine the ways in which spoken discourse is structured and how it develops in conversation. It ultimately analyses social relations in spoken discourse (Paltridge, 2012).

2.4.1 Sequential analysis

Within the conversation analysis framework, a sequential analysis is often employed to explore the reasons and implications of code-switching. This type of approach aims to determine 'why' bilinguals code-switch by analysing 'how' they code-switch (Li Wei, 1998). This approach emphasises that the turn that precedes and follows a code-switched utterance must be analysed in addition to the code-switch itself. Auer (1995:116) coins the conversational turn that precedes and follows a code-switch as its 'sequential environment'. He explains that the utterance that precedes the code-switch may give an insight as to why the code-switch occurred, and utterances that follow give an indication as to how the code-switch has been understood. Therefore, when analysing the underlying motivations to code-switch,

the turn-taking of participants must be considered, rather than the individual code-switches in isolation. It aims to investigate the code-switch in the context of the conversation as "the same cue may receive a different interpretation on different occasions" (Auer, 1995: 123).

Furthering the notion of 'sequentiality' is what Auer (1984) refers to as 'sequential implicativeness'. This explains that the language chosen by a participant for their turn "exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers" (Auer, 1984:5). Taking all these factors into consideration that in order to interpret the motivations and implications of code-switching, these alternations must be analysed in relation to their 'sequential environment'. In my study, I will therefore aim to interpret the motivations behind code-switching with regards to the context in which they occur.

3. Methodology

This chapter explores the method of data collection I found most appropriate and employed for this study. In this section, I will also describe the methodological considerations during this process, and how participants were selected for this study.

3.1 Research objective and hypothesis

The aim of this study is to determine whether there is a link between a speaker's language choice and their personal histories (such as age of migration, their generation, experiences of acculturation). I will also consider how language choices are manifested through the use of code-switching and by undertaking a sequential analysis, I will examine the utterances that precede and follow, as well as the code-switch itself in determining what motivates a speaker to code-switch at these particular points in the discourse.

Formulating a hypothesis based on the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, it seems that people's conversational behaviour will correlate with their personal histories, perhaps by following the generational patterns of language use proposed in the previous chapter. It may also be found that similarly to Schmid's (2002) study, speakers who migrated reluctantly, and did not maintain much contact with Cyprus may have a preference for English as opposed to their first language, Greek. Further to this, their language choices and code-switches, based on previous studies may also be influenced by who they are speaking to as well as the topic and content of their conversation.

3.2 Participants

3.2.1 Participant selection

Data was collected from a sample that consisted of individuals that were bilingual in both Greek (Cypriot dialect) and English, all of which were female in order to limit gender as a confounding factor. To some extent, the sample selected for this study could be described as a convenience sample (Podesva and Sharma, 2016). All participants were people I already knew, and they were happy to oblige by making themselves available to meet up for the recordings. However, when selecting participants from this community I ensured that I had previously observed each bilingual individual code-switching in their natural speech.

When dividing the participants into pairs there were two main factors I considered. Firstly, that the participants knew each other prior to the recordings in order for their conversations to be more natural and less forced. This would have also allowed participants to speak more openly about their own experiences of migration as these memories can be considered quite personal and emotional. Secondly, I ensured that there was at least one pairing of same generation speakers and different generation speakers.

All individuals that were selected for the study received a Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix I) in advance of being recorded and were given the opportunity to withdraw from or continue with the study. All participants were reassured that their recordings would remain anonymous and each signed a consent form (see Appendix II) stating that they were willing to take part and that they were willing to share their personal biographies of migration.

3.2.2 Participant profiles

In Table 1 below, it can be seen that six speakers were recruited for the purposes of this study. Four of these were first generation speakers of Greek that migrated at different ages to England and the remaining two were second and third generation speakers.

Table 1: Participant profiles

Speaker	Place of Birth	Age of migration	Generation
A	England	-	3rd
B	England	-	2nd
C	Cyprus	14 years old	1st
D	Cyprus	23 years old	1st
E	Cyprus	5 years old	1st
F	Cyprus	5 years old	1st

Some of the first generation participants in this study, namely Speakers E and F, migrated with their families for economic purposes around the early 1960s. On the other hand, Speakers C and D migrated as refugees reluctantly after the island of Cyprus was invaded by Turkey in 1974.

3.3 Audio-recorded conversations

In conducting an initial pilot study, I was able to identify any aspects that needed to be slightly altered in order to yield reliable data for my analysis. As part of the pilot study I recorded two conversations, each approximately 45 minutes long using the 'Voice memos' application on my IPhone. One conversation was between two second-generation speakers of Greek and the other between a second and third generation speaker of Greek.

It appeared that although I had previously observed these individuals code-switching, these same individuals did not feel comfortable communicating in Greek whilst being recorded, and hence did not code-switch. It seemed that to some degree this could be explained by the

‘observer’s paradox’. This paradox is the issue arising from trying to “find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation” (Labov,1972:209). Being a member of this particular community and previously knowing all the participants in this study, I had hoped that any effects or influence of a potential ‘observer’s paradox’ would be minimal. However, participants were aware of being recorded and made a conscious effort to speak in English. The visibility of recording equipment perhaps made participants feel as though they were performing for an external audience and had to consciously modify their language choice to English.

In order to make sure that this issue was overcome in my final data collection I altered the way in which the recordings were carried out. Firstly, I began recording before participants commenced their conversation, whilst I was informally explaining the topic of discussion. This was so that the recording did not have such an overbearing presence when their conversation began.

Secondly, in order to further ensure that participants felt more comfortable using their full linguistic repertoires, I licensed the use of Greek by code-switching myself when expressing the topics I wished participants would discuss during their conversation. After this initial instruction, as the researcher and observer I was present during the recordings, but I kept a mainly passive role during the recording of these conversations. This was so that it could be ensured that the conversations were natural and less ‘interview-like’, and that each participant was communicating with only one interlocutor. The data would have been less reliable and would have been more complex to analyse if more than one interlocutor was present as participants may have felt the need to accommodate their language for multiple speakers.

Participants were asked to talk as naturally as possible and to not be conscious of the language they would be using whilst being recorded. I explained the study being conducted was about their or their families' experiences of moving to this country and that each participant should exchange stories about what they remember of their childhood growing up as British Cypriots. Participants were told that their conversation should also cover their experiences in the present day; such as which aspects of the Cypriot culture they felt was important to pass on to their children and what their current relationship with Cyprus was like.

By setting the topic of discussion as their personal biographies, I was able to elicit information on each participant's personal histories whilst obtaining data on code-switching.

3.4 Transcribing recordings

Each recording was uploaded onto a laptop as an audio file and labelled with the participants' code names. The audio files were listened on the 'ITunes' application and transcribed as a document in Microsoft Word. I decided against using automatic programs such as ELAN as Greek and especially Cypriot dialect features would not have been recognised. I transcribed most of each conversation, mainly segments in which code-switching occurred which I could apply a conversational and sequential analysis to.

The excerpts in the following chapter are presented adhering to transliteration conventions in Roman script. This type of transliteration involved the mapping of each letter from the Greek alphabet into the Latin alphabet making the transcriptions more accessible to read for non-Greek speakers. It should also be noted that Cypriot dialect features of Greek have not been standardised and hence been included. In addition to the above, each transcribed utterance

was numbered and presented with a 'soft' interlinear gloss beneath it, which indicated word functions. I decided that it was not necessary to provide a full gloss showing all morphemes as it would not have added to my analysis, and would have been appropriate for a more grammatical analysis. Each transcribed excerpt was followed by a coherent translation in English of the meaning of each utterance.

3.5 Interpreting the data

After transcribing each conversation, I adopted a qualitative approach when analysing the data and attempted to identify conversational patterns. This involved examining each conversation as a whole and determining what a speaker's language preference was based on, and the consistency and frequency of that language within the conversation. By using the previous literature on personal biographies, I then tried to see if any of the personal histories of my participants could provide potential explanations for their language choices.

Further to this, when exploring the data more specifically, I selected excerpts that I could identify recurring patterns of code-switching. The method I used to examine and interpret the use of code-switching was a combination of a conversational and sequential analysis. This then allowed me to categorise the different motivations to code-switch into three main areas; accommodation purposes, the topic of the conversation and filling a lexical gap.

4. Results

This chapter explores the language choices and conversational patterns presented in the recordings. It also demonstrates a conversational and sequential analysis in attempting to interpret various excerpts of code-switching.

4.1 Conversational patterns

By analysing each of the three conversations holistically (considering the frequency and consistency of language choices within the entirety of the recordings), two different conversational patterns can be distinguished:

Type I: Consistent use of code-switching between English and Greek by both individuals throughout.

Type II: One speaker mainly speaking English and the other mainly speaking Greek.

The type of conversation and its speakers can be seen in the table below:

Table 2: Speakers and their conversational patterns

Conversation	Speakers	Pattern
1	A & C	Type I
2	B & D	Type II
3	E & F	Type I

The conversational pattern described in Type I appeared in two of the three recordings collected. As can be seen in the table above, Conversation 1 is between a third generation (Speaker A) and first generation speaker (Speaker C) of Greek. In the sections that follow, it will be seen that in Conversation 1 code-switching manifests due to accommodation purposes.

Type I can also be seen in Conversation 3, where both Speakers E and F are first generation speakers of Greek who migrated to England at the similar age of five years old. An initial interpretation would be that both speakers seem to feel comfortable using their full linguistic repertoire, perhaps this is due to similar backgrounds. Code-switching in this conversation repeatedly manifests through the retelling of direct and indirect memories.

The pattern described in Type II is present in Conversation 2, between a second-generation speaker of Greek (Speaker B) and a first generation speaker of Greek (Speaker D) who migrated to England as a young adult. Speaker D appears to mainly speak Greek but occasionally code-switches into English. On the other hand Speaker B mainly speaks English, perhaps due to a lack of confidence in their competence in Greek when communicating with a first generation speaker of Greek. However, Speaker B occasionally code-switches into Greek for accommodating purposes but then reiterates what she says in English. The way in which this particular conversation operates is often known as receptive multilingualism. Receptive multilingualism "refers to the constellation in which interlocutors use their respective mother tongue while speaking to each other" (Zeevaert and ten Thije 2007:1). Receptive multilingualism occurs when the conversation functions with speakers using their respective first languages that differ. In many studies, receptive multilingualism occurs between languages that are mutually intelligible. However, to some degree the above conversational pattern could be considered to be receptively multilingual, as both individuals are able to speak Greek and English, despite the two not being mutually intelligible.

4.2 Accommodation purposes

From the data collected, each conversation demonstrated, to a degree, the accommodating behaviour patterns of speakers in inter-generational and intra-generational communication. The following example is taken from Conversation 1, where Speaker C is explaining about the hardships of her first academic year in England:

Excerpt 1:

Speaker C: 1. it was the first year/

Speaker A: 2. oh and you're an August baby

3. so eisoun i pio michi/ pio micha mes'tin taxi?
so you-was the most small/ most small in-the class

Speaker C: 4. yes če eimoun i pio micha mes'tin taxi mou eimoun
yes and I-was the most small in-the class mine I-was

če pastoua
and skinny

5. anyway um then I became/

Speaker A: 6. really? [laughter]

Speaker C: 7. yeah polla pastoua pou eimoun
yeah very skinny that I-was

8. but I was studying very very hard

Translation of Excerpt 1:

Speaker C: 1. it was the first year/

Speaker A: 2. oh and you're an August baby

3.so you were the youngest in the class?

Speaker C: 4. yes I was the youngest in my class and I was skinny

5. anyway um then I became/

Speaker A: 6. really? [laughter]

Speaker C: 7. yeah I was very skinny

8. but I was studying very very hard

It can be seen that Speaker C sets the default language of the conversation to English when telling her story. In utterance 3 however, Speaker A seeks confirmation of information in Greek from Speaker C, and receives it in Greek in utterance 4. By using exactly the same phrase as Speaker A, but conjugating it differently, Speaker C accommodates her language to that of Speaker A, thus displaying lexical accommodation. Mahsain (2015:251) explains that lexical accommodation is the repeating of a word or phrase used by a previous speaker in the language in which they uttered it. The repeated phrase often contrasts with the language of the current utterance. In accommodating her language and repeating the phrase used by Speaker A, Speaker C is expressing an additional confirmation for the inference made in the previous utterance. This supports the notion of 'sequential implicativeness' (Auer, 1984), as in the case presented above the language choice of Speaker A's inference has influenced the language choice of Speaker C in the following utterance. However, she then switches back to her preference of English in utterance 5. The use of the discourse marker 'anyway' and then continuing in English signals that Speaker C wishes to move the conversation in a different direction, to a different subject. Speaker A then accommodates her language in utterance 6 to English when asking a question and when answering Speaker C employs the same alternating pattern that both speakers employed in the previous utterances. In utterance 8, similarly to utterance 6 Speaker C uses the English discourse marker 'but' to move the conversation in a different direction.

Gumperz (1982:66) promotes the notion that code-switching is used for meaningful juxtapositions between "strings formed from the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems." This supports the argument that code-switching is an extra resource that bilinguals

have at their disposal in a bilingual context. In the above example, a meaningful juxtaposition presented in utterances 2 and 3. Utterance 2 can be interpreted as a presupposition, that both speakers know is true and this is made apparent when Speaker A says ‘oh and’. On the other hand, utterance 3 is an inference from the information given in utterance 2 and this is confirmed by the use of ‘so’, linking the two pieces of information. Therefore, contrasting the languages of the two utterances serves an internal discourse purpose, where a difference can be seen between information Speaker A knows for sure and information that she wants Speaker C to confirm.

In utterances 2 and 3, Speaker A signals an understanding of the context of the story that Speaker C is describing by already interpreting the setting and making conclusions. When Speaker A receives confirmation from Speaker C it can be seen that she understood the implicature of utterance 2 (Grice, 1975). In making this inference Speaker A is essentially helping Speaker C with her narration of the story, abiding by Grice’s (1975) ‘cooperative principle’. The inferential procedure is carried out in English as can be seen by the use of ‘oh and’, ‘so’ and also ‘yes’ in utterance 4, perhaps because the default language of the conversation has been set to English. Greek on the other hand is only used for the inference in utterance 3, showing that Greek is used as a sort of window into the content of what is being said, whilst English is used for managing the interaction. Thus, this intra-sentential switching, which seemingly appears to not have neat boundaries between the two languages in fact does have neat boundaries.

4.2.1 Reiteration

The use of code-switching to repeat a word, phrase or expression, could be used for accommodating purposes as well as for emphasis in the discourse.

An example of this type of accommodation can be seen below in an excerpt taken from Conversation 2:

Excerpt 2:

Speaker B: 1. pote irthes Agglia [**]?
when you-come England [**]?

2. when did you come to England?

Speaker D: 3. eh ego irtha to ogthonta
eh I I-came the eighty

Speaker B: 4. ah ok meta pou to polemo
ah ok after from the war

5. it wasn't when the war/

Speaker D: 6. ne
yes

Speaker B: 7. ah it was after

Speaker D: 8. o polemos itan prin
the war was before

Translation of Excerpt 2:

Speaker B: 1. when did you come to England [**]?

2. when did you come to England?

Speaker D: 3. um I came in nineteen eighty

Speaker B: 4. ah ok after the war

5. it wasn't when the war/

Speaker D: 6. yes

Speaker B: 7. ah it was after

Speaker D: 8. the war was before then

It is apparent that Speaker D's default language throughout Excerpt 2 and indeed for the majority of the conversation is Greek. As this excerpt was taken from the start of the recording, it seems that Speaker B anticipates Speaker D's default language, as in utterance 1 Speaker B 'pre-accommodates' her language to Greek when asking Speaker D a question. As there is no previous evidence of Speaker D's language preference, it can therefore be said that Speaker B is pre-empting the situation and converges. This type of accommodation is different from the type found in Excerpt 1 as it has a different evidence base. In Excerpt 1, Speaker C accommodates her language to that of Speaker A after she speaks Greek. However, there is no evidence yet of Speaker D's language preference and so this accommodation is based on Speaker B's expectation.

The question is why does Speaker B then repeat the utterance in English after she has already accommodated her language to that of Speaker D? It may be the case that Speaker B wishes to reinforce or emphasise what she has asked or perhaps it is because the question itself is rather unusual. Another explanation might be that Speaker B's choice of Greek conveys an unusual effort and the question might seem unclear and therefore needs to be reinforced in English. This reiteration therefore not only emphasises the question, but is also a way of hedging and neutralising the discourse in order to make the interlocutor feel at ease. It ultimately alleviates the discomfort of asking the question in the first place but might bring a new discomfort by sounding insistent.

In utterance 1 Speaker B seems to be making a gesture, but in utterance 2 she finds her comfort zone by speaking English. In utterance 4, Speaker B also accommodates her

language and a negotiation can be seen between the two languages. Speaker D is certain of her language and Speaker B is the one accommodating, but once it is established that she can use both languages she is more comfortable using English in utterance 5. In utterance 5 a contrast is presented, as Speaker B changes the direction of conversation, which is marked by a language switch with Speaker B returning to her comfort zone. In utterance 7 Speaker B can be seen to continue using English, and this choice is not negotiated at all. After the utterances in the above excerpt, the conversation does indeed continue with Speaker D speaking Greek and Speaker B preferring to communicate in English with some negotiations in Greek.

4.3 Topic

4.3.1 Quoting from memories

When a speaker is in the bilingual mode, they have two options when quoting someone from a memory. They can either quote in the original language of the quote or they can translate it into the dominant language of the current conversation. Sebba and Wootton (1998) claim that code-switching "is a frequent correlate of reported speech in conversation". The most common motivation to code-switch in all three conversations seems to be when individuals quote from direct and indirect memories. Quoting from direct memories is the repetition of the exact words in their original language from a conversation in which the participant is usually present. Quoting from indirect memories consists of expressing the meaning of what was said rather than quoting the exact words spoken from a memory that participants were not present in but told about perhaps by a parent.

The following excerpt is an example taken from Conversation 3 where participants are describing conversations they had from direct memories:

Excerpt 3:

Speaker E: 1. I told my dad once when I got home

2. apofasisa na gino ithopoios [laughter]
I- decided that I-become actress [laughter]

3. you know what he said to me?

4. he said to me nambou na yineis?
He said to me what that you-become

5. ithopios dad
actress dad

6. ithopoios? če na se fila o enas če o allos?
actress? and that you-will kiss the one and the other

lalli mou
he-says me

Speaker F: 7. I told my mum I wanted to be an air hostess and she goes to me

8. mono oi poutanes kamnousin etsi douleiés
only the prostitutes they-do those jobs

Translation of Excerpt 3:

Speaker E: 1. I told my dad once when I got home

2. I have decided to become an actress [laughter]

3. you know what he said to me?

4. he said to me what are you going to become?

5. an actress dad

6. an actress? And you'll be kissed by every Tom Dick and Harry?
he says to me

Speaker F: 7. I told my mum I wanted to be an air hostess and she goes to me

8. only prostitutes do those sort of jobs

From the onset it can be seen that the default language of this excerpt is English. This is made conspicuous as the first utterance, which ultimately sets the language for the segments that follow, is in English. It can be seen that throughout the excerpt both speakers adopt the technique of introducing a quote in English and consistently 'authenticate' these original quotes in Greek (Gumperz, 1977). By adopting this technique of alternating between the two languages, speakers are able to establish two things; firstly, that the original setting of the memory was in Greek and secondly, that they're retelling the story in the present and the language of the present is English, but quotes are re-enacted in Greek.

This technique is used until utterance 5, by which time it is an established technique and an introduction is not needed for the quote that follows. From listening to the recording, it seems that intonation is used at this point to introduce the quote. This displays how inventive speakers are in spontaneous speech, as the conversation follows a particular pattern which is used to facilitate the interlocutor's understanding of what is being said, but once this pattern has been established, it is no longer required and this does not leave any gaps in the interlocutor's understanding.

In utterance 6 however, Speaker E then departs from this pattern, by following a quote in Greek with a quotative expression in English. This highlights that the two languages have different functions within this conversation, which causes this alternation and makes this excerpt of Type I.

In the above example, code-switching could be interpreted as being used as an identity construction. The two participants share common languages and function in the bilingual mode making use of their full linguistic repertoire (Matras 2009). This portrays a sort of solidarity element as both speakers can go beyond and manage an interaction in both languages. This established solidarity is furthered when Speaker F reciprocates by replicating the pattern used previously by Speaker E. This shows that Speaker F not only understands what Speaker E is saying, but the interaction is mutual.

Most of the memories described in the data took place during the participants' childhoods when the dominant language of the home was Greek (as in Excerpt 3). However, there are exceptions presented in the only Type II conversation where the first generation speaker of Greek recounts of a more recent conversation that took place in an English setting. This can be seen in Excerpt 4 below, where Speaker D is explaining that she does not tolerate the shortening and Anglicizing of her son's Greek name and retells of a phone call that she had with one of her son's friends.

Excerpt 4:

Speaker D: 1. mia fora tilefona enas mikros
one time it-called one small-boy

2. can I speak to [**]

3. lego no nobody is called [**] in this house
I-say no nobody is called [**] in this house

Speaker B: [laughter]

Speaker D: 4. lei mou can I speak to [**]
he-say me can I speak to [**]

5. lalo no [**] is here
I-say no [**] is here

6.	lali	mou	ok thank you
	he-say	me	ok thank you

Translation of Excerpt 4:

Speaker D: 1. once a young boy phoned

2. can I speak to [**]?

3. I said no nobody is called [**] in this house

Speaker B: [laughter]

Speaker D: 4. he said to me can I speak to [**]?

5. I said no [**] is here

6. he says to me ok thank you

As can be seen from the above excerpt, the same pattern of alternation that was used in Excerpt 3 is also present in Excerpt 4. However, in this case it can be seen from the start that Speaker D sets the default language of the interaction to Greek, which is the language for the introduction of each quote. Whilst Greek is used for the quotative expressions of these utterances, English as the original language of the conversation she is recalling, is used for each quote. This alternation pattern can be seen in utterances 3, 4, 5 and 6. However, in utterance 2, the English quote does not appear to have an explicit introduction like the utterances that follows. Intonation could be the technique used when quoting her son's friend, or utterance 1 which precedes it could be interpreted as an indirect way of introducing the quote that follows. Alternatively, the use of English and the code-switch itself could present a pattern of language specialisation, where it is understood that utterance 2 is a quote as it is in English, and an explicit introduction is not needed.

It can therefore be seen in the above examples, that bilinguals are able to establish an interesting alternating pattern when retelling of a memory and quoting speech.

4.3.2 Topics in local public discourse

A further use for code-switching appears to be when speakers are discussing topics and using lexical items that would typically appear in local public discourse.

The following excerpt is taken from Conversation 2, which is of Type II and presents two lexical items that are code-switched.

Excerpt 5:

Speaker D: 1. yiatí niothoume oti eimaste community
because we-feel that we-are community

Speaker B: 2. and we feel that we have to have our/

Speaker D: 3. ne
yes

4. community simeni na eheis ta idia kaina
community means to you-have the same common

charaktiristika
characteristics

5. eh society eine oles oi files
eh society is all the nationalities

6. i kinonia etho einai diaforetiki poliethniki
the society here is different multicultural

Translation of Excerpt 5:

Speaker D: 1. Because we feel that we are a community

Speaker B: 2. and we feel that we have to have our/

Speaker D: 3. yes

4. community means that you have the same characteristics

5. And society is all nationalities

6. The society here is different its multicultural

It is apparent from the start of this excerpt that Speaker D's preferred language is Greek, whilst Speaker B's is English. Code-switching manifests when Speaker D manages the conversation in Greek but says 'community' in English in utterances 1, and 4, and when she says 'society' in utterance 5. It could be argued that the fact that 'community' is consistently expressed in English might be an indication of a lexical gap in the speaker's communicative repertoire. However, it seems more likely that this is a choice, where making use of the English form is simply a replication of public discourse. The lexical item 'community' is most probably not a commonly used word for the speaker and most possibly would only be heard or spoken in an English-speaking environment.

An alternative theory, which is perhaps less probable, is that Speaker D is accommodating to Speaker B's preferred language of English by switching this lexical item. This could be justified by perceiving Speaker D as having a lack of confidence that Speaker B will understand the word in Greek. By code-switching she effectively ensures that the message she is trying to get across is understood.

In utterances 4 and 5 it becomes apparent that there is a sort of juxtaposition between the terms that are code-switched and the rest of utterances 4 and 5. The lexical items 'community' and 'society' are expressed in English, whilst their descriptions are communicated in Greek. This pattern of code-switching creates a sort of symmetry between

the utterances in 4 and 5. In utterance 5, similarly to 'community', the choice of English for 'society' reflects its contextualisation in local public discourse.

However, in utterance 6 it can be seen that Speaker D departs from this pattern.
It seems that there is a contrast that is marked between utterance 6 and the utterances that precede it. The consistent use of Greek in utterance 6 reflects a more conscious effort to make a coherent statement. Speaker D is specifically talking about the society in London and does this by expressing both the term 'society' and the rest of the utterance in Greek. Speaker D could potentially have marked this distinction by expressing the entire utterance in English, however this is not her preferred language and settles on subtly switching 'society' to 'kinonia'. Therefore, the previous utterances can be interpreted as a build up to the statement in utterance 6, which is the message Speaker D wants to get across.

4.4 Linguistic gap

In the literature, 'filling a lexical gap' can be used to describe an occasion where a code-switch occurs due to a lack of competence in a language or a lack of memory. In the following excerpt, taken from Conversation 2, a first generation speaker of Greek discusses her experiences of integrating into her present community. It can be seen that she code-switches a single lexical item into English and it seems likely that this is due to a difficulty in recalling the Greek form at the time of the utterance, with the English equivalent being more readily available in her linguistic repertoire.

Excerpt 6:

Speaker B:	1. esthanese	o	kosmos	oksa	I	ídia	esthanese/
	you-feel	the	people	or	the	yourself	you-feel

2. do the people treat you like you're a foreigner still you think?

3. or is it you yourself because you grew up in Cyprus?

Speaker D: 4. ne nomizo ehoume diafores
yes I-think we-have differences

Speaker B: 5. yeah

Speaker D: 6. pou en kataligoun pouthena vasika
where they-don't result anywhere basically

niotho oti
I-feel that

7. eimai diaforetiki, ipoxreotika na yino

I-am different, by-force to I-become

adjust [laughter]
adjust [laughter]

Translation of Excerpt 6:

Speaker B: 1. do you feel it's the people or do you feel its you?

2. do the people treat you like you're a foreigner still you think?

3. or is it just you yourself because you grew up in Cyprus?

Speaker D: 4. yes I think we have differences

Speaker B: 5. yeah

Speaker D: 6. there is no end to it basically I feel that

7. I am different and forced to adjust

As in previous examples from Conversation 2, Speaker D's default language is Greek. Although Speaker B appears to mainly speak English, there seems to be a negotiation between the two languages in the first three utterances. Similarly to Excerpt 2, it can be seen

that Speaker B ‘pre-accommodates’ to Speaker D’s language preference in utterance 1, followed by a reiteration of the question in English in utterances 2 and 3. This negotiation, similarly to Excerpt 2 eventually ends with Speaker B returning to her comfort zone and communicating in English. The rest of the conversation continues with both individuals speaking in their preferred language.

Speaker D maintains speaking Greek for the majority of the recorded conversation, however in utterance 7 the lexical item ‘adjust’ is code-switched into English. The fact that Greek is her preferred language throughout this excerpt as well as throughout the entire recording indicates that this code-switch is due to a difficulty in recalling this particular lexical item rather than not knowing the word in Greek . The English word for ‘adjust’ seems to be more readily available and hence more easily retrievable from the speaker’s complex communicative repertoire (Matras, 2009). Another potential explanation could be that this is an example of lexical accommodation where perhaps Speaker D accommodates to the preferred language of Speaker B due to a lack of confidence in Speaker B’s competence, but this seems unlikely.

The code-switching of this single lexical item seems to further add to the meaning of what Speaker D is actually saying. If it is the case that Speaker D is accommodating her language to that of Speaker B, her need to ‘adjust’ that she describes in the excerpt is what she is currently doing in the conversation and this is mirrored by the code-switch itself. This reflection of content in the switch itself further reinforces the message she is expressing.

5. Discussion

The conversational patterns and language preferences of individuals were analysed and interpreted on a holistic level, by analysing each conversation in its entirety. Two distinctive types of conversations manifested in the recordings: Type I which shows speakers consistently alternating between the two languages and Type II which involves one speaker speaking Greek and the other mainly English, with occasional code-switches.

Two of the three recordings used in the analysis were of Type I. Conversation 1 was of this type and was between Speaker A (a third generation speaker) and Speaker C (a first generation speaker). It seems that Speaker A's language choices do not appear to fall in line with either of the patterns described by Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) and Garcia & Diaz (1992). Speaker A describes her language history of growing up learning both languages simultaneously, with one parent speaking Greek and the other in English. She describes that attending a Greek supplementary school in addition to travelling to Cyprus every year and communicating with family members living there reinforced her acquisition and maintenance of the Greek language. This forms part of Baker's (2011) theory of social, demographic and culture factors where attending a 'mother tongue institution', like the Greek supplementary school, and frequent travel appear to encourage the language maintenance of this speaker. Therefore, this speaker's language choices where she appears comfortable and confident alternating between Greek and English consistently does not reflect the previously suggested patterns of the generation of speakers in which she belongs.

An analysis of Speaker C is most compelling because she appears to digress the most from the typical generational patterns described in section 2.2.2. Being a first generation speaker of Greek and migrating at the age of fourteen, Speaker C displays no signs of having Greek

as her dominant language, which does not support the generational pattern previously described in the literature. As can be seen in Excerpt 1, which is similar to other parts in the entire conversation, Speaker C sets the default language of the conversation to English when telling of the hardships she faced at school when first moving to London. Further to this, Speaker C was very open in discussing what she described as experiences of racism that she encountered when first migrating to London, which she felt was due to her inability to speak English fluently at the time. Similarly to the first generation speakers investigated in Schmid's (2002) study, Speaker C speaks of a trauma, although less brutal, that she felt was the result of being different and an 'immigrant'. Using the ideas from Schmid's study the case of this individual might support the claim that the way in which an individual wishes to be perceived and their attitude towards a particular language, especially if it is influenced by a desire to 'fit in' with their new society might influence their language choice. However, this might be a likely explanation but it cannot be known for sure that the experience that Speaker C describes triggered a particular linguistic attitude, but it could perhaps be considered as a possible contributing factor.

As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, the participants in the third conversation (Speakers E and F) were both first generation speakers of Greek that migrated at the age of five years old with their families in the early 1960s. Their acquisition of English was described as a 'sink or swim' approach being totally immersed in a new language and attending formal education in a primary school much like native speakers would. However, unlike the predictions cited in section 2.2.2, both speakers did not appear to have a preference and a dominant language of English. They in fact displayed no predisposition to either language as they consistently and frequently alternated between the two. This shows both speakers to be very comfortable communicating in the 'bilingual mode' and exploiting their full communicative repertoires. A

possible explanation for this seemingly confident use of both languages could perhaps be attributed to the language maintenance within the Greek-Cypriot community in which they grew up and still live in. With both sets of parents being unable to speak any English, they attended Greek school and acted almost as translators or 'mediators' (Clyne, 1967) for their parents. Further to this, both individuals also frequently visited Cyprus and still have family residing there. All these factors can be considered to have effectively contributed to the retention of Greek in their communicative repertoires.

It is important to note here that during the recordings all participants spoke of travelling to Cyprus at least once a year and maintaining frequent communication with people living there, as well as having some kind of experience with a Greek supplementary school. These aspects may be referred to as contributing factors of 'transnationalism'. Transnationalism can be defined "as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992:1). These 'social fields', which include increased communication through "new technology…with increasing speed and efficiency" (Vertovec 1999: 447) and the Greek supplementary school allow for the members of this community to maintain the Greek language. This 'transnationalism' can be described as culpable for the fact that participants in this study, such as Speakers A, E and F explored above, do not follow the previously proposed generational patterns of language use (Christodoulou-Pipis,1991; Garcia & Diaz, 1992). Unlike the studies previously cited such as Schmid's (2002) research on German Jews, 'transnationalism' appears to be prevalent in the lives of these individuals. The cultural demarcations that may have existed previously when migrants moved from their homeland to their host society do not appear to exist within this community and the language and culture of Cyprus transcends beyond geographical boundaries and is maintained across the generations.

The only conversation of Type II was between a second-generation speaker (Speaker B) and a first generation speaker of Greek (Speaker D) that migrated as an adult. The entire conversation showed Speaker D's dominant language to be Greek which in this case does align with the generational patterns described in section 2.2.2 (Christodoulou-Pipis, 1991; Garcia and Diaz, 1992; Rumbaut, 2004 and Portes and Rivas, 2011). This could to a degree be explained by the fact that Speaker D migrated at a much older age and second language acquisition is more difficult after puberty as cited by Matras (2009). Further analysis of the content of her autobiographical conversation shows Speaker D explaining that she identifies more with Greeks in Cyprus than the Greeks within this London community. This is made evident in Excerpt 4, where Speaker D appears to be proud of her Greek heritage and refuses to allow the Anglicizing of her son's Greek name. This could perhaps suggest that similarly to the literature correlating language and self-perception (Schmid, 2002), Speaker D wants to maintain her Greek identity and shows this through her language choices. However, in Excerpt 6 it can be seen that Speaker D expresses that she does feel people view her differently and perhaps like a foreigner and says that she must 'adjust' more, however this is not made apparent by her language choices.

From this same conversation, Speaker B, a second-generation speaker of Greek, is shown to have a preference of speaking English, although she does code-switch into Greek for accommodating purposes, often through reiteration. This shows that Speaker B does have a competence in both languages, but does have a preference of English as predicted by the generational patterns in section 2.2.2, her dominant language is English. Her experiences of growing up as a British Cypriot showed her first language to be Greek, with this being the dominant language of her parents. Further to this, she explains that she attended Greek school

as well as frequently visiting Cyprus with her parents, who now in fact live there. Initially, from analysing the content of her conversation, one might predict that her language preferences might be similar to Speaker A who as a third generation speaker of Greek and showed no indication of a preferred language. However, unlike Speaker A, Speaker B stated that she identifies as an "English Cypriot" rather than as a Greek Cypriot. This statement may perhaps give an insight to this speaker's attitude towards the Greek language and how she wishes to be perceived. Perhaps this indicates that a combination of attitudinal factors as well as language maintenance need to be taken into account when analysing language preferences.

By analysing the content of the conversations as well as the language preferences of each individual, it appears that the personal histories and the proposed generational patterns of language shift do not seem to be deterministic of all speakers. Although the experiences of migration of some speakers such as Speaker C might offer an explanation for an apparent language shift of the individual, others such as Speakers E and F do not. These speakers do not appear to be less confident speaking in Greek and this could be attributed to the strong language maintenance within this Greek-Cypriot community. This community is an example of 'transnationalism' in their attempts to try and maintain their sense of identity with Cyprus. This is made conspicuous as all participants stated they travel at least once a year to Cyprus on holiday or to visit family. The well attended Greek supplementary schools by the children of the speakers as well as themselves in the past, is testament to the ongoing efforts to hang on to their ethnicity by way of language. These factors can also be considered to be what Baker (2011) and Conklin & Lourie (1983) describe as some of the 'cultural factors' that encourage language maintenance.

A further exploration of these language maintenance or 'transnationalism' factors highlights the influence of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) on this community. 'Super-diversity' can be defined as a 'diversification of diversity' and can be described as "a kind of complexity surpassing anything...previously experienced" and as "a dynamic interplay of variables" such as country of origin, migration channel, legal status and access to employment (Vertovec 2007:1024). It is through the 'super-diverse' society that is London, where various and diverse immigrants reside, that members of the Greek-Cypriot community feel confident in using and retaining the Greek language and culture, and hence are able to maintain multiple identities. The Greek-Cypriot and British identities within this community appear to co-exist concurrently in this 'super-diverse' city. Therefore, this 'super-diverse' society in which they function, where language maintenance features greatly, states that old models of assimilation and language attrition across the generations no longer apply.

One of the ways in which this confident use of both languages manifests is through the use of code-switching. Further exploration of the code-switches in the excerpts of the previous chapter, show that all speakers exploited their full communicative repertoires at some point in the discourse. A conversational and sequential analysis of these excerpts shows three main motivations to code-switch: for accommodation purposes, the topic of conversation and filling a linguistic gap.

As can be seen in sections 4.2 and 4.2.1, code-switching is used for accommodating purposes. In both Excerpts 1 and 2, speakers are seen to be converging to the language preference of their interlocutors. There appears to be two ways identified that speakers show this convergence, through lexical accommodation and reiteration. In Excerpt 1 it can be seen that Speaker B utilises the two languages to convey a meaningful juxtaposition, by

contrasting a presupposition and an inference. Speaker C lexically accommodates (Mahsain, 2015) her language to Greek, which can be interpreted as an additional confirmation to the inference. It is most compelling however, that in Poplack's (1980) study of Spanish-English bilinguals the younger English-dominant generation of speakers generally accommodate their language to that of the Spanish-dominant older generation in intergenerational communication. This does not appear to be the case in this particular excerpt. Speaker C who migrated as an adolescent does not display any signs of being Greek-dominant, and is accommodating to the use of Greek of a third generation speaker of Greek.

However, Excerpt 2 does display a similar pattern of accommodation to that described by Poplack (1980). It can be seen that through reiteration Speaker B pre-accommodates her language to Greek when asking Speaker D a question, and later repeats this in English, which ultimately appears to be the language she feels more comfortable communicating in. On the other hand, Speaker D does not appear to accommodate her language to English. Perhaps, it could be argued that instead of converging, Speaker D is diverging from the language preferred by Speaker B.

The topic of conversation also seems to be an additional motivation to alternate between the two languages. In section 4.3.1 it can be seen in Excerpts 3 and 4 that quoting from memories seems to elicit an interesting pattern. The default language of the conversation is used for introducing quotes, whilst the original language of the quotes is used when repeating them. Topics in local public discourse also seem to determine language alternations. It can be seen in Excerpt 5, that code-switching manifests in the utterances of Speaker D by repeating the lexical item 'community' that perhaps is heard and spoken of more often in local public

discourse which is English in this setting. This English form could then perhaps be described as being more readily available in their communicative repertoire.

The use of code-switching also appears to be used to ‘fill a lexical gap’ which arises from a difficulty in recalling lexical items, not a lack of competence in one of the two languages. In section 4.4, it can be seen in Excerpt 6 that the single lexical item ‘adjust’ appears to be the only word code-switched in a set of utterances that are all in Greek. This might suggest that the English form is more readily available in Speaker D’s communicative repertoire than the equivalent Greek form. However, in alternating between the two languages in this way, Speaker D cleverly reflects the content of what she is saying. In switching to English when describing that she needs to ‘adjust’ to the community here in London, she is essentially showing that in her choice of language. This may present an alternative theory for this particular code-switch, that Speaker D is not experiencing difficulty recalling a lexical item but is additionally conveying her message through her language choice.

6. Conclusion

In this research paper, I aimed to identify potential motivations to code-switch when bilinguals availed themselves of their full linguistic repertoires in inter-generational and intra-generational communication. Further to this, I also investigated whether a potential connection existed between participants' personal experiences of migration and their language choices. However, I incorporated an exploration of language maintenance and an aspect of 'transnationalism' within this community into my analysis of language choices.

Schmid (2002) ultimately suggests that experiences of migration may determine a linguistic attitude, which influences how confident individuals are speaking their first language. In addition to this, Christodoulou-Pipis (1991) and Garcia & Diaz (1992) propose two rather similar generational patterns that typically arise in immigrant communities, resulting in language shift and language loss for future generations. However, by employing a qualitative approach and analysing conversation-based data holistically it seems that the personal histories of these individuals and their pre-determined generational patterns do not always appear to determine their linguistic choices. Although it is possible that their experiences might evoke a need to assimilate into their new society in order to be perceived as less different, ultimately these conclusions cannot be drawn. It may be the case that language choices may be a part of a more complex, multifaceted phenomenon, that of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). It seems that language maintenance and factors of 'transnationalism' such as the Greek supplementary school and frequent contact with Cyprus account for some of the different language choices of these members of the Greek-Cypriot community in North London.

Further to this, I was able to undertake a conversational and sequential analysis of the three conversations, which allowed me to interpret potential motivations for code-switching in a bilingual context. Code-switching was found to be a compelling communicative tool in which contrasts and additional meanings were given by alternating between the two languages. The three main motivations that I identified in my analysis included aspects of accommodation theory, topics of discussion and potentially filling a lexical gap. There were two main types of accommodation that had different evidence bases that were found in the study: lexical accommodation and reiteration. With regards to topics, quoting from memories created a well established alternating pattern in the discourse where one language was used to introduce quotes and another for the quotes themselves. Topics in local public discourse also appeared to motivate the switching of a single lexical item. Filling a lexical gap when there is difficulty recalling a lexical item was the third motivation identified in this study.

By combining the different approaches to analysing language choices cited in the previous literature, I have filled a potential 'gap' in previous research with regards to language choices and code-switching. The language preferences of this small sample of the Greek-Cypriot community in North London can only begin to be explained by an interplay of various factors such as personal experiences of migrations, generational patterns and language maintenance. A most compelling finding is the strong sense of language maintenance and 'transnationalism' existing within this Greek community which has resulted in the continued use of the Greek language across the various generations of speakers within this study. Ultimately, this study finds that the personal histories of migration and generational patterns alone are not deterministic of language choices, and members of present day communities differ in their multilingual repertoire maintenance due to 'transnationalism' factors such as

supplementary schools and travel, and future studies should explore individuals in a 'super-diversity' context on a case by case basis.

References:

Appel, R. & P. Muysken. 1987. *Language Contact And Bilingualism.* London: E. Arnold.

Auer, P. 1984. *Bilingual conversation.* John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Auer, P. 1995. The Pragmatics of Code-switching: A Sequential Approach. In: L. Milroy & P.Muysken, (eds.). *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Code switching,* 115-35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, C. 2011. *Foundations Of Bilingual Education And Bilingualism*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Multilingual Matters.

Census 2011: Census Snapshot: Main Language (2013). <https://files.datapress.com/london/dataset/2011-census-diversity/2015-11-03T10:50:22/CIS2013-01%20Main%20Language.pdf > [accessed 27 April 2017]

Christodoulou-Pipis, I. 1991. *Language use by Greek-Cypriots in Britain*. Nicosia: Diaspora Books.

Conklin, N. & M. Lourie. 1983. *A Host of Tongues.* New York: The Free Press.

Clyne, M. G. 1967. *Transference and Triggering.* The Hague: Nijhoff.

Cyprus Educational Mission UK (K.E.A). 2017. < http://kea.schools.ac.cy/index.php?id=whoarewe> [accessed 27 April 2017]

Fishman, J. A. 1997. *Reversing Language Shift*. 1st ed. Clevedon, Eng.: Multilingual Matters.

Garcia, R, & Diaz, C. 1992. The status and use of Spanish and English among Hispanic youth in Dade County (Miami) Florida: A sociolinguistic study. *Language and Education* 6, 13-32.

Giles, H., J. Coupland, & N. Coupland. 1991. *Contexts Of Accommodation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giles, H. & P. Smith. 1979. Accommodation Theory: Optimal Levels of Convergence. In: H. Giles & R. St. Clair, (eds.). *Language and Social Psychology*. 45-65. Oxford: Blackwell.

Glick Schiller, N., L. Basch, & C. Blanc-Szanton. 1992. *Towards a transnational perspective on migration*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Grice, H. P. 1975. Logic and Conversation. In: P. Cole & J. Morgan, (eds.), *Syntax and semantics 3: Speech Acts.* New York: Academic Press.

Grosjean, F.1982. *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. 2001. The bilingual's language modes. *One mind, two languages: Bilingual language processing* 7.11, 1-22.

Gumperz, J. 1977. Sociocultural Knowledge in Conversational Inference. In: M. Saville-Troike (ed.), *28th Annual Round Table Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Oxford: Blackwell

Lance, D. M. 1975. Spanish-English code-switching. In *El lenguaje de los chic*anos, E. Hernandez-Chavez & A Beltramo (eds.). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Li Wei. 1998. The 'why' and 'how' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In P. Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 156-176. Routledge.

Li Wei. 2000. *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge.

Mahsain, F. 2014. Motivations Behind Code-switching Among Kuwaiti Bilingual Schools' Students. [Thesis]. Manchester, UK: The University of Manchester.

Matras, Y. 2009. *Language Contact.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paltridge, B. 2012. *Discourse Analysis.* 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury

Papapavlou, A. & and P. Pavlou. 2001. The Interplay Of Language Use And Language Maintenance And The Cultural Identity Of Greek Cypriots In The UK. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11.1, 92-113.

Pauwels, A. 2004. Language Maintenance. In A. Davis & C. Elder (eds.). *The handbook of applied linguistics*, 719-738. Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing.

Pedraza, P. 1978. Ethnographic observations of language use in El B'arrio. (Unpublished master's thesis).

Podesva, R. J., & D. Sharma. 2016. *Research Methods In Linguistics*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Poplack, S. 1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spansih y termino en español: Towards a Typology of Code-switching. *Linguistics,* 18, 581-618.

Portes, A. & A. Rivas. 2011. The Adaptation of Migrant Children. *The Future of Children, 21*(1), 219-246.

Rumbaut, R. G. 2004. Ages, life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review 38, 1160-12.*

Sebba, M. & T. Wootton. 1998. We, they and identity: Sequential versus identity-related explanation in code-switching. In P. Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 262-286. Routledge.

Schmid, M. S. 2002. *First Language Attrition, Use And Maintenance.* 1st ed. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub.

Vertovec, S. 1999. Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2), 447-462.

Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6), 1024-1054.

Zeevaert, L. & J.D. Thije,.ten. 2007. Introduction. In J.D. ten Thije & L Zeevaert (eds.), Receptive Multilingualism. Linguistic analyses, language policies and didactic concepts. 1-25. Amsterdam: Benjamins.